

regiment, were skilfully laid out by Major Payn, of that corps, under the direction of Brigadier Hope, to the left and along the road. The enemy attacked with guns and musketry, whilst the remainder of the 53rd was passing the bridge in support, and the heavy guns were being advanced from the position in which they had originally been placed, to cover the working parties. The right wing of the 93rd highlanders remained on the right bank of the Kalee Nuddee, in reserve. A ~~rising~~ fire was quickly opened by Lieutenant Vaughan, of the royal navy, and Major Smith, commanding a field battery, royal artillery. It not appearing expedient to press the enemy till the remainder of the force should come up (for which orders were sent), the position now taken up by the 53rd regiment was secured, and the fire of the enemy kept down by our guns; but an advance was not permitted. I may mention that the flanks had been secured, when the bridge was first occupied, by the detachment of a wing of the highlanders at Rowen, a village about three miles to the right, where there was a ford; a patrol having been sent also on the previous day to destroy whatever boats might be found, for several miles up the Kalee Nuddee, to the left of the bridge. At 11 A.M., the main column from the old camp began to arrive, Brigadier Greathed's brigade leading. At the same time it was observed that the enemy had got a heavy gun in position, which had not opened before about half-past 2 P.M.; the 53rd, supported by the 93rd, advanced on the village, to the right, which had already been evacuated in consequence of the fire brought upon it; whilst Brigadier Greathed marched along the left of it, the cavalry moving at a sharp pace on the line of the enemy's retreat towards Futteghur. The retreat of the enemy soon became a rapid flight, considerable execution being inflicted by the cavalry, under the immediate superintendence of Brigadier-general Grant and Brigadier Little; all the guns which had been opposed to us, viz. (*vide* return), eight in number, falling into our hands. In this skirmish all the troops engaged behaved remarkably well; and the only fault I had to find was with their too great eagerness for attack. The rebels who were dispersed on this occasion consisted of three or four battalions of the 41st and other corps of native infantry. In the 41st the rebels had begun with much system to organise a second battalion, their recruits being dressed in a neat uniform. Their rout was complete, and it is said, apparently on good authority, that the fugitives who escaped have made for Bareilly.

"The camp was pitched, late in the evening, on the road to Futteghur, five miles from the Kalee Nuddee, where I had the pleasure of meeting Colonel Seaton, who had ridden over from Bower to report the arrival of his force and convoy in person. He was directed to make certain arrangements with the latter, and to close on Futteghur, after being joined by Brigadier Walpole. A very large stock of grain was ordered to be sent to Cawnpore, to ease that district, and lighten the labours of the commissariat, for the supply of Sir James Outram.

"On the 3rd, I marched on Futteghur, which had been deserted after the defeat of the previous day, by all the followers of the nawab. The flight of the rebels was so rapid, that they had no time to complete the destruction of the government property. It is with the utmost satisfaction I have to inform your lordship of the very large amount of stores, of the most valuable description, belonging

to the late gun and clothing agencies, which have been saved to the state. A notorious malefactor (one Najir Khan) was seized, with his guns, in the town. I caused this to be done by the inhabitants, under fear of punishment on themselves. He was executed at the principal gate, on the 4th instant. Mr. Power, civil service, has applied to me to sanction the appointment of Mr. Capper, civil service, to assist him in the Futteghur district. Mr. Power represents his new assistant as a man of much experience in these districts, and acquainted with the people. I have therefore ventured to give the sanction required, subject to your lordship's approval.

"The destruction of the nawab's palace is in process. I think it right that not a stone should be left unturned in all the residences of the rebellious chiefs. They are far more guilty than their misguided followers. A brigade will proceed to-morrow to visit two very mutinous villages, at a distance of some twenty miles from Futteghur. A garrison has been left at Mynpoorie, consisting of her majesty's 88th foot, two field battery guns, and 200 Wale's horse. This garrison will furnish the escorts from Mynpoorie to Agra, so long as such precautions are necessary. I have intimated to Colonel Fraser, the chief commissioner, North-West Provinces, that it is not expedient to leave a small detachment by itself at Etawah; but that that place should trust rather to the influence of the Mynpoorie garrison on the one side, and the last arrangements made by me in the Cawnpore district on the other. That arrangement consists of a movable column, which is now being organised by Brigadier Inglis, at Cawnpore, for the purpose of marching about the district, in aid of the civil power.

"Having reached this point, and the communication being fairly established between Calcutta and Agra, I await your lordship's further instructions.

"I have, &c.,

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

The necessary arrangements for the campaign in Oude—which had been retarded by the non-arrival of a powerful siege-train from Agra, and other accidental obstacles to immediate action—were at length completed; and the various divisions of the army, under their respective brigadiers, were in readiness to march simultaneously towards Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell then, on the 4th of February, as already stated, returned to Cawnpore with a portion of the force under his immediate command; and, after a flying visit to the governor-general at Allahabad, returned to the "City of Blood," to set in motion the vast machinery he had organised, and so well knew how to manage.

At length, about the 11th of the month, all was ready for action; and part of a British army, more formidable than any that had previously taken the field against the rebels, began to cross the Ganges into Oude. It had originally been intended to effect the crossing of a portion of the

troops at Fatteghur; but, for sufficient reasons, Cawnpore was ultimately selected for the passage of the whole. To increase the facilities for this important operation, a second bridge of boats was constructed; but even with this additional means, the crossing was a slow and difficult one, and occupied several days in its accomplishment, from the vast number of vehicles employed. For instance, a small portion of the ammunition only, without reference to any camp-equipage or baggage, required the assistance of 1,500 carts; and the artillery, which was on an enormous scale, comprising the siege guns, the naval brigade guns, the field guns, and those of the horse artillery, numbered not much less than 200 pieces, and extended to an immense line of march.

The following notification enumerates the component parts of the force destined to achieve the final conquest of Lucknow, under the guidance of Sir Colin Campbell:—

"Head-quarters, Camp Cawnpore, 10th Feb.

"The troops now in Oude, and those advancing into that province, are formed into divisions and brigades, and staff officers are attached as follows, the whole being under the personal command of his excellency the commander-in-chief. Such appointments as now appear for the first time, will take effect from this date.

"*Artillery Division Staff*.—Major-general Sir A. Wilson, Bart., K. C. B., Bengal artillery, commanding; Major E. B. Johnson, B. A., assistant-adjutant-general; Lieutenant R. Biddulph, R. A., deputy-adjutant, quartermaster-general; Lieutenant-colonel C. Hogge, Bengal artillery, director of artillery in the ordnance department; Captain C. H. Burehard, 20th regiment native infantry, aide-de-camp; Lieutenant H. G. Deedes, 60th royal rifles, extra aide-de-camp.

"*Brigade of Field Artillery*.—Brigadier D. E. Wood, C. B., royal horse artillery; Lieutenant S. S. Frith, Bengal horse artillery, major of brigade.

"*Brigade of Siege Artillery*.—Brigadier G. R. Barker, C. B., royal artillery; Lieutenant A. Burney, Bengal horse artillery, major of brigade; E troop royal horse artillery; F ditto; 1st troop 1st battalion Bengal horse artillery; 2nd ditto 1st ditto; 2nd ditto 3rd ditto; 3rd ditto 3rd ditto; 3rd company 14th battalion royal artillery and No. 20 light field battery; 2nd company 3rd battalion Bengal artillery and No. 20 light field battery; 3rd company 8th battalion royal artillery; 6th ditto 11th ditto; 5th ditto 12th ditto; 5th ditto 13th ditto; 4th ditto 1st battalion Bengal artillery; 1st ditto 5th ditto; 3rd ditto 5th ditto; detachment Bengal artillery recruits; the naval brigade will form part of the division under Sir A. Wilson, but will be under the immediate command of Captain W. Peel, C. B., royal navy, and independent of the brigade of siege artillery.

"*Engineer Brigade*.—Brigadier R. Napier, B. E., chief engineer; major of brigade, Lieutenant H.

Bingham, Veteran E., brigade quartermaster; Lieutenant-colonel H. D. Harness, B. E., commanding royal engineers; Captain A. Taylor, B. E., commanding Bengal engineers; 4th company royal engineers; 23rd company royal engineers; head-quarters sappers and miners; Punjab sappers and miners; corps of pioneers.

"*Cavalry Division*.—Brigadier-general J. H. Grant, C. B., commanding; Captain W. Hamilton, 9th lancers, deputy-adjutant-general; Lieutenant J. S. Roberts, Bengal horse artillery, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general; Captain the Hon. A. H. A. Anson, H. M.'s 84th regiment, aide-de-camp.

"*1st Brigade*.—Brigadier A. Little, H. M.'s 9th lancers; Captain H. A. Savel, H. M.'s 9th lancers, major of brigade.

"*2nd Brigade*.—Brigadier W. Campbell, H. M.'s 2nd dragoon guards; Captain H. Forbes, 1st light cavalry, major of brigade; H. M.'s 9th lancers; 2nd battalion military train; 2nd Punjab cavalry; detachment of 5th light cavalry; Wale's horse; H. M.'s 2nd dragoon guards; H. M.'s 7th (Queen's Own) hussars; volunteer cavalry; detachment P. I. cavalry; Hodson's horse.

"*1st Infantry Division*.—Major-general Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., Bombay army, commanding; Captain D. S. Dodgson, 30th native infantry, deputy-adjutant-general; Lieutenant W. R. Moorsome, H. M.'s 52nd light infantry, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general; Lieutenant F. E. A. Chamber, 34th native infantry, aide-de-camp; Lieutenant Hargood, 1st Madras fusiliers, extra aide-de-camp.

"*1st Brigade*.—Brigadier D. Russel, H. M.'s 84th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 5th fusiliers; ditto 84th regiment 1st Madras fusiliers.

"*2nd Brigade*.—Brigadier C. Franklyn, H. M.'s 8th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 78th highlanders; ditto 90th light infantry; regiment of Ferozepore.

"*2nd Division*.—Captain R. C. Stewart, H. M.'s 53rd regiment, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general, commanding; Captain D. C. Steute, deputy-assistant-quartermaster of the army, aide-de-camp.

"*3rd Brigade*.—Brigadier W. Hamilton, H. M.'s 78th highlanders; Captain G. N. Fendall, H. M.'s 53rd regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 34th regiment; ditto 53rd regiment.

"*4th Brigade*.—Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, H. M.'s 93rd highlanders; Captain J. H. Cox, H. M.'s 75th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 42nd highlanders; ditto 93rd ditto; 4th Punjab rifles.

"*3rd Division*.—Brigadier-general Walpole, R. B., commanding; Captain C. A. Howell, 71st native infantry, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general; Captain T. A. Carey, 17th native infantry, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, aide-de-camp.

"*5th Brigade*.—Brigadier Douglas, H. M.'s 79th highlanders, major of brigade; H. M.'s 23rd regiment ditto, 79th highlanders, and 1st Bengal fusiliers.

"*6th Brigade*.—(General Lugard)—Brigadier H. H. Horford, rifle brigade, major of brigade; two battalions rifle brigade; 3rd ditto ditto, and 2nd Punjab infantry; Captain C. C. Johnson, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, will be attached to army head-quarters. Deputy-judge-advocate-general to the force; Captain A. C. Robertson, H. M.'s 8th (the King's) regiment; field paymaster, Captain H. C. Tombs, 13th native infantry; baggage-master, Lieutenant H. Morland, 1st Bengal



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A.D. 1858.]

INDIAN MUTINY. [MR. RUSSELL'S CORRESPONDENCE.]

fusiliers; provost-marshal, Captain A. C. Warner, 7th light cavalry; post-master, Major C. Apthorp, 41st native infantry; superintending surgeon, J. C. Browne, M.D., B.H.A.; field-surgeon, Surgeon Wilkie; medical storekeeper, Assistant-surgeon Corbryn. All staff appointments connected with Major-general Sir J. Outram's force, not specified above, will hold good until the junction of that force with the army head-quarters. All appointments not filled up in the above orders, will be filled up under the orders of officers commanding divisions and brigades.

On the night of the 26th of February, it was announced in orders that the greater part of the troops stationed around Cawnpore, should march for Lucknow at day-break on the following morning, and that all the head-quarters' staff, except those in immediate personal attendance on Sir Colin Campbell, and on the chief of the staff, (General Mansfield) should proceed in three marches to Bunthura—a large plain on the road to Lucknow, and about nine miles from the city, and there await further orders. The following graphic description of the preparations for the march of the troops, and the advance to Bunthura, is from the pen of the *Times'* correspondent, who had joined the camp at Cawnpore on his special mission:—

"It requires but short notice in India to move a camp. For days past I had been disturbed by the gurglings and grumbings of the great internal waterworks of two huge camels which I had for the transport of my baggage, and which were picketed close to my tent. The *utile* was never so little mingled with the *dulce* as in the instance of the camel; he is a horribly necessary animal, ungainly in his gait, disagreeable in his disposition, misanthropical and dyspeptic, and teetotal in his habits; sharp and unrelenting in his bites, of unaccountable phantasies in his likings and dislikings, unreasonably susceptible of pressure and oppression—a sort of inborn animal democrat, of a querulous and morose turn of mind, and possessed of the power, which he delights to use, of making the most horrible noises with his throat, his jaws, his tongue, and his stomach. With loud protestations they submit to monstrous cruelties from their keepers, and bite innocent well-meaning people who are like to take an interest in them. They will allow, without anything more than a grunt, their leader to tear open their nostrils with a jerk of the string which is passed through the cartilage; ten to one they will spit at you spitefully if you approach to offer them a piece of bread.

They will march for days, the nose of one fastened to the tail of another in endless procession, and never seek to escape from bondage; and yet the same creatures will gnash their tusks awfully at an unhappy European who ventures to rub their ragged sides. However, they form an institution of India—possibly a part of the traditional policy—and they must be respected accordingly. I had secured for a ridiculous price a palkee gharry belonging to one of the Agra fugitives, drawn by a horse, whose special recommendation was that he had drawn this vehicle thirty miles a-day for several days previously, but who had evidently made up his mind that he had by so doing secured himself an immunity from locomotion for the rest of his natural life. A promise of a mount of an elephant also entered into the consideration of my resources, and I had furthermore the aid of a white mare, which I had bought for a high price at Cawnpore. I only enumerate these matters, as they may enable one to judge of the paraphernalia of the march in India; and I have not as yet said one word of the two other camels which were appointed to carry my tent. Under the eaves of that tent had gathered a strange population: they came as sparrows come to a house, without the knowledge or consent of the owner; but the analogy fails in other respects except noise, because the natives require to be paid. There are two men who belong to the tent-post, as in England certain gentlemen belong to horses; then there is a man to carry water, who belongs to a large skin to contain that liquid; next there is a cleaner or sweeper; then there is a *khitmutgur* (or servant), and there is his and my master, one Simon—an 'an assizes man' he says himself, but he only means that he is a follower of St. Francisco d'Assisi; and then follow camel-keepers, and horse-keepers, and grass-cutters, so that I feel very much as Sancho did in his government of Barrataria.

"On the morning of the 27th, soon after midnight, commenced a tumult in camp, the like of which I never heard before; first began a loud tapping of all the tent-pegs, as if an army of gigantic woodpeckers were attacking us. This was caused by the *kélassies* (or tent-men) loosening the tent-pegs, so that they might be drawn easily from the ground when the word "to march" was given. Then followed a most hideous, grumbling, growling, roaring noise, as if



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many thousands of aldermen were choking all at once, only that it was kept up for hours; that was caused by the camels objecting to the placement of the smallest article on their backs, and continuing their opposition till they stalked off with their loads. Then came the trumpeting of elephants, the squeaking of bullock-cart wheels, the hum and buzz of thousands of voices, and at last the first bugle-call, which announced that the time for turning-out had arrived. Daylight was still striving with the moonlight for mastery, and casting a sort of neutral tint over the camping-ground, on which blazed the flames of many watch-fires, when the heads of our columns began to cross the bridge of boats at Cawnpore. There was but a waste of baked earth where, at sunset, had been a camp—only a few tents belonging to the commander-in-chief and the head-quarters' staff, were left behind; and for hours the bridge echoed to the tramp of men and horses, the rumble of artillery, and to the tread of innumerable elephants and camels and oxen. The Ganges is at this season at its lowest, and the bridges are not, I should think, more than 300 yards long; one is used for the exit, the other for the entrance of Cawnpore. They lead to a level sandy plain, overflowed by the Ganges for several hundred yards in the rainy season, on which there were now moving, as far as the eye could reach, the strings of baggage animals and the commissariat carts of the army, with their fantastic followers. The road has been much cut up by the passage of artillery, and in some places is only to be distinguished from the land at each side by the flanking line of telegraph-posts. The country, as we go on, is as level as a bowling-green, but on all sides the horizon is bounded by the groves of mangoes. The country is green with early corn; but close to the roadside the presence of our hosts has made itself visible, and the trees are stripped of their branches, and the fields trampled and brown, the young crops being used as food for animals, and the boughs and branches as provender for elephants and camels. The villages by the roadside, built of mud, but rather better than those in Bengal, were deserted and in ruins, and, except in the wake of the army, not a soul was visible. The dust flew in clouds—a light choking powder, which filled eyes and lungs and mouth, and rendered all the senses unpleasant. It was with great satisfaction, therefore, that I learnt, after a

little purgatory of some three and a-half hours, that we were approaching Oonao (pronounced Ohnow), where Havelock fought and beat the enemy on two successive occasions in his advances to Lucknow. It is about eleven miles from Cawnpore, and it presents an irregular outline of mud houses, with high mud walls, which in the distance looked like those of a fortress. Above them peer the minarets of some small mosques, and there are thick groves of mangoes and orchard trees all around it. The road passes it on the left; and in half-an-hour more we saw before us a wide plain, destitute of trees, over which the crowds of vultures and kites that ever follow a camp were wheeling in great flocks, telling us that we were near our resting-place. Through the clouds of dust we could distinguish our tents in the distance, and, passing through multitudes of transport animals and parks of carriages of all sorts, we found our tents all ready for us, each man with his peculiar residence pitched on its own plot of ground, and all the interior apparatus arranged just as it was when he walked out of it in the morning. The mess tent, not the least important of the mansions of this canvas city, was ready also with its crowd of white-robed, black-faced, mute attendants, its curious dishes, and its warmest Allsopp. Camels and hackeries and elephants came pouring in all day till late at night, and the sun set through a thick veil of dust, through which might be seen dimly the fleet of camels steering their course steadily along the line of the main road towards Lucknow.

"Feb. 28th.—This morning was very like yesterday morning: if possible, there was more noise and dust. The first bugles went at two o'clock, and at 3.30 the camp was struck, and the force under Walpole was again in motion. It was a strange scene—not to be described or imagined. The moon was shining brightly on the vast array, which, when in motion, became comparatively silent; but the ground, indeed, thundered with the beat of many feet, and now and then the shrill neigh of a charger provoked a thousand responses. The camels, looming to a gigantic size in the light, passed noiselessly like spectres. As we approached the road—narrow for such a host—the clamour uprose again, and dhoolies, hackeries, ox-carts, and baggage animals became involved in immense confusion, which was not diminished by the efforts of the baggage guard to restore order by com-



mands issued in the vernacular, and enforced now and then by the aid of a musket stock. At last we got into files upon the road, and rode on in clouds of dust. Presently in front we heard the joyous clash of a brass band, playing a quick step, and, getting off the road, we managed to join our old friends of the rifle brigade, and renewed acquaintanceship with talk of old marches in the Crimea. As the sun rose upon one side and the moon set upon the other, the spectacle assumed a weird, unearthly aspect, which not all the hard reality around us could quite destroy. We were marching over historic ground. We trod the very earth which had felt the tread of Havelock and Outram's gallant little columns, and before us were positions made memorable by their valour. Oonao was succeeded by Busheerut-gunge; and at every few hundred yards spots were pointed out, even trees identified, as the places where 'We caught sight of the enemy's sowars,' or 'where Havelock gave the men such a wiggling for straggling a little in the ranks.' Through dust and smothering pillars of pulverised earth we went on; but, fast as we went, we heard that an hour before, Sir Colin, with General Mansfield and a small staff, accompanied by his little escort of irregular horse and a solitary English lancer, had dashed on towards Bunthura. They had started from Cawnpore soon after midnight, and at a swinging gallop had passed through the regiments on the march. It was nearly eight o'clock in the morning when we debouched upon another wide plain, passing the camp of another battalion of the rifle brigade and some Punjabee infantry, and pitched our tents at Nuwabgunge for the day. The heat was very great, and as there was nothing to see but clouds of dust, nothing to feel but dust—dust everywhere, in eyes, in nose, on clothes, in tea, on plates, on meat and bread, in water, in the tent, outside the tent,—I was glad of a fit of fatigue which enabled us to sleep through several hours of the fervour of the sun.

"March 1st.—First bugle at 2 A.M. Second bugle at three. Turn out. The same noise, and more dust. The moon, however, was barred with black clouds this time, and half the stars were covered with a veil, through which flashed the lightnings incessantly. A storm was gathering rapidly; and scarcely were the tents down and we half a mile away, when the thunder was rolling over us, and the pattering of rain was heard on

the ground. There was a sight this morning to enchant and to defy the painter—the sky in one place twinkling, clear, and azure, with stars innumerable; in another, covered with a pall of dense rolling masses scarred incessantly by lightning, through which now and then the moon revealed herself in diminished glory; and, in the east, the horizon just flushing with the first hues of early morning. I was rather rudely disenchanted. My horse, frightened by the lightning, began to take alarm at elephants, at camels, at dhoolies; and at length, tired out by his fretfulness, I determined to give him a good run across the plain. Scarcely had I put spurs into him when I perceived a dark line on the plain in front of me. I tried a pull at his head. I might as well have taken a pull at a locomotive, and so I rode him straight at this dark line, which grew darker and higher as I approached it, and in another instant went smash down into the bottom of a deep trench. As the horse rolled over I managed to get clear of him, and he flew away along the trench till it opened upon the plain, when he dashed off, saddle, bridle, and all. I was so little hurt that I was able in a few minutes to get upon a camel on which was seated an excellent friend of mine, who came to my succour, and so I rode into the camp at Bunthura."

The departure of the commander-in-chief for Lucknow was, as already observed, retarded firstly by the non-arrival of a convoy with a siege train, and a number of women and children from Agra, who were *en route* for Allahabad; and, secondly, by the slow movements of the Ghoorkas under Jung Bahadoor. At length, on the 23rd of February, the convoy, with the long imprisoned and involuntary residents of the fort at Agra, reached Cawnpore, and were received with hearty welcome into the intrenchments near the city, which by that time, had been rendered almost impregnable. These persons were quickly forwarded on their way by the Great Trunk-road to Allahabad, and one great source of anxiety was thus removed from the mind of the commander-in-chief; since for some time previous, the equivocal situation of those ladies and their little ones had been a most embarrassing ingredient in his calculations.*

* Mr. Russell in his graphic delineation of events, gives the following humorous sketch of some of the difficulties Sir Colin Campbell had to contend with



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Various were the opinions in the English camp at this time, as to the probable results of the approaching contest. Some were inclined to believe that the sepoys would fight for their lives when the day of the assault should arrive, with desperation, if not with success, and that the matchlockmen would leave them to fight the dreaded battle alone. Others reversed the hypothesis; but all were agreed that the fight must be one of fierce and exterminating fury on both sides. It was known, as already stated, that intestine feuds raged within the city, and that the councils of the enemy were distracted by the terrible seriousness of the circumstances around them; but the rebel government still maintained some form of order, and held frequent durbars, at which expedients of all kinds were resorted to, to alarm and exasperate the inhabitants against the British rule. Among other measures, placards were posted in all the streets, informing the people that the English had sworn to murder every man, woman, and child in the place, and calling upon them to defend their lives to the last; it being certain that they could not secure safety by cowardice. A report was also promulgated, that the soldiers had received orders to spare no one within the city; and that, very recently, at Meangunge, they had abused, and afterwards killed, all the women whom they found in the place.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 2nd of March, the commander-in-chief, with his personal staff, left the camp at Bunthura,

"At Lucknow he was in a fever at the various small delays which they considered necessary, and, courteous as he is to women, he, for once, was obliged to be 'a little stern' when he found the dear creatures a little unreasonable. In order to make a proper effect, most of the ladies came out in their best gowns and bonnets. Whether 'Betty gave the cheek' a little touch of red or not, I cannot say, but I am assured the array of fashion, though somewhat behind the season, owing to the difficulty of communicating with the Calcutta *modistes*, was very creditable. Sir Colin got fidgety when he found himself made a *maître d'étiquette* and an *arbitre morum* among piles of bandboxes, 'best bonnets,' and 'these few little clothes trunks;' but he sustained his position with unflinching fortitude, till, at length, when he thought he had 'seen the last of them' out of the place, two young ladies came trippingly in, whisked about the residency for a short time, and then, with nods and smiles, departed, saying graciously, 'We'll be back again presently.' 'No ladies, no; you'll be good enough to do nothing of the kind,' exclaimed he; 'you have been here quite long enough, I am sure, and I have had quite enough trouble in getting you out of it. The Agra ladies ought to have been ready long ago. They

and marched towards Lucknow, taking with him the whole of the 2nd division, under Major-general Lugard,* and the cavalry force (with the exception of some small parties and detachments on duty with the camp). On the following day, the Dilkoosha was occupied, after a slight effort at resistance, in which Colonel Little was wounded; and here the chief established his head-quarters, while the several brigadiers brought their troops to the assigned positions. On the 6th of the month, Major-general Sir James Outram, leaving the Alumbagh under sufficient protection, crossed the Goomtee with 6,000 men and thirty guns, by two pontoon bridges thrown over the river for the purpose, and entered upon a very careful and leisurely *reconnaissance* of the country between the bridge and the village of Chinhut, being closely watched by the scouts of the enemy, who hung like a cloud on his left flank. Leaving Chinhut on the left, he advanced for about three miles along the Fyzabad-road, intending, after he had selected his camping ground, to make a detour on the right, and reconnoitre Maryon, the old cantonments of Lucknow, where two divisions of the enemy were reported to be stationed. Before this, however, could be accomplished, the force was attacked by the enemy, who were driven off with considerable loss. The English division suffered little, numerically; but Major Smith, of the queen's bays, a gallant officer, was amongst the slain upon the occasion. On attempting a forward

were warned over and over again, but—Well, it's the old story! It is rather a joke—too common to be appreciated—to keep a husband waiting while 'one is putting on one's bonnet;' but when the cares of the toilette prove an obstacle which an army cannot overcome, which frustrate strategic combinations, delay great sieges, and affect the fortunes of a whole campaign, it is sufficient to make generals, at all events, wish that good Mother Eve's earlier style was now in fashion among her daughters.

* This division consisted of the 3rd and 4th brigades of the army of Oude, and comprised the 38th, 42nd, 53rd, and 93rd regiments; part of the 34th and the 4th regiments of Punjab rifles. Most of the regiments were in a highly efficient state, but the highlanders were most conspicuous, not only for their costume but for their steady and martial air, on parade and in the field. An eye-witness says of the latter corps—"As they marched off in the early grey of the morning, with the pipes playing 'The Campbells are coming,' one caught a vision of the interior of Lucknow through the dancing sheen of their arms; the chief inspected them and seemed proud of his countrymen;" and it was only natural he should be so.



movement, a second attack was made, which was repulsed with still greater loss; the cavalry pursuing and sabring some hundreds of the fugitive rebels. It was, by this time, late in the day, and as the men had been under arms since three in the morning; it was resolved to bivouac for the night, on the plain of Chinhut, which, on the 30th of the preceding June, had been the scene of the late Sir Henry Lawrence's defeat, through the treachery of his native artillery drivers.*

The night passed without annoyance from the enemy, but early on the following morning, they again made their appearance, and after half-an-hour's fighting, were driven off, multitudes of them being cut up by the lancers in their flight. Major-general Outram then marched upon, and invested the Chukkur Kothi, or King's Race-house; but as the place was commanded by the enemy's guns, it was not considered tenable until a breaching battery against the city could be established. In the afternoon of the 8th, another attack was made by the enemy with the usual result, and the same day the commander-in-chief visited the camp at Chinhut, to ascertain personally the state of affairs across the river. The duty of further *reconnaissance* now devolved upon General Hope Grant, who made a wide sweep to the north-east, but encountered no resistance; and in his absence Sir James Outram was again attacked by the enemy in great force, who were driven off, but not before they had inflicted serious loss upon the English troops. The next day (the 9th) the Chukkur Kothi was carried by Sir James, with all the buildings and gardens round it; an exploit by which he was enabled to turn and enfilade the canal which formed the first great line of works of the enemy. The principal casualties resulting to the British force upon this occasion, occurred in the pursuit of the sepoys through the dark rooms and passages of the buildings, as the latter from their hiding places, could see their pursuers advance, and fire at them before they were aware of their danger. While Outram was thus dealing with the enemy from across the river on the 9th, Sir Colin Campbell advanced from the Dilkoosha, and captured, with trifling loss, and but slight opposition, the Martinière. On the 11th, General Outram pushed his advance as far as the iron bridge, and established batteries by which he commanded the

passage of the stone bridge also, and on the afternoon of the same day, the begum's palace was stormed by a brigade of the 93rd highlanders, the 4th Punjab infantry, and 1,000 Ghoorkas, all of whom behaved with great gallantry. Major Hodson, who had rendered himself conspicuous as the captor and prompt executioner of the Delhi princes, accompanied the storming party as a volunteer, and was wounded in the stomach by a grape shot, from the effects of which he died on the 12th, to the great regret of the whole army. The Imaumbarra, a magnificent building erected by a former king of Oude to the memory of the twelve patriarchs of the Mohammedan faith, and which had been converted into a formidable stronghold, was breached and stormed at nine A.M. on the 14th; and the storming columns pursued their advantage so closely, that they entered the Kaiserbagh with the flying enemy, and after a very inconsiderable resistance, obtained possession of it. This palace had been looked upon by the Oude troops as their citadel, which they were bound to defend to the last extremity, and it had consequently been strongly fortified with defensive works, and was mined in all directions. It, however, fell before the impetuous onslaught of the British troops, and its loss so much disheartened the enemy, that they seemed to abandon any idea of further resistance; throughout the night the discomfited rebels streamed out of the city by the stone bridge, and great multitudes of the inhabitants with their property, managed also to escape; but that means of exit was speedily closed to them, and Brigadier Hope Grant, with the whole of the cavalry and horse artillery, on the left bank of the river, was ordered to pursue the fugitives, some thousands of whom, nevertheless, managed to escape in the directions of Sundeela, Seetapore, and Fyzabad, to the infinite chagrin of our troops. On the 16th, Sir James Outram received instructions to clear the Chuttur Munzil, Motee Mahal, the ruins of the Residency, and the iron and stone bridges, on the right bank of the river; and Douglas's brigade, consisting of the 79th highlanders, 23rd Welsh fusiliers, and the 1st Bengal fusiliers, were marched across the river by the floating bridge below the Badshabagh, and with artillery and a portion of the 4th dragoons in support, took up ground near the begum's palace, till the moment came for the attack. A

* See ante, p. 6.



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heavy bombardment and fire were maintained from daybreak on the 16th, on portions of the city near the stone bridge, and a rumour spread that the begum had appealed to Sir James Outram to suspend his proceedings, in reply to which she was invited to come in and surrender herself to the government; and at the same time, facilities were offered to her for compliance, by suspending the attack upon the stone bridge, that it might not endanger her movements; but as the morning advanced, it became evident that her majesty either could not, or would not trust herself into the hands of the English generals. The hour at length arrived for active operations, and the troops pressed on, but most of the buildings in which the rebels were expected to be met with, had been abandoned, and they had retreated to houses beyond the ruins of the residency, and close to the south side of the iron bridge, which they appeared inclined to defend. The houses and palaces between the iron and stone bridges, being also occupied by them in force; the line of march lay through the same buildings by which Sir Colin Campbell had, a few months before, led out the garrison of Lucknow; and the courts and halls of palace after palace, echoed to the tread of the avenging phalanx, as the grim stern British soldiery threaded the mazes of the Lall Bagh, the Furra Buksh, and Chuttur Munzil, until at length they came out upon a large space in front of the Bailly Guard, whose pierced gateway, one shattered turret, and some tottering walls, were mere heaps of rubbish, surrounded by the remains of a trench. As the troops emerged from the Chuttur Munzil, they found the 20th regiment waiting for them, in reserve, in case they were needed. The residency grounds, and the iron bridge, were quickly in the possession of the troops, who then turned their guns against the stone bridge, across which the enemy, horse and foot, men, women and children, were still endeavouring to escape. Passing the Muchee Bowun, a fine building which was blown up by Sir Henry Lawrence to clear ground for his guns, the troops entered a broad avenue with magnificent arched gateways, and turning sharp to the left, came in front of the Imaumbarra, a grand and simple fronted edifice with a noble mosque, ample squares, and magnificent flights of marble steps, broad esplanades, and gardens once sparkling with fountains. After a short pause, only

interrupted by an occasional shot, from individuals secreted in the various nooks of the building, the men of the 79th regiment proceeded to install themselves in the great saloon, and the whole structure was at their mercy. The day's proceedings were most satisfactory, and by midnight the whole of the city along the river's bank, was in the hands of the British. Up to this period it was computed that upwards of eighty guns had been captured, and at least 3,000 of the enemy had fallen.

On the morning of the 17th, Sir James Outram received instructions to endeavour to take possession of a large isolated building near the river, on the extreme west of the city; and his column thereupon proceeded without interruption through the streets, until the object was accomplished. At the same time Jung Bahadoor's troops were advancing from the south: but were stoutly opposed by the enemy, who, with a considerable force of infantry and guns, and some horse, suddenly advanced to attack the Ghoorkas, and after a hard fight, took up a strong position in their front. The Jung, however, turned their flank and put them to flight with great loss, capturing ten guns. By this fortunate result, Sir James Outram was enabled to open communications halfway across the city, and measures were at once taken to check the plunder and outrages of the camp followers, for which purpose the following order was issued by the commander-in-chief:—

"Twenty-five men of her majesty's 9th lancers under a sub-officer are immediately to be sent into the town for the purpose of checking plundering. The party will be under the orders of Brigadier-general Lugard, to whom the officer will report himself.

"With a still further view of checking plundering, Brigadier-general Lugard will send out strong patrols continually, day and night, until the present license ceases. These patrols are to be commanded by officers."

During this day a deplorable accident, which involved the death or disabling of many brave men, who had escaped injury in their encounters with the enemy, occurred from an explosion of gunpowder, under the following unfortunate circumstances. By Sir James Outram's orders, several thousand pounds of powder, a part in tin cases, and the remainder in skins, were carried in carts to a deep well, for the purpose of being thrown to the bottom of it, to be out of the way of mischief. As the first case



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was thrown down, a rush of fire burst from the well, and blew up the cases in the nearest cart; the explosion, with the swiftness of lightning, leaped from cart to cart, singeing and burning all the men engaged in the duty. Two officers, Captain Eliot Brownlow, B.E., and Captain Clarke, R.E., with sixteen European sappers and thirty Sikhs, were carried to the hospital tents, and several Sikhs were also killed on the spot. Of this hapless party all died.

On the 17th, it was announced in orders, that Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, K.C.B., would leave the camp on medical certificate. His mental and physical energies had been prostrated by incessant labour and fatigue before Delhi, and a fall from his horse, on the day the Martinière was taken, so much shook his frame, that he was reluctantly compelled to resign his command. On the following day (the 18th), the Ghoorkas, under the command of Jung Bahadoor, advanced from their position; and, in the face of a tremendous fire, penetrated into and occupied the suburb adjacent to the Charbagh bridge. By this operation, which was effected with a gallantry that elicited the warm encomium of the commander-in-chief, the Ghoorkas obtained possession of an important quarter of the town lying between the palaces and the canal, and added seventeen guns, of various calibre, to the trophies already won from the disheartened and despairing rebels. This advantage, moreover, was obtained with scarcely any loss to the captors. It was immediately after this success, that one of those interesting episodes occurred which were of so frequent occurrence during the war of the revolt, and it arose under the following circumstances.

Of the many individuals who were missing from bereaved European families at different periods of the insurrection, several remained for many months undiscovered, while wandering from place to place, in hourly peril, or enduring an imprisonment more terrible than death, in the scattered strongholds of their vindictive enemies. Rumour, fitful and vague, would occasionally reach the European garrisons, that one or other of the mourned was still in existence; but for many of the lost ones hope had been long extinct. Among such, for a considerable period, were a party of English officials and their families, who had barely escaped with life from the outbreak at Seetapore, on the 3rd of June, 1857.*

The fugitives comprised the civil commissioner of Seetapore, Mr. Christian, with his wife and infant daughter; Sir Mountstuart Jackson and two sisters; Captain Patrick Orr, his wife and daughter; Lieutenant Burnes, Sergeant-major Morton, and the wife and children of a European sergeant, who was absent with a detachment at the time. The heroic conduct, and chivalrous self-denial of Lieutenant Burnes, in his noble but vain efforts to save the little girl (Christian), whose father had been cruelly murdered by the mutineers, is already upon record,† and will be admired so long as heroism and manly feeling are appreciated on earth. Sir Mountstuart Jackson, in his flight, had two sisters to protect. The eldest, a beautiful girl, was separated from him in the first confusion of the outbreak, and was carried off with some other European ladies to a fort of one of the Oude chiefs. Sir M. Jackson himself, his youngest sister, Captain Patrick Orr, Mrs. Orr and infant, Lieutenant Burnes, Sergeant-major Morton, and Miss Christian, were taken by Lonee Singh, a powerful zemindar in Oude, to his stronghold at Mitawlee. The unfortunate Captain Orr, who, in former days, had been a personal friend of Lonee Singh, to the extent of becoming his surety for rents due to the late king, amounting to a lac of rupees (£10,000), naturally looked for gentlemanly treatment from one so much indebted to him for past kindness; but the first act of the ruffian, on getting possession of his victims, was to put the whole of the men in irons, although the wife of Captain Orr fell at the feet of the ingrate, and endeavoured to recall to his memory the obligation he owed to her husband. Subsequently the rigour and torment of captivity in his hands became unendurable, and two of the gentlemen (Jackson and Burnes) were goaded to madness. Their gaoler was engaged in a work of extermination, and no pleading could divert him from his purpose. At length, after subjecting his prisoners to the most brutal treatment for several weeks, Lonee Singh sold them to the begum for 8,000 rupees; and they were accordingly transferred to the custody of that personage, whose cruelty was not less vindictive than that of their former tormentor. The prisoners were now separated, although the whole party were confined in the palace at Lucknow. Here, at the first sound of the guns of Sir Colin Campbell, in November,

* See vol. i., p. 203.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

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the unfortunate gentlemen were brought from their prison-house, and murdered; while the victorious shouts of the relieving troops yet rang in their ears. This atrocious act was perpetrated at the instigation of the moulvie of Fyzabad, whose forfeited life had been spared at the outset of the rebellion, on the strength of some legal informality, and who thus displayed his gratitude to the countrymen of his preservers. The ladies were, now upon the intercession of Maun Singh, removed from their first prison, and placed in charge of officers belonging to the household of the begum, but were still supposed to be confined in an apartment of the palace. At length, by an accident, information was received of the existence of one of the ladies, and a communication was opened by means of the vakeel of the brother of Captain Orr, who was in the garrison at Alumbagh. Through this person Mrs. Orr wrote to her brother-in-law, to describe her condition, and appeal for his aid. This lady stated that she had been compelled to adopt native clothing, and, with her child, and Miss Jackson, were shut up in an apartment so low, that they could only sit or lie down in it. She expressed her gratitude for the kindness with which Maun Singh had protected them so long as he could do so, and for the efforts he had promised to make for their liberation; but she wrote as fearing the worst.

Almost immediately after the successful attack of Jung Bahadoor upon the Charbagh, two of the British officers attached to the Ghoorka force, Captain McNeill, Bengal artillery, and Lieutenant Boyle, of the same corps, set out to explore some deserted streets in front of their advanced posts, when they were encountered by a native, who said he was one of Sir James Outram's *employés*, and besought their protection for his house and property. In the course of conversation, he mentioned, incidentally, that he knew where the English ladies were confined, and offered to point out the place. Almost immediately afterwards, another native appeared, and presented two notes; one from Mrs. Orr, the other from Miss Jackson, imploring immediate succour, as their enemies were making search for them. The officers at once returned to the nearest Ghoorka post, and called for volunteers. Forty or fifty willing fellows stepped out of the ranks; and, with the native before them, as a guide, started off at a rapid pace to the rescue. They proceeded for more

than half a mile through the silent, winding streets, expecting, at every turn, to receive a volley; and at length came to a house apparently shut up and abandoned. "This is the house," said the guide. The door was instantly burst open; and at the noise of the entering party, the owner, Meer Wajeed Ali, a daroga of the court, made his appearance; and learning the object of the intruders, began to stipulate upon terms; but Captain McNeill cut the affair short, by demanding the instant and unconditional production of the European ladies in his custody. Finding that to procrastinate was simply to bring a dozen kookrees in unpleasant contact with his throat, the daroga led the officers to an obscure and miserable apartment, wherein two ladies, in oriental costume, had shrunk terrified into a dark corner. At the unexpected sound of the question, "Are you the English ladies, and do you wish to leave this place?" those to whom it was addressed were not able to reply from excessive joy; and for a short time, they were speechless with thankfulness and emotion. But there was no time to be lost, as the Moulvie and his followers were known to be searching for them. The ladies, clad as they were, descended to the street, and were about to be placed on the horses belonging to the two officers, when Captain McNeill observed a palanquin in the court of the house. At the moment the ladies approached, some budmashes, with drawn swords, sallied from an adjacent building, to attack the party; but a few shots from a revolver, and the knives of the Ghoorkas, speedily put an end to this obstruction; and six of the daroga's retainers being impressed for the service of palanquin bearers, the ladies, escorted by a part of the volunteer force engaged in their rescue, moved rapidly off, the speed of the bearers being greatly accelerated by the ready bayonets around them; and thus, in a short time, they reached the advanced post of the Ghoorkas, and were in safety.

The two ladies were shortly afterwards comfortably lodged in a house near Banks' bungalow, in the old residency; but, for a long time, they showed, by anxious and agitated demeanour, the prostrating effects of their long captivity. Their lives had, indeed, been spared, but they were watched night and day by armed guards, who did not refrain from using gross and insulting language towards them, and whose constant delight it was to tell them of the outrages



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[LIGHT IN DARKNESS.]

and massacres which were taking place throughout India, before and during the period of their captivity. Their lives had been, doubtless, preserved by order of the daroga, that he might secure his personal safety, in case the British became masters of the city; and for this purpose, he had contrived, at a late period of the attack, to have them secreted in his house; where, day by day, they lived in expectation of death by torture, or even a worse fate.

Upon this interesting subject, it may be permitted to refer to a letter published in the *Bombay Standard*. The communication from which the extract is taken, is dated "Lucknow, March the 20th;" and its authority is vouched for:—"But how shall I essay to convey to you an idea of the feelings which the recovery of our dear captives has caused me? With Mrs. Orr I was not acquainted: but you know the obligations under which I lie to Mr. Jackson, and the deep, tender affection which both my wife and myself bore to his dear nephew and nieces. When the disturbances commenced, Sir Henry Lawrence, who had insisted on our continuing to live with *him*, when Mr. Jackson left, authorised us to send for the girls, Mrs. Christian, and one or two others, and planted escorts for them on the road. But, alas! our letters never reached them. The Seetapore mutiny had broken out. Christian and Mrs. Christian were murdered, and Mountstuart and his dear sisters were fugitives. The two girls got separated. The sweet, gentle, fragile Georgina was taken in charge by John Hearsey, and after much dreadful suffering, was, with other prisoners, cruelly murdered within sight of the residency. We saw the deed from the residency turrets, but knew not who were the victims on the 23rd of September—dear Madeline—that bright-eyed, light-hearted, merry, loving Madeline—after still more fearful dangers, sufferings, and privations, was brought along with Mrs. Orr, Sir Mountstuart, young Burnes, Captain P. Orr, little Sophy Christian, and little Missy Orr, into the Kaiserbagh, on the 26th of October. On the 17th of November, the gentlemen were executed; and since then, who shall tell the anguish of the ladies? Poor little Sophy Christian succumbed at length; she died of fever. Dear little Louisa Orr was got out on the 4th of this month, and the two poor ladies alone remained. I cannot master my feelings sufficiently to tell you at present of all

they had to endure. Suffice it to say that—barring the *last* outrage—they were subjected to almost every indignity that a set of cowardly, black-hearted, and foul-mouthed devils could offer. But God was with the dear creatures in their captivity. He sent his Holy Spirit to console them; most marvellously did he interpose all his almighty power in their behalf on one occasion. Their greatest privation was that of God's Word: their Bibles had been taken from them. In vain had they endeavoured to procure even a Testament; and they were compelled to rely on their memories for their scriptural exercises. At length, in answer to their reiterated and earnest entreaties for a little medicine for poor little Sophy Christian, a powder was sent, wrapped up in a small dirty piece of paper, torn from the corner of an English book. To our dear friends, the smallest scrap of print was indeed a treat; and, on examining it, they found it to be literally a God-send. It contained verses 12 and 13, and part of verse 14, of the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah; these are the blessed words that their God thus miraculously sent to our dear countrywomen in their extremity: "I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man, that shall be made as grass? And forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor. The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed," &c. Have you, in the whole course of your life, seen or read of a more wonderful instance of God speaking to and comforting His elect in the midst of their tribulation? I confess, that were I to read of such a thing in a newspaper, or even in a religious biography, I would not believe it. But as surely as I pen these words—as surely as I shall have to answer God at the great day, I have seen and read, and with grateful adoration kissed, the blessed fragment of God's word above quoted, which carried comfort to our dear friends in the Kaiserbagh, and sustained their faith at a time hell had put forth its whole powers to induce them to curse God and die. I rejoice to say that, though weak, and not altogether free from ailment, the dear, noble-minded creatures are likely, in a few weeks, to recover their former health and vigour. May that All-merciful Being who has hither-

to so wonderfully preserved and sustained them, continue to watch over their comings in and their goings out. I can write no more. I am quite beside myself with joy. And yet it all appears to me so like a dream, that I am constantly going over to see them, to be certain there is no delusion."

The following series of extracts from the letters of officers in the camp of the commander-in-chief, supply many interesting facts, and will form a continuous narrative of important events connected with the recapture of Lucknow. The first extract is from a communication dated the 10th of March, in which the writer says:—"We took the Martinière yesterday almost without a struggle and with very little loss, some eight or nine killed and wounded. The enemy may more properly be said to have run out of it, than to have been driven out of it, for they never allowed our men to come near them. No guns were captured, nor were many dead bodies found, either in the Martinière or in the line of earthworks in its rear, which also fell into our hands. The game seems to be up with the sepoys. They give us no trouble. The only sign of vitality they exhibit is the keeping up a wild, irregular, ill-directed, harmless fire of cannon, musketry, and matchlocks. Our movement to advance, is invariably their signal to retreat. Captain Peel, R. N., was wounded yesterday in the batteries, a flesh wound in the upper part of the thigh. With General Outram's force, which is making great progress on the other side, i.e. the cantonment side of the river, one officer, Major Smith, of the 2nd Dragoon guards has been killed, and one, viz., Captain St. George of the Bengal fusiliers, dangerously wounded. If we are to credit some of our camp quidnuncs, Outram has got into the Residency, but the more cautious put it down as a shave. General Franks arrived on the 4th of March, having had a slight skirmish with the rebels, whom his skirmishers pursued into a small fort, in attempting to take which Ensign Smith, H. M. 97th, was mortally wounded. His (General Franks') officers speak highly of the skill with which he handles his men. Jung Bahadoor, it is expected, will arrive to-morrow. Lucknow will soon be in our possession."

The following extract is from a letter, dated Lucknow, March 11th, from an officer with Brigadier Franks' column:—"I must write to you to-night, although I am

quite tired, having been out the greater part of the day, and have to be up again early, as we go to picket at the Secunderbagh to-morrow morning, and will most likely be there all day and the following night. The siege is going on vigorously, and to-day we took the begum's palace, after an obstinate resistance by Pandey. His position was surprisingly strong, and good soldiers alone could have done what was performed to-day in so short a time. The 93rd had the brunt of it, and steady good fellows they are. All praise to them; their loss, I fear, has been heavy. As our guns galloped up into action, we saw a string of dhoolies going away, two of the Highlanders put their heads out and hurraed, calling out, 'Go at them.' The musketry firing was very heavy; our men cheered and went at the place in good earnest, but were received by volleys from loopholes, that did not, however, prevent them from tumbling down a deep and wide trench encircling the place, and scrambling up on the other side, and going in wherever there was an opening. The brutes had an eighteen-pounder just beyond, which commanded the road and stopped our progress. One of our guns was sent for, and afterwards two heavy guns of the naval brigade came and silenced the fire; but we were all the time under heavy musketry fire, and the place was taken when we left. The Secunderbagh was taken without opposition. I hear Pandey's picket marched to occupy it at the same time as ours did, the former politely giving us possession by taking to their heels. Poor Hodson of the irregular horse, who guaranteed, it is said, the king of Delhi's life, was mortally wounded; he was brave to a fault, as most of our irregular cavalry officers are. It is amusing to hear some old officers talk of days gone by, and what they have done, and the men of their day could do. I think there is as much pluck in the British officer now as there ever was. Two officers of the 93rd, I am sorry to say, were killed. The shelling and firing are going on, and will doubtless continue night and day. The Pandies, it is said, are bolting to Rohilcund; at any rate, from to-day's resistance enough must be left to fight it out. The Kaiserbagh is reported to be strongly entrenched and fortified, and there Pandey will make his last stand. I believe it is to undergo shelling from all our heavy guns. The rebels have fortified themselves well in every direction, and with pluck could defy us, but the cheer



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[OUTRAM'S MOVEMENTS.]

and dash are too much for the gentle Hindoo, whose heart then begins to fail him. He likes the old adage, 'He that fights and runs away, lives to fight another day.' The begum, it is said, intends to defend her palace to the last."

The next communication is dated the 12th March:—"Outram's force has cleared all the other side of the river as far as the stone bridge, and his guns and mortars, by firing into the enemy's defences in flank and reverse, have been of the greatest possible use to the commander-in-chief's force on its advance to the different posts. There has been an almost incessant cannonade for the last three days and nights, and it is still going on. The chief yesterday evening had got as far as the Shah Mujif, and this morning has, I fancy, taken the Motee Mahal, but I don't know this for certain. Yesterday afternoon the 93rd highlanders and 4th Sikhs, advanced with deafening cheers and a tremendous musketry fire, and took a place called the Begum's Palace, a little in advance of Banks' House. It was an immensely strong place, with three lines of loopholed walls, and a large ditch. About fifty of the sepoys (some of the 22nd amongst the number) were killed here, the others having bolted. Major McDonald of the 93rd was killed, and another officer of the same regiment, of the name of Sergison. You will be sorry to hear that poor Moorsom was shot dead at the head of the iron bridge yesterday afternoon. Hodson has been very badly hit through the groin, and I believe Dale has been sent for, and gone to supply his place, he taking the Chukkur Kotee on the 9th. Six Pandies, who could not escape, defended the lower rooms, and killed Anderson of the Sikhs, and Lieutenant George of the 1st Bengal fusiliers, besides four privates of the same, and two Sikhs, and wounded five others, total thirteen, before they were themselves polished off. Outram's force is too weak to leave a party at the stone bridge (his head-quarters being at present at the Chukkur Kotee) but he has left cavalry to the westward of the old cantonment to intercept any who may try to escape in that direction, *via* the stone bridge. He surprised the camp of a chief (I forget his name) who was on his way to Lucknow, killed some of his men, and captured two of his guns near the Gaon ghât, far beyond the stone bridge. Jung Bahadoor is, or was with the commander-in-chief, but I

have no idea where his forces are, Franks' Ghorkas are encamped at different places between Dilkoosha and Jellalabad, some of them also hold Banks' house. Brasyer's Sikhs and the 84th hold the Dilkoosha; the 32nd and 8th, and Blunt's battery arrived here yesterday morning."

Another letter, also dated the 12th March, says:—"There have only been two casualties to-day in our whole force, I believe, but the operations of the day have consisted chiefly in battering away with the heavy guns at the Motee Mahal and mess-house defence. There is a report here that the mess-house has been taken, but I don't think it is the case. General Outram's force on the other side, has been of the greatest service, by taking all the enemy's defences in flank or reverse. It will cross by the stone bridge, and possibly make for the Residency. It has a heavy battery at the iron bridge, to command the stone bridge; it has also two other heavy batteries, and one mortar battery, at different posts along the bank of the Goomtee. The chief's force has a mortar battery at the Begum's Palace, which was stormed yesterday evening by the 93rd highlanders, and 4th Punjabees. It is about 800 yards from the Kaiserbagh. Poor Hodson died this afternoon, from the effect of the wound he unfortunately received yesterday. There has been an almost incessant war of cannon for the last three days and nights, and at this minute the mortars are firing away as hard as they can. The Pandies are becoming compressed within the limits of their defences around the Kaiserbagh, and it is only to be hoped that Outram's force may be enabled to cut off their retreat into the city, and then there will be no escape for them. I am afraid, however, that many of them will bolt in the course of to-night and to-morrow. The road to the westward is open to them; we are doing all we can with our cavalry, to prevent escape from, or supplies being taken into the city, by our left, and as for three to four miles within which distance the old Cawnpore road is, they will be well looked after. They have shown a very strong disposition to attack us here all to-day, and after repeated rounds of shrapnell being sent amongst them they dispersed both this morning and this evening. They are not nearly so strong in one point as they were, and have removed most of their guns. We are much reduced in strength, having only three regiments (weak) of infantry, but we



are strong in artillery, and have about 1,400 sabres. This would be a good strong force, if it was not that we have to protect a front of about three miles."

Writing under date the 13th March, this writer adds:—"Showers of shells poured into the Kaiserbagh all night long, and a tremendous hammering at the mess-house going on all this morning. The Ghoorkas are closing in a good deal towards the city. Another regiment (the Madras fusiliers) ordered away from this, and two squadrons of the 7th hussars sent here. All the ammunition ordered up to the front. Harwood, of the 1st Madras fusiliers (General Outram's extra aide-de-camp), wounded. Altogether about 200 of our men *hors de combat*, and fourteen or fifteen officers hit."

The state of the commander-in-chief's camp at the Alumbagh on the 2nd of March, is thus described:—"The troops are in a first-rate condition, and well supplied by the commissariat, but their accommodation is not so good, twenty men having to sleep in tents warranted to hold only sixteen. But in this latter respect they are better off than many of the officers who are without tents of any description, and who have to provide shelter for themselves out of a few piles, some mud, and straw. The brave Sir Colin is described as being worse off, in the way of accommodation, than any of his men, and as sharing all the privations to which the lowest in rank are subject. Conduct like this cannot be too much admired, but (if the accounts which have been published are true) his recklessness in exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, cannot be too much censured, for his life is far too valuable to be thus needlessly endangered. It is said that when remonstrated with, he coolly replies, the rebels are such miserable shots, that there is no danger, and that he rides, if possible, slower than before past the point of danger. The walls of Lucknow are said to be covered with rebel proclamations, calling on the Mussulmans to massacre every Feringhee, and reminding the Hindoos of the contempt with which the English regard their caste notions, holding as they do that the prince and the scavenger are equal in the sight of God. It is reported that Rajah Balkishen, the finance minister under the administration of the king, is dead."

A communication dated "Camp Dilkoo-sha, March 13th," says—Our present position is as follows:—Sir Colin holds the

Mess-house, Motee Mahal, Shah Nujeeb Mosque, Barracks, Begum's Palace, and Banks' House on the right bank of the river; on the left bank, Sir James Outram is advanced to the stone bridge. The Ghoorka camp extends from Jellalabad to the Dilkoo-sha. The Kaiserbagh is a large range of mosques and palaces, covering as much ground, I should think, as Windsor Castle, and is intrenched on all sides. However, the range of works already taken without a struggle is so enormous that it is supposed there will be little fighting. The amount of labour Blackie has thrown away is perfectly marvellous; the loop-holing itself is prodigious, and notwithstanding all this, no resistance has as yet been made, except at the Begum's Palace. We are to have, I believe, eighty heavy guns and mortars concentrated on the Kaiserbagh to-day.

"Alumbagh, March 15th.—Just a few lines to inform you that the 'Kaiserbagh' was taken yesterday morning, with a loss on our side of fourteen killed and wounded. Brazier, of the Sikhs, among the latter. A lot of guns captured, most of them honey-combed. The city will soon be in our possession now. Poor Hodson was killed four days ago, whilst charging a battery with the infantry; he volunteered his services. Moorsom was also killed, he was on Outram's staff; both good men and true. Two officers of the 98th killed also. The 18th and 32nd, and Blunt's 9-pounder battery, came up as the 9th, but were speedily ordered back again to Cawnpore, for some reason or other. The Sikhs had been driven into Cawnpore by the Calpee lot; so I hear. An officer from Cawnpore arrived with despatches for Outram two days ago. Heavy cannonading has been going on for some days. Captain Peel is wounded. A good many men of the 98th blown up by a mine—convoys still arriving. The enemy are dispirited, and do not fight pluckily. Outram is living in the 'Chukkur Kotee,' weather getting hot, over a hundred degrees in the shade. There ought to be lots of loot in Lucknow. Can you inform me why the jewels and other valuables, to the amount of a crore of rupees, are not given as prizes to the garrison of Lucknow and Havelock's force, according to the order of General Sir James Outram to that effect, who appointed prize-agents for that purpose?"

"Lucknow, March 17th.—On Tuesday,



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INDIAN MUTINY.

[CORRESPONDENCE.]

the 9th of March, the second division entered Lucknow, or, I may say, got some way into the 'West end,' and the commander-in-chief attacking the Martinière, found it deserted; the immense earthen ramparts, with a ditch deeper than that of the 'Redan' (so the Crimean men say), forsaken. Our flank movement entirely dumfounded the enemy, who, when they saw our column marching from Dilkoosa to their tents, must have made up their minds to desert a line of works which they knew were no longer tenable. Their knowledge of the art of war, instead of having been of much use to them, has been a perfect snare. Their parapets have been pierced for embrasures, and loopholed for musketry: their ditches have been deep and wide, and the ground for yards in front has been cleared of cover; but they had no flanking defence, and seem never to have understood that, to make a military position of any strength, one work must flank another. But I must give you an account of what the 5th brigade did, as well as I can; for really, so little falls to the notice of a single individual, that although one knows there has been great success, it is difficult to say to what extent it has been carried. We moved down from our camp to Chinbut, for the purpose of attacking the Yellow Bungalow, or Race-stand, the troops to be pushed on as occasion might require. The 1st Bengal fusiliers, and two companies of the 79th highlanders, charged at it in fine style, dashed in with a cheer, and, as usual, our enemies turned tail, leaving some seven or eight men below in a series of vaults, who could not get out, and fired at our men as they came near. Later in the day they were all disposed of after having killed an officer and two men, and wounded nine others. However, the brigade pushed eagerly on. The 23rd fusiliers, as fine a regiment as ever stepped, went far into the place, and the rifle battalion scoured it, nearly, if not quite, up to the iron bridge. The first fusiliers, who are very weak, but up to any work, were for some time kept back in an inclosed ground behind a mosque; but they afterwards went forward, I think. The head-quarters of the 79th highlanders were also on ahead with the 23rd. In the meanwhile, the chief entered on the Martinière side, and the enemy, between his army and ours, retired altogether from the ground between the Dilkoosha and our camp, which, next day, was brought down

to the sands before the Race-house. A picket of the fusiliers, and the 79th, was still kept a little ahead of the Race-house, to guard two guns which played into Lucknow. No guns answered them, but a dropping fire of musketry was kept up from about the Secunderbagh at our men; who, being well under cover, were not hit, I think. Time will not allow me to go into the details of the different buildings we took; but yesterday, the 16th, our brigade went in to attack the residency and buildings there about; for although the principal portion of the inhabitants and mutineers were reported to have left the city on the 14th, yet we know that some 5,000 desperate villains have sworn to die there, and we are determined not to baulk their fancies. The 23rd and 1st fusiliers went into the town (I saw very few Pandies), and pop, pop, was heard going on; and presently the order came for the 79th to advance, which they did. They fired once or twice at that regiment as it passed through the town, but no damage was done. We passed the iron bridge, leaving it on our right, found the houses all deserted, and then down to the Imaumbarra, which is a most splendid place; and there the 1st fusiliers were peppering away at flying Pandies, running over the roof and along the passages. After this (I suppose) the 79th encamped there. The brigade left camp at seven, and did not reach its destination till past four. All our advances were preceded by a heavy fire of artillery, and accordingly we did not lose many men. The palaces and buildings are shattered to pieces, I am sorry to say, and looting goes on all over the place; silk and crockery seem to be about the only things worth taking, though some camp-followers have got bars of gold and shawls; but they soon get looted in turn by the Europeans. It seems to be 'every man for himself.' General Wilson was invested with the K.C.B. to-day, in full open durbar! Musketry has been heard all day; but nearly the whole of the city and all the principal buildings are in our hands.

"Dilkoosha, March 18th.—Outram's operations yesterday were most successful. He cleared all the principal streets about the chowk, occupied Shirreff-u-Dowlah's house, which was found to be highly fortified and full of powder, and advanced close to the Jumma Masjid, which, as I write, is in our possession. I regret to say, however, that



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the gratifying nature of our yesterday's operations was sadly dashed by a terrible accident. The troops came across several waggons of gunpowder, some loose powder in tin cases, some in bags. The waggons were in a narrow lane. General Outram ordered the powder to be well flooded with water, and then carefully thrown into a well in a neighbouring garden. It would have been most dangerous to have attempted to carry it off, as there were several fires on the line of route. Sir James' orders about the sousing of the water were not fully carried out, nor his injunctions as to the care with which the tins and bags should be thrown into the well. One tin case was hurled with violence into the well. It struck the side with force; the powder exploded; a sheet of fire shot up from the well, communicated with the rest of the powder, and a fearful explosion occurred. Some forty-two men suffered. Of five or six not a vestige remained; the rest were burned in the most frightful manner. Their clothes were burnt and blown off their bodies. A European could not be distinguished from a native. It was, they say, a fearful sight to see the naked skinless bodies of our men as they rushed about in indescribable anguish, screaming for water or brandy, and imploring their officers, by the love of Jesus, to shoot them and put them out of agony. Two officers were injured; one mortally, it is feared; the other is sadly disfigured. Several officers, amongst them Captain Weston and Captain Tulloch, had a most wonderful escape. Sir James Outram and his staff, and Brigadier Eyre, had left only about one minute before the explosion. Sir James met a company of the 79th advancing to the place. He changed their route to some other point; and but for this providential accident, they too would have been blown up. The Ghoorkas have taken some eighteen or nineteen guns near the Charbagh. There was a grand investiture of the Bath yesterday. Sir Archdale Wilson and Sir Edward Lugard were invested by the chief; salutes were fired, which rather alarmed the fellows in front. In the evening the chief gave a grand dinner party."

"March 20th.—The operations yesterday were admirably conducted, as regarded our division, and the result most satisfactory. But unfortunately, General Campbell made some mistake in the road, and did not join us at Moosabagh. General Grant found

the river swollen and unfordable, and chafed like a caged lion as he saw us slashing away, much desiring that aid which the state of the Goomtee prevented him rendering. They say that the first oath this brave soldier and good man ever was heard to utter, escaped his lips on that occasion. General Outram had been promised a troop of horse artillery. They sent him, instead, a battery of foot. The royal artillery is awfully slow, and thus many hundreds escaped, who would have been sent to their long account had we had that glorious fellow, Olpherts, with us. Great looting went on during the 17th and 18th, and several Pandies were shot in the different streets and houses where they were concealed; it was dangerous going anywhere; six and eight would be found in a house. I hear several very valuable articles were got by the men and camp-followers. As usual, a prize agent was appointed after all the valuables had been taken away, and he called upon officers to give up what they had. Some men are said to have got bars of gold, gold mohurs, jewels, diamond bracelets, &c. On the 19th, we followed part of Outram's force, and advanced through the remainder of the town, took possession of the Moosabagh, where the enemy had a kind of rearguard, with the begum, whom we were in hopes of catching; she is willing to give herself up, but Pandi wont allow her to come. As usual they bolted; our cavalry cut up a good number; we chased them for about three miles, and took a number of guns, carts, camels, bullocks, &c., and saw numbers of people hiding themselves; the male portion received little mercy, the women and children were allowed to go away. One woman was killed. She shot a lancer dead with a musket from behind a mound. There were two other men there, and they ran her through with their lances. I saw the body. A Pandi of the 21st native infantry was hid in some tall cultivation, and suddenly cut at an officer riding by. Fortunately the stroke missed him, but brought his horse down. The brute was going to cut at the officer, who could not extricate himself from the horse, when four others ran to his rescue with their revolvers, but made such bad shots, that I believe out of twelve shots, not one struck him. Pandi kept going at one, then another with his tulwar, and nearly killed one of our officers, whose horse saved him by going too close to the brute: two or three



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INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE PROPOSED RANSOM.]

CSL

gunners went on him with their swords, and killed the brute; but not before he had severely wounded one of them in three places. People are coming back to the town. Some negotiations seem to be going on. It is said that the town is to be ransomed for two crores of rupees.

"Lucknow, March 22nd.—The town is being gradually cleared of 'budmashes,' and the civil officers are labouring most energetically to encourage the peaceful inhabitants to return to their houses and avocations. But their efforts are much thwarted by the plundering and violence of the camp-followers, whose numbers render them uncontrollable in a large, rambling, straggling city of tortuous streets and intricate lanes like Lucknow. Sir James Outram has, however, obtained Sir Colin Campbell's authority to establish a very strong provost establishment; and it is hoped that a few shootings and hangings may tend to prevent further excesses. The plunder, unfortunately, has not been confined to camp-followers, and there are unpleasant rumours in circulation, which, however, it may be best to refrain from repeating. The 'moulvie' and the 'begum' are reported now to be about thirty miles from Lucknow, endeavouring to reorganise the rebel army. The chief commissionership in Oude has, I believe, been offered to and declined by General McGregor, whose health demands that he should return to Europe. Colonel Edwardes is generally understood to be the chief commissioner designate. From information derived from an authority that is indisputable, there can be no cause to doubt that the ladies lately rescued from captivity were spared outrage. They have been treated with great harshness and indignity, subjected to cruelly severe confinement, imperfectly clad, imperfectly fed, and compelled to listen to the foulest vituperation and abuse. But, luckily, one of them at least was, through her ignorance of the language, spared the pain of understanding the words addressed to them and uttered in their hearing. The darogah, who alone showed them anything approaching to kindness, and all who aided in their escape, have been handsomely rewarded by Sir James Outram; and that officer and Sir Colin Campbell have nobly vied with each other in their kindness to the poor captives.

"Lucknow, March 25th.—Just had a race of about fourteen miles after some

Pandies, who had arrived so far on their way to relieve Lucknow, when they were met by their noble Bhaiees, who had escaped from Lucknow, and announced that their relief was too late. The enemy had fourteen guns; two of them were of very small calibre, 2-pounders, I suppose; the others 6-pounders, 9-pounders, and one 5½-inch mortar. Pandy no sooner got sight of us than he took to his heels. Our troops at a gallop could not get within sight of them at all. About 120 pukka Pandies, who were caught up and surrounded by the Punjab cavalry, made a desperate fight. Seeing themselves hemmed in on one side by poor Macdonald's squadron, and on the other by Brown's or Cosserat's, they had the cheek to cry out, 'Don't touch us, and we will not touch you.' This, as you may suppose, had little effect upon Macdonald, who closed in on them at once; but the Pandies reserved their fire until the cavalry was within a few yards of them, when they fired, and shot poor Macdonald dead—hit Cosserat, I fear, very severely, and wounded a great many of the men. One Sikh behaved beyond all praise. He was shot mortally, and dropped off his horse: having recovered after a moment from the shock, he mounted his horse again, charged, and cut down two Pandies. The weather here growing awfully hot, and dours likely to last for the next year! A lot of zemindars of the surrounding country have sent in their pargies in token of submission, and have expressed their readiness to do whatever the chief wishes. People have not yet begun to return to the city, and so far they have acted wisely; for the Europeans have been, for the last day or two, in such a mood, that no native left was safe. A soldier shot a native two days ago through the body, for not giving up a tattoo he asked him for; they are, however, returning to order again, and I hope soon all will be going on smoothly here again."

Many extraordinary and exciting incidents connected with the recapture of the city of Lucknow, are elaborately and amusingly described in detail by Mr. Russell, the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, who traces the progress of the struggle after the reduction of the Imaumbarra, in the following lively sketches, among others:—"The sepoys, dismayed by the fierce onslaught, and by the lesson they had previously been taught at the begum's palace, abandoned their position; and as they fled, with Brasyer's Sikhs and the 10th



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regiment in fast pursuit, they rushed in such confusion through the detached houses and courts between it and the Kaiserbagh, that a universal panic was created, and the Sikhs entered by the ramps and gateways along with the enemy. They were supported by men of the corps engaged in the assault on the Imaumbarra; and at the very aspect of those men inside the defences, sapoys and nujeebs lost heart, and fled out of the courts and buildings. Some were shut up, or secreted themselves in recesses, and in the many mysterious apartments of an eastern palace; but all who were found in arms were shot down or bayoneted on the spot." When Brigadier Napier, soon after eleven o'clock, reported that the troops were in the Kaiserbagh, every one was taken by surprise. It happened at the time, that a grand durbar was being held by the commander-in-chief, for the formal reception of Jung Bahadoor; but, before the ceremony was half ended, Captain Hope Johnstone rushed in, announcing the capture of the Kaiserbagh. All state formalities were broken through at once. "Everybody," says an eye-witness of the scene, "shook hands with everybody; and, by common consent, the pomp and circumstance of the ceremonious visit were, amongst the stern and terrible realities of victory, postponed to a future day, and all repaired to the last scene of triumph as quickly as possible. Sir Colin at once mounted; and, accompanied by his staff and a host of followers, proceeded to the Imaumbarra, and from thence to stairs which led up on the roof of the palace, vociferously cheered by his soldiers as he passed along. From this position, a good view could be obtained of portions of the Kaiserbagh; but it was rather too much exposed to fire from the minarets and buildings in the vicinity, to be perfectly agreeable or safe. The road from the begum's palace, and on to the Kaiserbagh, could now be seen thronged with dhooly-bearers, some returning with heavy litters, full of groaning, wounded men, others in a stream tramping through the dust, to join their regiments. Artillerymen, sailors, and oxen were busily employed in dragging up heavy guns and mortars, to secure the new possession; while troops, among whom were men of English, Scotch, Ghoorka, and Sikh regiments, were marching rapidly towards the Kaiserbagh, or were already in the courts and streets around it. The narrator then proceeds:—"Descending from

the roof, as one struggled over the masses of fallen brickwork, the traces of our sap, choked up here and there with fallen earth, were close on our left; till the sap reached a long corridor by the side of a court, which served as an excellent covered way for our sappers. The enemy's cooking places, brass pots or lotas, charpas, clothing, belts, ammunition, broken muskets and matchlocks, swords, pistols, chapatties were scattered over the ground on every side; but there were not many dead visible till we reached some of the courts. The large hall of the Imaumbarra, which appeared to have been used as a sort of museum, and had contained many curious models of mosques and many fine glasses and chandeliers, was a heap of ruin. Working our way through Sikhs busy in melting down gold and silver lace, in huge fires, under earthen pots that served as crucibles, through wounded Ghoorkas staggering back to the rear, we approached the Kaiserbagh. The air was still heavy with gunpowder; bullets were still whistling around from desperate men shut up in the works, and from the enemy in the inner line of defences. Every window of every house was filled with brick or baked mud and loopholed, and the tops of all the houses and walls had a raised parapet pierced in the same way above them. The heat and the dust were fatiguing and oppressive; but the excitement carried one forward, and at last we managed to get through the breach in the parapet of the outer work, which our sappers were enlarging for the passage of guns, and to enter one of the courts of the Kaiserbagh, through a small gateway or broken door. It was surrounded by rooms with latticed windows, to which access was gained by means of stairs opening into the court, the strong doors of which were barred on the inside. The walls were decorated with indifferent frescoes, representing feats of arms and female dancers. On one side, the trees of a garden could be caught sight of through venetian blinds, and there was evidence that we were near to the king's zenana, and that the buildings around us were the houses of his eunuchs. We proceeded forward to the entrance of the main building. Our men were just crashing through the rooms of the palaces, which were, as yet, filled with the evidence of barbaric magnificence and splendour, and the cries of the dying were not yet stilled when we entered.

"The Kaiserbagh cannot be described; the whole place is a series of palaces, kiosks, and mosques, all of fanciful Oriental architecture—some light and graceful, others merely fantastic and curious, connected generally by long corridors, arched and open in the front, or by extensive wings, which enclose the courts and gardens contained within the outer walls. In every room throughout the endless series, there was a profusion of mirrors in ponderous gilt frames; from every ceiling hung glass chandeliers of every age, form, colour, and design. As to the furniture, in many instances it looked like collections from the lumber rooms of all the old palaces in Europe, relieved by rich carpets and sumptuous divans, by cushions covered with golden embroidery, by rich screens of Cashmere shawls, and by table covers, ponderous with pearls and gold. In some of the rooms were a few pictures in gorgeous frames; but the hand of the spoiler had been heavy among all. Those which hung out of the reach of the musket-stock and bayonet-thrust, were not safe from a bullet, or the leg of a table converted into an impromptu missile for the occasion. Down came chandeliers in a tinkling, clattering rain of glass; crash followed crash, as door and window, mirror and pendule were battered down by the excited victors. Sikh and soldier were revelling in destruction, and delirious with plunder and mischief: those who could not get in at once to carry on the work, searched the corridors, and battered off the noses, legs, and arms of the statues in the gardens; or, diving into the cellars, either made their fortune by the discovery of unexpected treasure, or lost their lives at the hands of concealed fanatics. There had, as yet, been no time to guard against indiscriminate plunder, inasmuch as it never was expected that the Kaiserbagh and all its treasures would have fallen that day into our hands."

Our men were in high delight with the gay dresses of the eunuchs, which they found in some of the rooms; and it was with difficulty they were induced to take off the crowns of lace, and peacock's plumes, and bird of paradise feathers, and the sword belts they stuck over their heads and shoulders. Here, as in every other building, there were quantities of kites, the flying of which appears to have been a favourite amusement with the childish but ferocious races that inhabited the place. Cyrus cranes, tame monkeys, apes,

antelopes, and numbers of paroquets, in cages, were appropriated by the men in this quarter; but as some officers were looking at one of the men who had dressed himself out in a fantastic eunuch's attire, a shot from one of the rooms of the court passed between them, announcing that that was no place for antics, and the party speedily shifted their quarters. "In the next court, which was sheltered from fire by the walls around it, some men had made a great seizure. They had burst into some of the state apartments, and they were engaged in dividing the spoil of shawls and lace, and embroidery of gold and silver and pearls. In a nook off this court, where there was a little shade, we retired to rest ourselves, as there were no means of approaching the front part of the buildings, which were on fire, and explosions of mines were momentarily expected. Two men of the 90th were in before us, and, assisted later by some of the 38th, we saw them appropriate monies worth enough to make them independent for life. The rooms off this nook had been used as stores by the king or some wealthy member of his household, and each moment these men went in only to emerge with a richer trophy. In one box, they found diamond bracelets, emeralds, rubies, pearls, and opals, all so large and bright and badly set, that we believed at the time they were glass. In another was a pair of gold-mounted and jewelled duelling pistols of English make, and the bill, stating that his majesty, the king of Oude, owed the maker £280! Then out they came with bundles of swords, gold-mounted and jewelled, which they at once knocked to pieces for the sake of the mountings, leaving the blades behind them. Next came out a huge chemical laboratory—then a gold saddle-cloth, studded with pearls—then gold-handled riding-canes and cups of agate and jade, gold-mounted and jewelled. The happy possessors of these riches were quite mad with excitement, and their enquiries were almost too rapid for reply—'Is this gold, sir?' 'Is that a diamond?' 'Is your honour shure that's raal goold?' 'Is this string of little white stones (pearls) worth anything, gentlemen?' It was a great drawback to have a conscience under such circumstances—a greater not to have a penny in one's pocket; for in this country no one, except an old stager on the look out for loot, carries a farthing about him; and, as one of the soldiers pithily ob-

served, 'these here concerns only carries on ready money transactions.' He was an experienced operator, that gentleman. If a native soldier came in, and walked off with anything which he found in a dark corner, out-ponced our friend upon him, rifle in hand, 'Leave that there, I tell you. I put that there myself,' and there was something in his eye which explained his meaning so clearly, that the article was at once abandoned, and, if found to be valuable was retained; if not was 'made a present off.' Close to us were large boxes of japanned work, containing literally thousands of cups and vessels of jade, of crystal, and of china, which the soldiers were carelessly throwing about and breaking into atoms. Had the enemy made a strong attack upon us at that moment, not one half of our troops could have been collected to repel it; and such were the scenes through every court of the many mansions of the Kaiserbagh.

"While these proceedings were going on, intelligence reached General Mansfield, the chief of the staff, that some women of the zenana were secreted in one of the strongest parts of the Kaiserbagh, and Captain Hope Johnstone of the staff, with some officers with two companies of the 38th regiment, were immediately ordered to the spot indicated for their protection. Some of the soldiers had already in their search for plunder forced an entrance to the apartments, and in doing so, the son of one of the begums (a deaf and dumb youth of twenty years of age), and two or three of the ladies of the zenana, were unfortunately killed by a discharge of musketry when the doors were broken in, and before the soldiers saw that the persons before them were females. When the officers with their men entered, the terror of the begums and their attendants was extreme. They expected instant death. Huddled together amid the smoke, they could scarcely be calmed by the assurances of the officers, who at once took measures to remove them to a place of safety. As they were going out, one of the ladies pointed out to Captain Hope Johnstone a box which he had just taken from the floor and laid upon the table. She told him it contained jewels to the value of ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000. He at once placed sentries at the doors, and gave orders that no one should enter. Having, with the aid of his brother officers, taken the ladies out of danger, he returned

to the zenana; it was blazing from end to end, the sentries only escaped by clambering up to the roof, from which they were with difficulty saved; but the jewels were gone. Had Captain Johnstone taken them, they would have been his own; for the Kaiserbagh on this day was given up to plunder, and what each man could get became his property.

"Those stately buildings, which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oude on a state visit, were now open to the common soldier, and to the meanest camp-follower of our army. Their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine—the destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive. I was glad to get away, just as our mortars began to thunder away at the enemy's works again. There were burning stockades, and thousands of pounds of powder near at hand. In every court, there was abundance of all kinds of ammunition, except 6-pounder shot; which, as well as many 9-pounder balls, were rudely made of hammered iron. In one court we found a large brass mortar, with heaps of live brass and stone shells near it; but I could not find any fuses. It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp-followers, all staggering under loads of plunder; the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders, looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, and 'loot' of all kinds, from ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement, were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal; and the wild Ghoorkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth. The commander-in-chief and the chief of his staff were already in camp, and the expression of Sir Colin's face told how much the result of the day's operations had pleased him."*

Having illustrated some striking incidents of the struggle for Lucknow, so far as the preceding extracts extend, the narrative of active operations is resumed.

* Russell's Letter, see *Times*, May 6th, 1858.



A.D. 1858.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE MOOSABAGH.]

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Late in the afternoon of the 18th of March, orders were issued to Sir James Outram, to drive the enemy from their strong position at the Moosabagh, the only post of strength now held by them. The force under the command of Sir James was ready to march from their quarters at the great Imaumbarra, at 6. 30. A.M.; and the general and his staff left their quarters at Banks' House, in the old residency, soon after daybreak, Sir Colin Campbell and the head-quarters' staff riding out to view the operations. The enemy had collected, at this their last post, in numbers estimated at from 8 to 10,000; and both the begum and moulvie were reported to be present with the troops. The position occupied by them was situated outside the verge of the city, close to the Goontee, and consisted of a large cluster of buildings, surrounded by gardens and high walls, which were loopholed, and otherwise prepared for defence. Immediately in front of the walls was a similar enclosure, belonging to Ali Nacky Khan, the king's vizier; and the road to both passed through a low suburb, with occasional large palaces and mosques, which were capable of being converted into formidable obstacles to the advance of troops. As no very serious resistance was expected from the rebel troops in the defence of the post, the principal cause for anxiety was, how to secure and punish such of them as might attempt to escape by flight; and, accordingly, a strong force of cavalry was disposed in various directions, to intercept them.

As the troops detailed for the assault, marched through the gateway, in front of the Imaumbarra, the enemy were observed retiring in haste from their advanced posts in the houses opposite, and retreating on the Moosabagh, from which place also a similar movement was speedily visible, and a vast number of the enemy were soon in rapid flight before the English troops had a chance of getting near them. The rebels fled in broken masses, mingled with townspeople and budmashes, followed by the lancers. Some few of their matchlock men and sepoys kept up a smart fire, and their guns were placed to cover the retreat as much as possible, occasionally directing their attention towards the group of officers composing the head-quarters' staff. At length, after a faint effort to rally near the river, they finally gave way and fled through the enclosures and corn-fields with which

the country is diversified, speedily distancing the pursuers by the rapidity of their movements. A sikh regiment was placed in the Moosabagh for its security, but no enemy again appeared to dispute their possession.

To prevent the outrages that continually occurred in the city through collisions between the troops, it was determined by the commander-in-chief to withdraw them from the streets as soon as a fair proportion of the respectable inhabitants should return to occupy the houses; but for some time there appeared little ground for expecting that persons would return, owing to the frequency of explosions, and to the wanton outrages perpetrated by the sikhs. "To-day," writes Mr. Russell, "as we were riding towards the Moosabagh, we observed a very old man, who, apparently in the last extremity of feebleness, was lying on his resai by the road side. As we came back we saw his body with a cleft in the skull, dead by the wall over which it had been thrown by his murderers. I almost fear the same fate will befall a white-bearded Said, or holy man, who was dragged out of his hiding place by some sikhs the other day, and would have been slain but for my companion. The old fellow said he had lain in mortal terror for three days after the capture of the Imaumbarra in a cellar, till he was forced to move by hunger." To repress these atrocities as far as possible, the following general order was issued by the commander-in-chief on the 18th of March:—

"It is reported to the commander-in-chief that the sikhs and other native soldiers, are plundering in a most outrageous manner, and refuse to give up their plunder to the guards told off for the express purpose of checking such proceedings.

"His excellency desires that strong parties under the command of European officers be immediately sent out from each native regiment to put a stop to these excesses.

"Commanding officers of native regiments are called upon to use their best endeavours to restore order, and are responsible that all their men who are not on duty remain in camp, and that those who are on duty do not quit their posts."

These orders being found ineffectual to repress the mischief that prevailed, regulations far more stringent were announced for the restoration of order among the troops. An hourly roll call was ordered by the commander-in-chief, and no soldier upon any



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pretence, was allowed to enter the city. All camp followers found in the streets or houses, with arms, were seized and hung up, no soldier was permitted to wear his side arms except when on duty, and triangles were set up at proper places for the summary punishment of minor offenders.

The following despatches announced officially the recapture of Lucknow, and were promulgated in the governor-general's gazette of April 5th, 1858:—

"The right honourable the governor-general, having now received the despatches from his excellency the commander-in-chief, giving an account of the retaking of Lucknow by the force under his excellency's personal command, is pleased to publish them for general information:—

"In December last, it became the grateful duty of the governor-general in council to promulgate in general orders the announcement of the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, so admirably achieved by General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., and the rescue of the women and children, sick and wounded, long beleaguered there. It is now the governor-general's privilege to convey to his excellency the tribute of his highest admiration, and of his most cordial congratulation on the capture of the strong city of the rebels. From the 2nd till the 18th of March, a series of masterly operations took place, by which the commander-in-chief, nobly supported in his well-laid plans of attack by the ability and skill of the general officers, and by the indomitable bravery and resolution of the officers and men of all arms, drove the rebels successively from all their strongly-fortified posts, till the whole fell into the possession of our troops. That this great success should have been accomplished at so little cost of valuable lives, enhances the honour due to the leader who has achieved it. It is a pleasure to the governor-general to acknowledge publicly the services of the general and other officers who took part in the capture of Lucknow.

"During the last days of the operations, the Nepaulese force, under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, was associated with the army under General Sir Colin Campbell's command. To the distinguished leader of that force, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the governor-general desires to express his thanks for the hearty co-operation which the commander-in-chief received from his highness, and for the gallant bearing of his highness's troops. To Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., the government of India is under a new debt of gratitude. After having held the exposed post of the Alumbagh for more than three months, in the face of powerful bodies of rebels, whose attacks he never failed to repel, Sir James Outram has further greatly distinguished himself at the head of the first division, by the brilliant and thoroughly complete manner in which he executed these duties entrusted to him. The governor-general requests that Sir James Outram will accept his most sincere thanks.

"His lordship offers his hearty acknowledgments to the other general officers whose services are prominently noticed in these despatches:—

"To Major-general Mansfield, chief of the staff, of whose eminent services the commander-in-chief speaks with well-merited commendation. To Major-

general Sir Archdale Wilson, K.C.B., in chief command of the artillery, who, after winning lasting renown in the capture of Delhi, has borne a conspicuous part in the reduction of Lucknow. To Major-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., commanding the cavalry of the force; to Brigadier-general Franks, C.B., Brigadier-general Walpole, and Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B., commanding the second, third, and fourth divisions of infantry.

"The governor-general has to record his acknowledgments to Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., commanding the naval brigade of her majesty's ship *Shannon*, and to offer his especial thanks to him for his remarkable services. The governor-general entirely concurs with his excellency the commander-in-chief in prominently recognising the great skill and ability of Brigadier Napier, who commanded the engineers of her majesty's and the East India Company's services forming part of the force. Brigadier Napier is especially entitled to the thanks of the governor-general; and to him, to Colonel Harness, commanding the royal engineers, and to the several officers under them, of both the services, his lordship's grateful acknowledgments are offered. The governor-general has much satisfaction in expressing his high sense of the merits of the several officers commanding brigades and regiments.

"To the commanding officers of the royal artillery, the naval artillery, and of the Bengal and Madras artillery, the governor-general tenders his cordial thanks. To Major Norman, deputy-adjutant-general of the army, to whose superior merits and distinguished services the commander-in-chief bears willing testimony, a tribute in which the governor-general concurs; to Colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C.B., officiating-adjutant-general of her majesty's forces in India; to Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson, officiating-quartermaster-general of the army; to Captain Seymour, officiating-quartermaster-general her majesty's forces; to Captain Bruce, deputy-quartermaster-general, and Captain Algood, assistant-quartermaster-general; to Lieutenant-colonel Keith Young, judge-advocate-general; to Captain Fitzgerald, assistant-commissary-general, who is specially mentioned by the commander-in-chief; to Lieutenant P. Stewart, of engineers, superintendent of electric telegraphs; to Dr. M'Andrew, inspector-general of hospitals her majesty's forces, and to Dr. Brown, superintending-surgeon of the force, the governor-general has much satisfaction in expressing his sense of the good service they have rendered.

"To the officers of the personal staff of the commander-in-chief, of the chief of staff, and of general officers commanding divisions, the thanks of the governor-general are due; and his lordship records his acknowledgments to the officers of the staff of divisions and brigades, all of whom have zealously performed their duty. To the officers and men of every service—soldiers, seamen, and marines—composing the force by which Lucknow has been taken, the governor-general desires to express his admiration of their conduct, and to tender to each individual the thanks of the government of India. His lordship will take the earliest opportunity of bringing under the favourable notice of her majesty's government, and of the Hon. the Court of Directors, the services rendered by the force.

"In testimony of these services, the governor-general is pleased to direct, that every officer and soldier, European and native, and the officers and



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men of the navy, who took part in the capture of Lucknow, shall receive a donation of six months' batta.—By order of the right honourable the governor-general.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-general."

From Sir Colin Campbell, General, Commander-in-Chief in India, to the Right Hon. the Viscount Canning, Governor-general of India, &c.

"Camp La Martinière, dated Lucknow, March 22.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to announce to your lordship, that I transferred my head-quarters to the camp of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K. C. B., at Bunthura, on the 28th ultimo, the division which had been detached under Brigadier-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., and that under Brigadier-general Walpole joining the next day.

"Having received tolerably correct information with respect to the lines of works which have been constructed by the enemy for the defence of Lucknow, it appeared evident to me that the necessity would arise for operating from both sides of the Goomtee when the capture of the city should be seriously entertained. Two very important reasons conduced to show the expediency of such a course, the one being that it would become possible to enfilade many of the enemy's new works; the other, that great avenues of supply would be closed against the town, although I could not hope to invest a city having a circumference of twenty miles. My first preparations, therefore, were made for the purpose of crossing the river. Bridges of casks had been previously constructed, and were ready in the engineer's park.

"On the 2nd of March, I advanced on Dilkoosha with the following troops:—Head-quarters of the division of artillery, and of the field artillery brigade, under Major-general Sir A. Wilson, K. C. B., and Colonel D. Wood, C. B., royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-colonel D. Aguilar's troops, royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-colonel Tombs, C. B., and Lieutenant Bishop's troops, Bengal horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Turner. Two 24-pounders, and two 8-inch howitzers of the *Shannon's* naval brigade; two companies Punjab sappers and miners. The head-quarters of the cavalry division, and the 1st cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-general Sir J. H. Grant, K. C. B., and Brigadier Little. Her majesty's 9th lancers, 2nd Punjab irregular cavalry, detachment 5th Punjab irregular cavalry, 1st Sikh irregular cavalry, the second division infantry, under Brigadier-general Sir E. Lugard, K. C. B., consisting of 3rd brigade, Brigadier P. M. M. Guy, composed of her majesty's 34th, 38th, and 53rd regiments; 4th brigade, Brigadier Hon. A. Hope, composed of the 42nd and 93rd highlanders, with 4th Punjab rifles; and seized that position after a skirmish, in which a gun was taken from the enemy.

"When the brigades of infantry began to close on the advance guard the enemy opened several

guns, which were in position in strong bastions along the line of the canal. This fire was heavy and well sustained. These guns commanded the plateau, and compelled me to retire the camp as far back as it was possible; but not so far as I could have wished, owing to ravines in rear. The palace of Dilkoosha was occupied as an advance picket on the right, and the Mahomedbagh on the left—heavy guns being placed in battery at both points, to keep down the hostile fire. During the whole of the 2nd, until these arrangements could be completed, the troops were much annoyed by the enemy's guns. After that day, until an advance took place, although the shot ranged up to, and sometimes into the camp, but slight loss ensued from this cause.

"On the 3rd and 4th, the remainder of the siege train, together with Brigadier-general Walpole's division, closed up on the Dilkoosha position—the right of our line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomtee, the left being towards the Alumbagh. There was an interval of about two miles between our left and Jellalabad, the right of the Alumbagh position. This interval was occupied by a regiment of irregular horse (Hodson's). Brigadier Campbell, with a strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery, secured the extreme left, and swept the country towards the north-west. Three infantry regiments were withdrawn from the Alumbagh, and joined the head-quarters' camp.

"On the 5th, General Franks, of the fourth division of infantry, came into direct communication with me. This officer had marched right across the kingdom of Oude, having signally defeated many bodies of insurgents, and kept his time with punctuality according to the orders given to him, with which your lordship is already acquainted. On the same day, the Goomtee was bridged near Bibiapore. While the bridge was being formed, the enemy showed on the left bank, causing the necessity of a disposition of troops and heavy guns. He did not, however, make a real attack. These guns were very useful in another respect; as their practice on the Martinière silenced much fire which would otherwise have annoyed the pickets. They were accordingly kept on the same ground for some days, till the advance of the troops rendered them unnecessary.

"On the 6th, Sir James Outram, G. C. B., who had been withdrawn from the Alumbagh, crossed to the left bank of the Goomtee, with troops as below: the fourth division, under Brigadier-general Franks, C. B., taking the place vacated by Brigadier-general Walpole in the line.

"The plan of attack which had been conceived, was now developed, and Sir James Outram was directed to push his advance up the left bank of the Goomtee, while the troops in the position of Dilkoosha remained at rest till it should have become apparent that the first line of the enemy's works, or the rampart running along the canal, and abutting on the Goomtee, had been turned.

"The works may be briefly described as fol-

* Force sent across the Goomtee under Sir J. Outram:—Lieutenant-colonel D'Aguilar's troop, royal horse artillery; Major Remington's and Captain McKinnon's troops, royal artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel F. Turner; Captain Gibbon's and Middleton's light field batteries, royal artillery, and head-quarters field artillery brigade; H.M.'s 2nd dragoon guards (bays); H.M.'s 5th lancers; 2nd

Punjab cavalry; detachments 1st and 5th Punjab cavalry, under Captains Watson and Sanford; 3rd infantry division, under Brigadier-general R. Walpole; 5th brigade, Brigadier Douglas, C. B.; H.M.'s 23rd fusiliers; H.M.'s 79th highlanders; 1st Bengal fusiliers; 6th brigade, Brigadier Horsford, C.C.; 2nd battalion rifles; 3rd brigade; battalion ditto 2nd Punjab infantry.



lows:—The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiserbagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomtee, of which the line of the canal was the outer one. The second line circled round the large building called the Mess-house and the Motee Mahal; and the first or interior one was the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh, the rear of the enclosures of the latter being closed in by the city, through which approach would have been dangerous to an assailant. These lines were flanked by numerous bastions, and rested at one end on the Goomtee, and the other on the great buildings of the street called the Huzrutunge, all of which were strongly fortified, and flanked the street in every direction. Extraordinary care had been expended on the defences of the houses and bastions, to enfilade the streets. This duty was ably performed by Sir J. Outram, who pitched his camp on the 6th instant, after a skirmish of his advanced guard in front of the Chukkur Walla Kotee, or 'Yellow-house.' On the 7th, he was attacked by the enemy, who was speedily driven back.

"Having reconnoitred the ground on the 8th instant, I directed Sir James Outram to arrange his batteries during the succeeding night, and to attack the enemy's position—the key of which was the Chukkur Walla Kotee—the next day or the 9th. This was done in very good style by the troops under his command; the enemy being driven at all points, the Yellow-house being seized, and the whole force advanced for some distance through ground affording excellent cover for the enemy. He was then able to bring his right shoulders forward, occupying the Fyzabad-road, and to plant his batteries for the purpose of enfilading the works on the canal before alluded to. He lost no time in doing this, other batteries of heavy guns and howitzers being the following night to play on the works and the Kaiserbagh.

"While this attack was being made by Sir James Outram along the left bank of the Goomtee, on the 9th instant, a very heavy fire was kept up on the Martinière, both from mortars and heavy guns placed in position during the previous night on the Dilkoosha plateau. At 2 P.M., the 42nd highlanders, the 53rd, and 90th regiments, stormed the Martinière, under the direction of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B., and Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope. It was quickly seen that the enfilading fire on the line of the canal from the opposite side of the river had produced the expected result. The 4th Punjab infantry, supported by the 42nd highlanders, climbed up the intrenchment abutting on the Goomtee, and proceeded to sweep down the whole line of the works, till they got to the neighbourhood of Banks' House, when it became necessary to close operations for the night. Major Wylde, 4th Punjab rifles, distinguished himself very much on this occasion. The line of works was strongly occupied by the troops which had first entered, and by the 53rd regiment.

"On the 10th instant, Sir James Outram was engaged in strengthening his position; Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B., being employed in patrolling towards the cantonment with the cavalry placed under Sir James Outram's orders—a system of extensive patrolling or *reconnaissance* having been established by my order, in that direction, from the time that the first position had been taken up across the Goomtee. At sunrise on the same day, a dis-

position of troops and heavy guns was made by Sir Edward Lugard for the attack on Banks' House, which was carried at noon, and secured as a strong military post.

"The second part of the plan of attack against the Kaiserbagh now came into operation—viz., to use the great blocks of houses and palaces, extending from Banks' House to the Kaiserbagh, as our approach, instead of sapping up towards the front of the second line of works. By these means, I was enabled to turn towards our own left, at the same time that they were enfiladed on the right by Sir James Outram's advance. The latter had already received orders to plant his guns with a view to raking the enemy's position; to annoy the Kaiserbagh with a vertical and direct fire; also to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges shortly after daybreak, and so commence the iron bridge from the left bank. All this was carried out by Sir James Outram with the most marked success. The enemy, however, still held pertinaciously to his own end of the iron bridge on the right bank, and there was heavy cannonading from both sides till the bridge was afterwards taken in reverse. Sir Edward Lugard's attack on the 11th was pressed forward in like manner.

"The operation had now become one of engineering character, and the most earnest endeavours were made to save the infantry from being hazarded before due preparation had been made. The chief engineer (Brigadier Napier) placed the batteries with a view to breaching and shelling a large block of the palaces called the Begum Kotee. The latter were stormed with great gallantry by the 93rd highlanders, supported by the 4th Punjab rifles and 1,000 Ghoorkas, led by Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, under the direction of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, at 4 P.M. The troops secured the whole block of buildings, and inflicted a very heavy loss on the enemy, the attack having been one of very desperate character.

"This was the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege. From thenceforward, the chief engineer pushed his approach, with the greatest judgment, through the enclosures, by the aid of the sapper and of heavy guns, the troops immediately occupying the ground as he advanced, and the mortars being moved from one place to another, as the ground was won on which they could be placed. The buildings to the right, and the Secunderbagh, were taken in the early morning of the same day without opposition.

"During the night of the 12th, Sir James Outram was reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, and directed to increase his fire on the Kaiserbagh; while, at the same time, mortars placed in position at the begum's house never ceased to play on the Imaumbarra, the next large palace it was necessary to storm between the Begum Kotee and the Kaiserbagh. On Brigadier-general Franks, C.B., who had relieved Sir Edward Lugard, and the second division, with the fourth division, on the 12th instant, devolved the duty of attacking the Imaumbarra. A column of attack was formed for that purpose by Brigadier D. Russell on the morning of the 14th.

"In the meantime, the Maharajah Jung Bahadur, with a force of about 9,000 men and twenty-four field guns, drawn by men, had arrived, and taken his position in our line on the 12th instant,



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and moved close to the canal on the 13th. At my request, his highness was begged by Brigadier-general Macgregor, C.B., the special commissioner attached to him, to pass the canal and attack the suburbs in his front, and considerably to the left of Banks' House. To this his highness acceded with much willingness; and his force was most advantageously employed in thus covering my left for several days, during which, from the nature of our operations, I was obliged to mass all the available strength of the British force towards the right, in the joint attack carried along both banks of the Goomtee. The Imambarra was carried early on the 14th; and the Sikhs of the Ferozepore regiment, under Major Brasyer, pressing forward in pursuit, entered the Kaiserbagh—the third line of the defences having been turned without a single gun being fired from them. Supports were quickly thrown in, and all the well-known ground of the former defence and attack, the Mess-house, the Tera Kotee, Motee Mahul, and the Chuttur Munzil, were rapidly occupied by the troops, while the engineers devoted their attention to securing the position towards the south and west. The day was one of continued exertion; and every one felt that, although much remained to be done before the final expulsion of the rebels, the most difficult part of the undertaking had been overcome.

"This is not the place for description of the various buildings successively sapped into or stormed; suffice it to say, that they formed a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, equalled, perhaps, but certainly not surpassed, in any capital in Europe. Every outlet had been covered by a work, and on every side were prepared barricades and loopholed parapets. The extraordinary industry evinced by the enemy in this respect has been really unexampled. Hence the absolute necessity for holding the troops in hand, till, at each successive move forward, the engineers reported to me that all which could be effected by artillery and the sappers had been done, before the assault.

"The 15th instant was employed in securing what had been taken, removing powder, destroying mines, and fixing mortars for the further bombardment of the position still held by the enemy on the line of our advance up the Goomtee, and in the heart of the city. Brigadier-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., was sent out with cavalry on one side, towards Seetapore, to intercept fugitives, while another brigadier marched with like orders in the direction of Sundeela, on a similar duty. They returned on the 17th to their former positions.

"On the 16th instant, Sir James Outram, with the 5th brigade, under Brigadier Douglas, supported by two other regiments (her majesty's 20th and the regiment of Ferozepore), having crossed over the Goomtee by a bridge of casks, opposite the Secunderbagh, advanced, according to order, through the Chuttur Munzil, to take the residency. During the first movements of this operation, a movement of the enemy in retreat across the stone bridge, became apparent. Sir James was ordered to press forward; and he was able, almost without opposition, not only to take the iron bridge in reverse, which was my principal object, but also to advance far more than a mile, and occupy the Muchee Bowun and Great Imambarra. In short, the city was ours. Brigadier-general Walpole's picket, on the left bank, were attacked by the retreating enemy, who was, as usual, heavily repulsed.

"On the 19th, a combined movement was organised. Sir James Outram moved forward directly on the Moosabagh—the last position of the enemy on the line of the Goomtee. Sir J. Hope Grant cannonaded the latter from the left bank, while Brigadier Campbell, moving right round the western side from the Alumbagh, prevented retreat in that direction. The rout was now complete; and great loss was inflicted on the enemy by all these columns.

"On the 16th, for the last time, the enemy had shown in some strength before the Alumbagh, which that day was held by only two of our regiments. Jung Bahadoor was requested to move to his left up the canal, and take the position in reverse from which our position at the Alumbagh had been so long annoyed. This was executed very well by his highness, and he seized the positions, one after another, with little loss to himself. The guns of the enemy, which the latter did not stop to take away, fell into his hands.

"On the 21st, Sir Edward Lugard was directed to attack a stronghold held by the moulvie in the heart of the city. This he occupied after a sharp contest, and it now became possible to invite the return of the inhabitants, and to rescue the city from the horrors of this prolonged contest. Brigadier Campbell, with his cavalry, attacked the enemy when retreating from the city, in consequence of Sir Edward Lugard's advance, inflicting heavy loss, and pursued him for six miles.

"I beg to inclose Sir James Outram's own account of his operations, which were removed from my immediate superintendence till he recrossed the Goomtee, prior to the attack of the 16th. It was matter of real gratification to me to be able to intrust the trans-Goomtee operation to this very distinguished officer; and after that had been conducted to my perfect satisfaction, to bring him forward again to put the finishing stroke on the enemy while the extended position in the town was, of necessity, held by the troops, who had won it. My thanks are eminently due to him, and I trust he will receive them as heartily as they are offered.

"I have now the pleasing task of communicating to your lordship the name of an officer to whom, not only as commanding general, but to whom, in truth, the service at large is under great obligation—Major-general Mansfield, the chief of the staff—whose labour has been unceasing, whose abilities are of the highest order, and have been of the greatest use to me during the campaign. It is impossible for me to praise this officer too highly, or to recommend him sufficiently to the protection of your lordship and of the government.

"I desire to draw the particular attention of your lordship to Brigadiers-general Franks, C.B.; Walpole; Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B.; and Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B. Their divisions have been most admirably commanded, and they have on every occasion amply justified all my expectations. Brigadiers-general Walpole and Sir J. H. Grant were employed more immediately under the direction of Sir James Outram, who speaks in the highest terms of the assistance he received from them. Sir J. H. Grant's management of his cavalry and horse artillery is always most admirable. As detailed above, the manner in which the attacks on the main line of operations were directed by Sir Edward Lugard and Brigadier-general Franks reflected the greatest credit on them.



"The officers in command of the cavalry brigades have proved themselves equal to their high position, and are worthy of your lordship's favourable consideration. Brigadier Campbell in command of the cavalry on the left, performed his detached duty with much vigilance and judgment. His march round the city on the 19th instant, which was a running fight for the greater part of the day, was a very difficult one. His pursuit on the 21st of the party which broke away, after being driven by Sir Edward Lugard from Saadutgunge was highly effective.

"Brigadier Hagart has received the marked commendation of Sir J. Hope Grant, and the brigadiers in command of infantry brigades have particularly distinguished themselves under the eyes of their divisional commanders:—Brigadier D. Russel, 1st brigade; Brigadier P. M. Gay, 3rd brigade; Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, 4th brigade; Brigadier Douglas, C.B., 5th brigade; Brigadier Horsford, C.B., 6th brigade; Brigadier Eveleigh, 7th brigade; and Lieutenant-colonel Longden (H.M.'s 10th foot), attached to the Ghorka brigade, by order of the commander-in-chief. The head-quarters of the 2nd brigade, with the 5th fusiliers, and 78th highlanders, under Brigadier Franklyn, remained at Alumbagh in position, and was well disposed by that officer to resist the enemy's demonstration on the 16th instant.

"To Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, K.C.B., my warmest acknowledgments are due for the effective manner in which he commanded the artillery division. The four corps—the naval brigade, the royal artillery, the Bengal artillery, and the Madras artillery worked with the greatest harmony under his happy direction as one regiment. The merits of Sir Archdale Wilson are too widely known to gain anything by encomium from me, but I may be permitted to express my great satisfaction at having been able to avail myself of the assistance of this most distinguished officer. The effective fire of the artillery during the long operations, which depended so much on the management of that arm, elicited general admiration. The practice of the 68-pounder of the naval brigade was capital, while the Kaiserbagh and other great buildings which had been stormed, showed in a very convincing manner how truly the shells had been directed by the royal and Bengal artillery. Whenever the field artillery could be used the troop of horse artillery, and the field batteries of royal artillery, the Bengal artillery, and the Madras artillery did the most excellent service.

"Sir Archdale Wilson expresses his great obligations to Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., R.N., till that most gallant officer was severely wounded; and to Brigadier Wood, C.B., royal horse artillery, and Barker, C.B., royal artillery, respectively commanding the field and siege artillery brigades. It would be difficult for me to give an adequate idea of the zeal and activity displayed by the chief engineer, Brigadier Napier, Bengal engineers. Many of the operations depended on his proper appreciation of the obstructions to be overcome, and the means at his disposal for that purpose. His great professional skill and thorough acquaintance with the value of his enemy have been of the greatest service, and I recommend him most cordially to your lordship's protection. I am under very great obligations to him.

"The officers of the general departments of the army have accompanied me during the siege, and

I beg to return them my thanks. They are as follows:—Major H. W. Norman, deputy-adjutant-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel W. Macpherson, officiating quartermaster-general of the army; Colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C.B., officiating adjutant-general of H.M.'s forces; Captain C. F. Seymour, 84th regiment, officiating quartermaster-general of H.M.'s forces; Captain G. Algood, officiating assistant-quartermaster-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel Keith Young, judge-advocate-general of the army; Lieutenant P. Stewart, Bengal engineers, superintendent of electric telegraphs; Dr. M'Andrew, inspector-general of hospitals of H.M.'s forces. Dr. Brown, the superintending surgeon of the force, has again won my sincere thanks for his admirable arrangements. Captain Fitzgerald, assistant-commissary-general, who has had the disposition of the commissariat in the field, has met every want of the army. He has distinguished himself much, and is a credit to his department. I must draw very particular attention to the services of Major Norman, deputy-adjutant-general, who, besides his ordinary departmental duties, has performed the very onerous one of adjutant-general of the army in the field, throughout the campaign.

"To Captain H. Bruce, deputy quartermaster-general, head of the intelligence department, and to Captain G. Algood, officiating assistant quartermaster-general, who performed the duties of quartermaster-general of the army in the field, until the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson. These officers have all been most active in the performance of their duties. To my personal staff, and that of Major-general Mansfield, my acknowledgments are due, but more particularly to my military secretary, Colonel Sterling, C.B., and to Captain R. G. Hope Johnstone, Bombay army, deputy assistant adjutant-general to the chief of the staff. These two officers are most indefatigable. A list of the other members of these staffs is appended.

"Finally, I wish to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of the regimental officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and to the men of the regiments. Their conduct has been very brilliant throughout. The manner in which the 93rd regiment flung itself into the Begum Kotee, followed by the 4th Sikhs, and supported by the 42nd, was magnificent, and the subsequent attack on the Imaumbarra and the Kaiserbagh, reflected the greatest credit on the regimental leaders of the 4th division, and the soldiers who followed them.

"Corrected lists will be sent immediately of the officers and soldiers who are deemed most worthy of distinction in a force in which every one has a claim.—I have, &c.,—C. CAMPBELL, General,

Commander-in-Chief in India."

List of the Personal Staff of his Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India; and of Major-general W. R. Mansfield, Chief of the Staff.

"Colonel Sterling, C.B., unattached, military secretary to the commander-in-chief; Captain Sir David Baird, her majesty's 98th regiment; Lieutenant F. M. Alison, 72nd highlanders; Captain W. F. Forster, 18th royal Irish, aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief; Major J. Metcalf, 3rd regiment Bengal native infantry, interpreter and commandant head-quarters; Lieutenant R. G. Hope Johnstone, Bombay army, deputy assistant adjutant-general to



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the chief of the staff; Lieutenant D. M. Murray, her majesty's 64th regiment; Lieutenant F. R. S. Flood (severely wounded), her majesty's 53rd regiment, aides-de-camp to the chief of the staff; Surgeon J. Chifford, officiating surgeon to the commander-in-chief.

"A. C. STERLING, Colonel, Military Secretary.
"Head-quarters, Camp, Lucknow, March 22nd."

The thanks of the commander-in-chief to the army of Oude were communicated to the troops by order of his excellency in the following general order:—

"Camp La Martinière, Lucknow, March 22nd.
"The commander-in-chief congratulates the army on the reduction and fall of Lucknow. From the 2nd till the 21st of March, when the last body of rebels were expelled from the town, the exertions of all ranks have been without intermission, and every regiment employed has won much distinction. The attacks on both sides of the river Goomtee ably conducted by the generals and commanding officers of brigades and regiments, have been sustained by the men with vigour and perseverance; the consequence being that great results have been achieved with comparatively moderate loss. His excellency returns his warmest thanks to the troops. Every man who was engaged either in the old garrison of Lucknow, in the relieving forces, or at the siege, which has now been terminated, may rest satisfied that he has done his duty, and deserves well of his country."

With the conquest of Lucknow, the necessity for further aid from the force under Jung Bahadoor appears to have ceased; and it was determined by the respective chiefs, that the whole of the Ghoorkas should forthwith commence their homeward march, taking with them the plunder they had acquired during their short campaign. On the 23rd of the month, the maharajah, with one brigade of his army, took leave of the commander-in-chief at Lucknow, and proceeded towards Allahabad, for the purpose of making a complimentary visit to the governor-general, then at that city: the remainder of the Nepaulese force marched on the following day *en route* for Fyzabad. The wild and impetuous behaviour of these auxiliaries rendered their departure a relief to the European troops in more respects than one; but the fact of their return homewards was thus graciously announced by the British commander-in-chief, in the following despatch to the governor-general:—

"Camp, Lucknow, March 28th, 1858.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your lordship the departure of his highness Jung Bahadoor from the camp before Lucknow. I desire to take this opportunity to express my thanks to his highness for the assistance rendered to me during

the late operations by him and his gallant troops. I found the utmost willingness on his part to accede to any desire of mine during the progress of the siege, and from the first his highness was pleased to justify his words, that he was happy to be serving under my command. His troops have proved themselves worthy of their commanders, and it will doubtless be a happiness to them hereafter that they were associated with the British arms for the reduction of the great city of Lucknow.

"My best thanks are due to the special commissioner, Brigadier-general Macgregor, C.B., the medium of communication between his highness and myself. I beg to recommend him and the British officers serving under his orders to the favourable consideration of your lordship.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, with the greatest respect, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

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

The Ghoorkas who required a vast deal of assistance in the way of carriage and provisions before they were able to join the British force before Lucknow, experienced nearly as much difficulty in retiring on their own frontier as they had on advancing from it. From the 26th of March to the 12th of April, they continued at Nawabgunge, twenty miles to the north-east of Lucknow, where their services were not required, and they continued to draw heavily both on the commissariat and the treasury. They were, with their followers, about 15,000 strong, and had with them 4,000 carts laden with plunder. The country was swarming with insurgents, and the peasantry, as well as the men in arms, cast longing eyes towards the wealth that was about to be carried off, and were anxious to relieve the unwelcome intruders of incumbrances they were scarcely able to protect. This state of affairs occasioned repeated applications to the commander-in-chief for an English force to aid them in getting out of the country with their booty, and was productive of much annoyance, as interfering with the arrangements for the ensuing campaign. That Sir Colin was heartily tired of his unmanageable auxiliaries is evident from the tone of the following telegram, transmitted by his excellency to the governor-general during the halt of the force at Nawabgunge:—

"Lucknow, April 6th, 1858.

"The Ghoorka force went to Nawabgunge at no solicitation of mine. The maharajah offered to clear the country in its neighbourhood, and gave me to understand he should go home by way of Fyzabad. All this seeming advantageous, I acquiesced willingly in his move to Nawabgunge. Since the Ghoorkas have been there, the British officer in charge has expressed much alarm for the safety of the force, and I have always had troops in readiness



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to support it. A retreat by way of Bairan ghât would not be nearly so good for our interests as a movement by Ryzabad, but it is possible the Ghoorkas may fear the latter. Sir James Outram had employed Maun Sing to make it safe for them, and maintain the bridge. I do not wish to be in any way responsible for their movements, which are quite beyond my powers of direction; perhaps it may be better that they should go home as suggested by your lordship. It is not in my power to spare British troops to act in concert with them, with respect to the most recent arrangements."

Renewed applications for aid to enable the Ghoorkas to proceed in safety, eventually induced the commander-in-chief to accede to the wish of the British officer at their head-quarters, and on the 11th of April, General Sir Hope Grant, with a column, consisting of her majesty's 7th hussars, a battalion of the rifle brigade, her majesty's 38th regiment, and the 1st Bengal fusiliers, with an ample train of artillery, was dispatched from Lucknow to clear the way for the Ghoorka army, which was so much embarrassed with camp followers and plunder as to be utterly unable to pursue its way home in safety. This column having cleared the route to Ramnugger about sixty miles from Lucknow, left the Ghoorkas to pursue the remainder of the homeward march by themselves, and returned to Lucknow on the 24th of the month, having had two or three sharp skirmishes with straggling parties of the enemy in the course of their progress across the country.

As soon as the operations of the commander-in-chief had rendered the ultimate conquest of Lucknow a matter of certainty, a proclamation was prepared by order of the governor-general, addressed to the chiefs and people of Oude, explanatory of the intentions of the government towards them, and in due time the document was forwarded for publication. As the Oude proclamations became at a subsequent period a topic of warm and frequent discussion in the British parliament, as well as in India, it is proper that the circumstances under which they originated, and by which they were afterwards accompanied, should be referred to in detail. It will be observed that a difficulty arose upon the very threshold of these proceedings. The proclamation of the governor-general was transmitted by order of his excellency to Sir James Outram, who by virtue of his office as chief commissioner of Oude, had superseded the military authority of Sir Colin Campbell—the supremacy of the latter having ceased with the conquest of the city.

Proclamation.—"The army of his excellency the commander-in-chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the city lies at the mercy of the British government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted. This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city and of the province of Oude at large. Many who owed their prosperity to the British government, as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it, have joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the state. They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution. The capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the British troops. From this day it will be held by a force which nothing can withstand, and the authority of the government will be carried into every corner of the province. The time, then, has come at which the right hon. the governor-general of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British government will deal with the talookdars, chiefs, and landholders of Oude and their followers.

"The first care of the governor-general will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the government was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British officers. Therefore the right hon. the governor-general hereby declares that Driglejjie Sing, rajah of Bulrampore; Koolwunt Sing, rajah of Pudnaha; Rao Hurdeo Buksh Sing, of Kutia-ree; Kasheerpershaud, talookdar of Sissaindee; Zuhr Sing, zemindar of Gopaul Kheir; and Chundeloll, zemindar of Moraon (Baiswarah), are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them, and that those loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as, upon consideration of their merits and their position, the governor-general shall determine. A proportionate measure of reward and honour according to their deserts will be conferred upon others, in whose favour like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the government.

"The governor-general further proclaims to the people of Oude that, with the above-mentioned exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may seem fitting. To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who shall make immediate submission to the chief commissioners of Oude, surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the right hon. the governor-general promises that their lives and honour shall be safe, provided that their hands are unstained with English blood murderously shed.

"But, as regards any further indulgence which may be extended to them, and the condition in which they may hereafter be placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. To those among them who shall promptly come forward and give support to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the governor-general will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights. As participation in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen will



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exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy, so will those who have protected English lives be specially entitled to consideration and leniency.

"By order of the right hon. the governor-general of India.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,

"Secretary to the Government of India.

"Allahabad, March 14th."

The following explanatory letter, dictated by Viscount Canning, and signed by his secretary, accompanied the proclamation:—

"Allahabad, March 3rd, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general, to enclose to you a copy of a proclamation which is to be issued by the chief commissioner at Lucknow, as soon as the British troops under his excellency the commander-in-chief shall have possession or command of the city.

"2. This proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude only, and not to the sepoys.

"3. The governor-general has not considered it desirable that this proclamation should appear until the capital is either actually in our hands or lying at our mercy. He believes that any proclamation put forth in Oude in a liberal and forgiving spirit would be open to misconception, and capable of perversion, if not preceded by a manifestation of our power; and that this would be especially the case at Lucknow—which, although it has recently been the scene of unparalleled heroism and daring, and of one of the most brilliant and successful feats of arms which British India has ever witnessed—is still sedulously represented by the rebels as being beyond our power to take or to hold.

"4. If an exemption, almost general, from the penalties of death, transportation, and imprisonment, such as is now about to be offered to men who have been in rebellion, had been publicly proclaimed before a heavy blow had been struck, it is at least as likely that resistance would have been encouraged by the seeming exhibition of weakness, as that it would have been disarmed by a generous forbearance.

"5. Translations of the proclamation into Hindee and Persian accompany this despatch.

"6. It will be for the chief commissioner in communication with his excellency the commander-in-chief, to determine the moment at which the proclamation shall be published, and the manner of disseminating it through the province; as also the mode in which those who may surrender themselves under it shall be immediately and for the present dealt with.

"7. This last question, considering that we shall not be in firm possession of any large portion of the province when the proclamation begins to take effect, and that the bulk of our troops, native as well as European, will be needed for other purposes than to keep guard through its districts—is one of some difficulty. It is clear, too, that the same treatment will not be applicable to all who may present themselves.

"8. Amongst these there may be some who have been continuously in arms against the government, and who have shown inveterate opposition to the last, but who are free from the suspicion of having put to death or injured Europeans who fell in their way.

"9. To these men their lives are guaranteed and

their honour; that is, in native acceptance, they will neither be transported across the sea, nor placed in prison.

"10. Probably the most easy and effectual way of disposing of them, in the first instance, will be to require that they shall reside in Lucknow under surveillance and in charge of an officer appointed for that purpose.

"11. Their ultimate condition and place of residence may remain to be determined hereafter, when the chief commissioner shall be able to report fully to the governor-general upon the individual character and past conduct of each.

"12. There will be others who, although they have taken up arms against the government, have done so less heartily, and upon whom, for other causes, the chief commissioner may not see reason to put restraint. These, after surrendering their arms, might be allowed to go to their homes, with such security for their peaceable conduct as the chief commissioner may think proper to require.

"13. One obvious security will be that of making it clearly understood by them, that the amount of favour which they shall hereafter receive, and the condition on which they shall be re-established, will be in part dependent upon their conduct after dismissal.

"14. The permission to return to their homes must not be considered as a reinstatement of them in the possession of their lands, for the deliberate disposal of which the government will preserve itself unfettered.

"15. There will probably be a third class, less compromised by acts of past hostility to the government, in whom the chief commissioner may see reason to repose enough of confidence to justify their services being at once enlisted on the side of order, towards the maintenance of which in their respective districts they might be called upon to organise a temporary police.

"16. The foregoing remarks apply to the talookdars and chiefs of the province. As regards their followers who may make submission with them, these, from their numbers, must of necessity be dismissed to their homes. But before this is done, their names and places of residence should be registered, and they should receive a warning that any disturbance of the peace or resistance of authority which may occur in their neighbourhood, will be visited, not upon the individual offenders alone, but by heavy fines upon the villages.

"17. I am to observe that the governor-general wishes the chief commissioner to consider what has been above written as suggestions rather than instructions, and as indicating generally the spirit in which his lordship desires that the proclamation should be followed up, without tying down the action of the chief commissioner in matters which may have to be judged under circumstances which cannot be foreseen.

"18. There remains one more point for notice.

"19. The proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude, not to mutineers.

"20. To the latter, the governor-general does not intend that any overture should be made at present.

"21. But it is possible that some may surrender themselves, or seek terms, and it is necessary that the chief commissioner should be prepared to meet any advances from them.

"22. The sole promise which can be given to any mutineer is, that his life shall be spared; and this

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promise must not be made if the man belongs to a regiment which has murdered its officers, or if there be other *prima facie* reason to suppose that he has been implicated in any specially atrocious crime. Beyond the guarantee of life to those who, not coming within the above-stated exception, shall surrender themselves, the governor-general cannot sanction the giving of any specific pledge.

"23. Voluntary submission will be counted in mitigation of punishment; but nothing must be said to those who so submit themselves which shall bar the government from awarding to each such measure of secondary punishment as in its justice it may deem fitting.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE."

The terms of the proclamation, and the arguments in support of it, conveyed by the above letter, did not appear to the chief commissioner to meet the requirements of the case; and he accordingly transmitted his view of the exigency for the consideration of government, before giving currency to the proclamation. His letter was as follows:—

"Camp, Chimalut, March 8th, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 191, dated 3rd instant, enclosing a proclamation to be issued to the landholders, chiefs, and inhabitants of Oude, upon the fall of the capital.

"2. In this proclamation an hereditary title in their estates is promised to such landholders as have been steadfast in their allegiance, and, with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated.

"3. The chief-commissioner desires me to observe that, in his belief, there are not a dozen landowners in the province who have not themselves borne arms against us, or sent a representative to the durbar, or assisted the rebel government with men or money. The effect of the proclamation, therefore, will be to confiscate the entire proprietary right in the soil; and this being the case, it is, of course, hopeless to attempt to enlist the landowners on the side of order; on the contrary, it is the chief commissioner's firm conviction that as soon as the chiefs and talookdars become acquainted with the determination of the government to confiscate their rights, they will betake themselves at once to their domains, and prepare for a desperate and prolonged resistance.

"4. The chief commissioner deems this matter of such vital importance, that, at the risk of being deemed importunate, he ventures to submit his views once more, in the hope that the right hon. the governor-general may yet be induced to reconsider the subject.

"5. He is of opinion that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and even had they not been so, that it would have required a degree of fidelity on their part quite foreign to the usual character of an Asiatic, to have remained faithful to our government under the shocks to which it was exposed in Oude. In fact, it was not until our rule was virtually at an end, the whole country overrun, and the capital in the hands of the rebel soldiery, that the talookdars, smarting as they were under the loss of their lands, sided

against us. The chief commissioner thinks, therefore, that they ought hardly to be considered as rebels, but rather as honourable enemies, to whom terms, such as they could without loss of dignity accept, should be offered at the termination of the campaign.

"If these men be given back their lands, they will at once aid us in restoring order; and a police will soon be organised with their co-operation, which will render unnecessary the presence of our enormous army to re-establish tranquillity and confidence.

"But, if their life and freedom from imprisonment only be offered, they will resist; and the chief commissioner foresees that we are only at the commencement of a guerilla war for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease, and exposure. It must be borne in mind that this species of warfare has always been peculiarly harassing to our Indian forces, and will be far more so at present, when we are without a native army.

"6. For the above reasons, the chief commissioner earnestly requests that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans may be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression. If his lordship agree to this proposition, it will not yet be too late to communicate his assent by electric telegraph before the fall of the city, which will probably not take place for some days. Should no such communication be received, the chief commissioner will act upon his present instructions, satisfied that he has done all in his power to convince his lordship that they will be ineffectual to re-establish our rule on a firm basis in Oude.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. COUPER,

"Secretary to Chief Commissioner."

The objections thus urged were replied to by the following letter from the secretary to the governor-general:—

"Allahabad, March 10th, 1858.

"Sir,—Your secretary's letter of the 8th instant was delivered to me at an early hour this morning, by Captain F. Birch, and it will receive a detailed reply in due course.

"Meanwhile, I am desired by the right hon. the governor-general to subjoin a clause which may be inserted in the proclamation (forwarded with my letter, No. 191, of the 3rd instant), after the paragraph which ends with the words 'justice and mercy of the British government.'

"To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward, and give to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the governor-general will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights."

"2. This clause will add little or nothing to your discretionary power, but it may serve to indicate more clearly to the talookdars the liberal spirit in which the governor-general is prepared to review and reciprocate any advances on their part.

"3. It is expected that you will find means to translate this additional clause into the vernacular languages, and that you will be able to have copies



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of the proclamation, so amended, prepared in sufficient numbers for immediate use. If more should be required, the magistrate of Cawnpore will lithograph them on your requisition.

"4. It is very important, as you will readily see, that every copy of the vernacular version of the proclamation sent to you, with my letter of the 3rd inst., should be carefully destroyed.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE,
"Secretary, Government of India, with the
Governor-general."

Some unexpected delay occurred in the transmission of the detailed reply, which did not reach the chief commissioner until the beginning of April; and during the interval between that time and the beginning of the previous month, the people of Oude remained wholly ignorant of the terms upon which their very existence depended. It, however, at length reached its destination, and was as follows:—

"Allahabad, March 31st, 1858.

"Sir,—In replying at once on the 10th instant to your secretary's letter of the 8th, in which you urged reasons against the issue of the proclamation to the talookdars and landholders of Oude, which had been transmitted to you by the right honourable the governor-general, my answer was confined to communicating to you the addition which his lordship was willing to make to that proclamation without entering into the general questions raised in your letter. The governor-general desires me to express his hope that you will not have supposed that the arguments adduced by you were not fully weighed by him, or that your opinion upon a subject on which you are so well entitled to offer one, has not been received with sincere respect, although he was unable to concur in it.

"2. I am now directed by his lordship to explain the grounds upon which the course advocated in your letter—namely, that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression—is, in the opinion of the governor-general, inadmissible.

"3. The governor-general entirely agrees with you in viewing the talookdars and landholders of Oude in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. The people of Oude had been subjects of the British government for little more than one year when the mutinies broke out; they had become so by no act of their own. By the introduction of our rule many of the chiefs had suffered a loss of property, and all had experienced a diminution of the importance and arbitrary power which they had hitherto enjoyed; and it is no marvel that those amongst them who had thus been losers should, when they saw our authority dissolved, have hastened to shake off their new allegiance.

"4. The governor-general views these circumstances as a palliation of acts of rebellion, even where hostility has been most active and systematic. Accordingly, punishment by death or imprisonment is at once put aside by the proclamation in the case of all who shall submit themselves to the govern-

ment, and who are not murderers; and whilst confiscation of proprietary rights in the land is declared to be the general penalty, the means of obtaining more or less of exemption from it, and of establishing a claim to restitution of rights, have been pointed out, and are within the reach of all without injury to their honour. Nothing more is required for this than that they should promptly tender their adhesion, and help to maintain peace and order.

"5. The governor-general considers that the course thus taken is one consistent with the dignity of the government, and abundantly lenient. To have followed that which is suggested in your secretary's letter would, in his lordship's opinion, have been to treat the rebels not only as honourable enemies, but as enemies who had won the day.

"In the course of the rebellion, most of the leaders in it, probably all, have retaken to themselves the lands and villages of which they were deprived, by the summary settlement which followed the establishment of our government in Oude. If, upon the capture of Lucknow by the commander-in-chief, before our strength had been seen or felt in the distant districts, and before any submission had been received or invited from them, the rights of the rebel chiefs to all their ancient possessions had been recognised by the government, it is not possible that the act would not have been viewed as dictated by fear or weakness. It would have led the people of Oude, and all who are watching the course of events in that province, to the conclusion that rebellion against the British government cannot be a losing game; and although it might have purchased an immediate return to order, it would not assuredly have placed the future peace of the province upon a secure foundation.

"6. You observe, indeed, that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement. The governor-general desires me to observe, that if this were unreservedly the case, or if the proceedings of the commissioners by which many of the talookdars were deprived of portions of their possessions had been generally unjust, he would gladly have concurred in your recommendation, and would have been ready, at the risk of any misinterpretation of the motives of the government, to reinstate the talookdars at once in their old possessions. But it is not so. As a question of policy, indeed, the governor-general considers that it may well be doubted whether the attempt to introduce into Oude a system of village settlement in place of the old settlement under talookdars was a wise one; but this is a point which need not be discussed here. As a question of justice, it is certain that the land and villages taken from the talookdars had, for the most part, been usurped by them through fraud or violence.

"7. That unjust decisions were come to by some of our local officers in investigating and judging the titles of the landowners is, the governor-general fears, too true; but the proper way of rectifying such injustice is by a rehearing where complaint is made. This, you are aware, is the course which the governor-general is prepared to adopt, and to carry out in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. It is a very different one from proclaiming that indiscriminate restitution of all their ancient possessions is at once to be yielded to the landowners.

"8. That the hostility of the talookdars of Oude who have been most active against the British government has been provoked, or is excused, by the



injustice with which they have been treated, would seem to be your opinion.

"But I am to observe, that there are some facts which deserve to be weighed before pronouncing that this is the case.

"9. No chiefs have been more open in their rebellion than the rajahs of Churda, Bhinga, and Gonda. The governor-general believes that the first of these did not lose a single village by the summary settlement, and certainly his assessment was materially reduced. The second was dealt with in a like liberal manner. The rajah of Gonda lost about thirty villages out of 400; but his assessment was lowered by some 10,000 rupees.

"10. No one was more benefited by the change of government than the young rajah of Naupara. His estates had been the object of a civil war with a rival claimant for three years, and of these he was at once recognised as sole proprietor by the British government, losing only six villages out of more than a thousand. His mother was appointed guardian, but her troops have been fighting against us at Lucknow from the beginning.

"11. The rajah of Dhowra, also a minor, was treated with equal liberality. Every village was settled with his family; yet these people turned upon Captain Hearsey and his party, refused them shelter, pursued them, captured the ladies, and sent them into Lucknow.

"12. Ushruf Bux Khan, a large talookdar in Gonda, who had long been an object of persecution by the late government, was established in the possession of all his property by us; yet he has been strongly hostile.

"13. It is clear that injustice at the hands of the British government has not been the cause of the hostility which, in these instances at least, has been displayed towards our rule.

"14. The moving spirit of these men and of others amongst the chiefs of Oude must be looked for elsewhere; and, in the opinion of the governor-general, it is to be found mainly in the repugnance which they feel to suffer any restraint of their hitherto arbitrary powers over those about them, to a diminution of their importance by being brought under equal laws, and to the obligation of disbanding their armed followers, and of living a peaceful and orderly life.

"The penalty of confiscation of property is no more than a just one in such cases as have been above recited; and although considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribe a relaxation of the sentence more or less large according to the features of each case, this relaxation must be preceded by submission; and the governor-general cannot consent to offer all, without distinction, an entire exemption from penalty, and the restoration of all former possessions, even though they should not have been guilty of the murder of Europeans.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE,
"Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-general."

By the middle of April, the proclamation, aided by the judicious but stringent regulations of the authorities, began to produce a beneficial effect upon the city, into which the fugitive inhabitants were daily returning; and such of them of importance as

had remained concealed upon the entry of the English troops, now came from their hiding-places, to offer homage and seek for pardon. The civil power, efficiently represented, had resumed its authority, and proceeded to restore law and order, and police, and a system of rewards and punishments. Police were enrolled, and thanahs or stations were established; criminals were handed over to the judge or to the triangles: but it could not be expected that after so violent a convulsion, the elements of order could instantly subside into a perfect calm, or that confidence could be universally restored. The whole city had been a chaos—a place of terror and indescribable confusion; and the license inevitable after the storm of a large city, had been magnified even beyond its actual limits. Thousands of the citizens returned to their homes, or to the wrecks of them; but tens of thousands would never return to Lucknow, for the court, and the nawabs and rajahs who once maintained them, were gone for ever, and their palaces were desolate.

Simultaneously with the restoration of something like order in the government of the city, arrangements were made for its future occupancy; and the chief engineer, Brigadier Napier, B.E., submitted to the chief commissioner and commander-in-chief a report on the most practical method of clearing away the obstructions to military operations, so that the troops might act efficiently in case of a future sudden outbreak of the inhabitants. By his plan, the Muchee Bowun, between the old residency compound and the Great Imaumbarra, which was situated upon an elevated portion of the plain in which the city stands, was selected as the key of the British position, diverging from which, wide streets were to be cleared through the winding lanes and masses of houses that intervened between it and the various strategic points, such streets forming military roads connecting the several points with each other and with the Muchee Bowun. On the north side, the Badshabagh (or King's Garden) was to be held as an outpost, and the suburbs on the same side, between it and the bridges over the Goomtee, were to be entirely swept away, and the area cleared—the desolation thus rendered necessary being looked upon as a just and natural consequence of rebellion.

No sooner was the city of Lucknow



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[THE ARMY OF OUDE.]

clearly and unequivocally again in the hands of the English civil authorities, than Sir Colin Campbell completely broke up the army of Oude. The troops had nothing more to do at that spot, while their services were urgently needed elsewhere. The regiments were reorganised into brigades and divisions; new officers were appointed in lieu of all absent on sick leave; and the dispersion of the army commenced.

Of the troops which remained at Lucknow after the departure of many of the brigades, few escaped the inconveniences attending the heat of an Indian equinox, so severely felt by Europeans. The reaction upon the system produced by a forced calm after a lengthened period of almost maddening excitement, also contributed to furnish its quota to the military hospitals; and many brave soldiers who had passed scatheless through the perils of unnumbered fights, were prostrated by the less glorious, but not less deadly alternative of sickness. The regimental hospitals were most efficient and creditable to the medical department of the service—stores, medicine, attendance, were all in abundance; and for every wounded or sick man there was an attendant to brush away the flies* with a hand punkah, and to fan his face. The food and stores of all kinds, supplied to the army, were acknowledged to be of excellent quality, and furnished most satisfactory tests of the ability and energy of the Indian commissariat.

The escape of the rebel forces from Lucknow, at the close of the siege, was numerically far more extensive and serious than had been expected or wished for by those who looked forward to a speedy pacification of India. How far the result disappointed those immediately responsible for the fact, themselves only knew; but whether it had been foreseen or not, the

* An assistant-surgeon in the division under Brigadier Franks, thus described the torments to which every one in camp was exposed from these annoying insects:—"I write this in my tent in camp (the thermometer is at 100°), not a breath of wind, and the flies—I can pity the Egyptians now—the tent is filled with them, and everything edible covered with them. We drink and eat flies; and, in our turn, are eaten by them. They nestle in your hair, and commit the most decided suicides in your tea or soup. Old-fashioned looking crickets come out of holes and stare at you; lizards run wildly across the tent; and ants, by the thousands, ply their wonted avocations, utterly unmindful of your presence. When night arrives, it becomes a little cooler, the candles are lit, all the flies except the suicides have gone to roost upon the tent poles,

immediate dispersion of large bodies of armed troops over the adjacent districts could not but be productive of renewed anxiety and trouble. From information which reached the commander-in-chief towards the end of March, it appeared that Nana Sahib was then at Bareilly with Khan Bahadoor Khan, and 2,000 men; that the Begum of Oude was at Khyrabad with 10,000 more; that other 2,000 were intrenched at Shahjehanpore; and that Khan Bahadoor and the Nana were arranging a scheme of operations that should have for its theatre the vast province of Rohilcund, the greater part of which still continued, as it had been for the previous nine months, in the hands of the rebels, whose numbers were now augmented by some of the mutinous regiments that managed to escape from Lucknow.

On the 20th of March, the commander-in-chief issued a general order, prescribing to the several columns or divisions of the army that had been engaged in the operations at Lucknow, the duties to which they were to be thenceforth devoted. The 5th and 78th regiments were removed from the Alumbagh to Cawnpore; the artillery in park at the former place was to be divided—some to join the camp at Lucknow, the remainder to move with the head-quarters of the 5th regiment. The troops left at Lucknow, consisting of the 20th, 28th, 33rd, 53rd, 90th, and part of the 93rd, British regiments, with the 2nd dragoon guards, three Punjab regiments of horse, and various detachments of artillery and engineers, were formed into a division under Sir Hope Grant, who had with him Brigadiers W. Campbell and Barker, as subordinate commanders. Sir Edward Lugard was directed to form and command a division, to be called the "Azimgurh field force," to consist of her majesty's 10th

and you fancy that your troubles are over. Vain hope! The tent doors are open, in flies a locust, hops into some dish, kicks himself out again, hitting you in the face, and finally bolts out at the opposite door. Then comes a flock of moths, all sizes and shapes, which dart madly at the lights. At last you put out your candle, and get into bed, when a new sound commences—hum-hum, something soft and light settles on your face and hands, a sensation of red-hot needles intimates that the mosquitoes are upon you. The domestic flea and bug also abound, their appetites quite unimpaired by the climate. Jackals and pariah dogs yell and howl all night. Day dawns and you have your flies down upon you as lively as ever. One needs be tired, to sleep with such tent comforts, and such pertinacious visitors."



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regiment, with detachments of cavalry, artillery, and engineers, and whatever other troops might at the time be in the Azimgurh district. Another division, for service in Rohilcund, comprising the 42nd, 79th, and part of the 93rd infantry, two battalions of the rifle brigade, the 1st Bengal Europeans, two regiments of native infantry, the 7th hussars and 9th lancers, three regiments of Punjab cavalry, with the naval brigade belonging to her majesty's steam-frigate *Shannon*, and detachments of artillery and engineers, were placed under the command of General Walpole. For each of these grand divisions of the army of Oude, a campaign of extraordinary difficulty presented itself, whether as regarded the harassing and desultory nature of the operations which the peculiar tactics of the rebel commanders rendered compulsory, or the heat of the weather, which had now become intense, and materially impaired the energetic action of European troops.

But whatever were the difficulties to be yet encountered, the gratifying fact remained, that the important city of Lucknow, with its palaces and fortifications, and garrisoned by a force at least four times exceeding the number of its assailants, had bowed to the valour of British arms, and was now at the mercy of its captors. Twice had the vast and exulting host of insurgents that had converted it into a sanguinary battle-ground, seen the English columns retire but half victorious from the walls; and it may have been, that, in spite of the loss by which the temporary respite from final defeat was obtained, the rebels yet hoped that mere numbers, aided by the courage of despair, would obtain for them a similar result when the next struggle should occur, and that the survivors of their forces would see the English flag a third time borne backward from their city. They knew, indeed, that the besieging army had been swelled by thousands of men fresh from Europe; but they had also seen their own ranks for many weeks continually augmented by fugitive bands from all parts of India. If, therefore, numbers could avail, they had reason for hope. But whatever their ground of confidence, it must have been dissipated in a moment, when the tremendous power of such an artillery as Sir Colin Campbell had collected were directed against their walls. Before that fire, no native force of India could stand; and thus the myriads who

garrisoned Lucknow were driven from stronghold to stronghold, and from palace to palace, until nothing remained for them but lives preserved to them by precipitate and inglorious flight.

On the part of the English, the victory was assuredly great; and its importance was not confined to the mere fact of the recovery of Lucknow—but it was not without its alloy. Amongst the noble blood poured out amidst the streets and palaces of the city, was some which flowed through the veins of men whose names belong to history, and whose loss to their country was poorly compensated by the capture of a rebellious city, and the dispersion of its ignoble garrison.

Public opinion in India, as represented by the press of the three presidencies, was decidedly adverse to the idea that all had been done which might have been accomplished by the magnificent army under the orders of Sir Colin Campbell. While that imposing array of veteran soldiers, with its Ghoorka and other allies, was surrounding Lucknow, India stood at gaze, and expected, as the consummation of the grand struggle, a carnage in which the revolted army of Bengal would be utterly extinguished; but a road of escape—whether through inability to close it, or at the bidding of a dangerous compassion—was left open, and through it the greater portion of the vast garrison of Lucknow was permitted to retire unscathed into the more difficult region of Rohilcund. According to the estimate of the Calcutta papers, 3,000 rebels perished in the last struggle at Lucknow; a loss which was immediately replaced by the junction of the remainder with the forces of Khan Bahadoor, and other chiefs in arms. The capital had indeed fallen; but Oude still remained unsubdued, and anarchy reigned in all its provinces. The feelings of the people were bitterly hostile to the English rule, and all efforts to conciliate them were for a long time unavailing. The country people around Lucknow, upon whom much depended for the sustenance of the English garrison, would neither bring provisions into the city, nor supply the troops with them; and to such an extent was their vindictiveness carried, that the men in search of food dared not wander from the main body. The proclamation of the governor-general, to which reference has been already made,* was, for a time, supposed to



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have strengthened this ill-feeling. "It makes," said a writer in the *Friend of India*, "every man in Oude a declared enemy, and does not exhibit any means by which such enmity can be coerced. As an amnesty, the boon conferred is ridiculous; for what power have we to put to death five millions of human beings? The British government will be held up as both weak and rapacious. As weak, in offering the life it has not the power to take; as rapacious, in seizing estates to which it has no right."

At the end of April, there had been little change in the aspect of rebel affairs throughout Oude. The begum had strengthened

herself in a fortress on the Gogra; the moulvie was at Sundeela, thirty miles north-west of Lucknow; and the principal zemindars still held aloof. On the British side, General Outram had given over charge of the chief commissionership of Oude to Mr. Montgomery, who had already distinguished himself by his able administration in the Punjab; and a new staff of commissioners and their subordinates was appointed, to conduct the civil government of the country as it should progressively fall into their hands through the exertions of the military force, or by the as yet uncertain, unconditional submission of the zemindars.

CHAPTER X.

PROPOSED OPERATIONS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; KOER SING; MOVEMENTS OF SIR E. LUGARD; ATROWLIA; AZINGURH SEIZED BY THE REBELS; ADVANCE OF BRITISH TROOPS FOR ITS RECAPTURE; REPULSE OF COLONEL MILMAN; ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS; EVACUATION OF THE CITY BY THE REBELS; PURSUIT OF KOER SING, AND REWARD FOR HIS CAPTURE; JUGDESPORE; ARRAN; DEATH OF CAPTAIN LE GRAND; CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR HUGH ROSE; ADVANCE ON JHANSIE; OVERTURES FROM THE RANEE REJECTED; BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY; ARRIVAL OF REBEL FORCE UNDER TANTIA TOPEE; BATTLE BEFORE JHANSIE; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS; ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE TOWN AND FORT; FLIGHT OF THE RANEE TO CALPEE; CORRESPONDENCE; THE MASSACRE OF JUNE, 1857; PURSUIT BY SIR HUGH ROSE; REBELS DEFEATED AT POONCH; BATTLE OF KONCH; ADVANCE TO CALPEE; FIGHT AND FLIGHT OF THE REBELS; ESCAPE OF THE RANEE TOWARDS GWALIOR; KOTAH; ADVANCE OF GENERAL ROBERTS; BOMBARDMENT OF THE TOWN; ASSAULT AND CAPTURE; FLIGHT OF THE GARRISON; DISTRIBUTION OF THE RAJPOOTANA FIELD FORCE.

IN the first glow of satisfaction induced by the triumph achieved at Lucknow, the anticipations of its results were much too sanguine. The enemy had certainly been driven from their great stronghold; but they were only scattered abroad to wage a fresh and harassing war against European troops, the greater part of whom were scarcely yet acclimated, in numerous detached bodies, and under circumstances in which all the advantage was on their side. Under any conditions, a guerilla war was undesirable; but with the circumstances that then existed, its necessity was inevitable; and, unfortunately, its duration appeared likely to be interminable. The hot weather was just setting in; and during the five succeeding months, in a climate where exposure to the sun is ordinarily deemed fatal, the English troops had the combined adverse influences of the season,

and of a desultory and harassing campaign, to contend with. The province of Rohilcund, which was now regarded as the battle-field of the insurrection, was so situated with regard to the British possessions in India, that from thence strong attacks might be continually organised, and simultaneously made, upon our most important posts, by which on all sides it was surrounded. The policy of the commander-in-chief, which admitted of the possibility of the enemy's escape from Lucknow into Rohilcund, still continued to be largely and widely discussed. By many, it was deemed to be a mistake on the part of Sir Colin; some, more generous, attributed the fact to circumstances beyond his control; while others averred that the evacuation of Oude by the rebels, and their temporary establishment in Rohilcund, was in accordance with the concerted plans of the chief,



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and was precisely the movement he desired. Whatever may have been his intentions, it is for us, in these pages, to deal only with his acts.

In order to trace his operations, it may be necessary to recall to memory the general position of affairs at the time of Sir Colin Campbell's victorious advance upon the capital of Oude. There were then four places, and four only, where any considerable body of rebels maintained themselves in attitudes of resolute defiance, and with marked ascendancy over the adjacent districts. Lucknow, of course, was the centre and stronghold of the insurrection, its garrison representing nothing less than the mass of mutineers escaped from Delhi. But besides Lucknow, the fort and town of Kotah, in Rajpootana, and of Jhansie, in Bundelcund, had remained, from an early period of the revolt, in the possession of strong bodies of the insurgents, nor could those provinces be effectually pacified until the garrisons in question had been subdued. Lastly, the nucleus of the old Gwalior contingent, strengthened, no doubt, by large accessions of malcontents and marauders, had taken post at Calpee, from which position it advanced at intervals against the European troops in its vicinity. The places thus indicated were all, on the Indian scale of reckoning, within short distances of each other; and the chief part of the British forces had been for some time distributed over the same parts of the country. It was the policy, however, of the commanders to concentrate their efforts on the one particular operation which was recommended by the greatest urgency, or promised the most important results; and Delhi and Lucknow consequently monopolised, in succession, all the anxieties of the commander-in-chief for the time being. Thus Calpee was disregarded, though Sir Colin Campbell, with an overpowering force, lay for some time within fifty miles of it, and its mutinous garrison was simply held in check by a small corps of observation stationed at Cawnpore; Kotah and Jhansie were left to the operations respectively of Generals Roberts and Rose, who were advancing with columns of succour from the Bombay presidency; and it was reasonably anticipated, that if the main force of the rebels could be crushed at Lucknow, the smaller bodies of insurgents might be dealt with at discretion. Such were the anticipations entertained prior to

the reoccupation of Lucknow. The escape of the greater portion of the rebel troops from that place into Rohilcund, opened a new field for exertion, and materially interfered with the realisation of the original design.

We shall now resume the narrative of active operations in the field during the hot weather campaign of 1858.

On the 10th of April, General Walpole's division, destined for action in Rohilcund, broke up from Lucknow, and commenced the march, of about 150 miles, towards Bareilly, then the principal rendezvous of the insurgent chiefs of the north-west—namely, the Nana Sahib, Khan Bahadur, the Nawab of Futteghur, and others. At the same time Coke's brigade, leaving its position at Roorkee, crossed the Ganges, and entered the rebellious province from above. The commander-in-chief also ordered his staff down to Cawnpore, intending, with the portion of the army under General Walpole's command, to proceed up the right, or Doab side of the Ganges, to Futteghur; and thence begin the Rohilcund campaign.

But it was not only in a north-westerly direction from his head-quarters at Lucknow that Sir Colin Campbell had to look for rebels to chastise. Fyzabad, on the eastern border of Oude, was occupied by an insurgent force, against which a column, under Sir Hope Grant, was put in motion on the 11th of March; while further away, in a south-easterly direction, the important town of Azimgurh, only fifty-six miles N. by E. of Benares, was closely beleaguered by the rebels, under Koer Sing, who had rendered himself conspicuous among the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, by his conduct at Arrah in the previous July.* Against this chief a brigade under the command of Sir Edward Lugard, was dispatched from Lucknow on the 20th March, and the district consigned to its protection, embraced a wide field for operations in the territory between Goruckpore and Benares, which had been reduced to order by the advance of the Nepaulese force, and the energetic movements of a column under Brigadier Franks. Subsequently, however, as the district became drained of troops by the concentration of the army round Lucknow, the insurgents and mutineers again appeared in arms, and having received an accession of strength from the

* See *ante*, p. 104.



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rebel fugitives of Lucknow, they had reoccupied Goruckpore, and marched down to attack Azimgurh. Colonel Milman, commanding a wing of the 37th regiment, quartered in the station, upon receiving intelligence of their intention, on the 20th of the month, marched out to oppose their advance, taking with him, besides his own men, a detachment of the 4th Madras cavalry and two guns. In his anxiety to encounter the rebels, he continued to march forward until, at the village of Atrowlia, about twenty miles from the town, he came upon the advanced guard of their force, which he immediately attacked and routed, but the main body coming up in overwhelming numbers, the colonel was forced to make a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him his guns and baggage. He, however, succeeded in reaching the intrenchments near Azimgurh without any more serious loss. The rebels, numbering 4,000 men, with four guns, then advanced and took possession of the town without opposition on the 26th of March; but on the following day, a force, consisting of 200 men of her majesty's 37th regiment, two guns, and the head-quarters division of the 4th Madras cavalry, under Colonel Dames of the 37th, made a sortie from the intrenchment, driving the enemy before them with ease, in the open country, but, unfortunately, venturing to attack the town, they were repulsed, with the loss of Captain Bedford of the 37th regiment, who was killed in the action, and of eleven of the men, who were also killed or disabled. Colonel Dames then retired to the intrenchment, covered by his guns and cavalry, and there awaited the arrival of reinforcements.

The following extract from a letter, dated Ghazepore, April 4th, affords an interior view of the doings of the rebel chief:—

"Koer Sing has taken possession of Azimgurh. He got hold of the gomasta of the opium agency, and wanted him to pay down 5,000 rupees. Of course, he could not give this large sum, so he tied him to a gun to blow the poor fellow off. Just at that moment our soldiers that were in the fort came out, at the time his men were cooking their dinner, and killed about forty, and in the hurry and confusion, a sepoy that knew him cut the rope with which the gomasta was bound, and he made his escape to Ghazepore. Before this man was tied to the gun, Koer Sing asked him how many soldiers were in the Ghazepore fort, and

about the arrival of the treasure. The man said he did not know. He was then asked, whether there were any steamers lying at the ghât, on which point he could give no information. The chief laughed, and said, 'Oh! you want to hide everything from me; I know very well, there are only thirty-six soldiers in the fort, and six lacs of treasure kept in the cutcherry near the western gate—what you call Suddur gate.' So you see, the fellow gets all the news of every place. The Madras cavalry that were at Azimgurh would not fight. Those sent here were all Mussulmen—suspicious-looking fellows. One day a washerman was washing our clothes, when one of them asked, 'Whose clothes are you washing?' The answer being, 'Sahib loges,' the fellow said, 'Wash on for a few days more, and then we will see how you will again wash Sahib loges' clothes.' Thank God they have gone back to Azimgurh. Four of them wanted to come inside the factory to see the place, but I would not allow them in. I am living in the factory. Do not be alarmed for me. All will be well, by the interposition of Almighty God in behalf of his people."

Sir Edward Lugard marched from Lucknow, as before stated, in the last week of March, for the purpose of relieving Azimgurh; but found his passage obstructed by the destruction of a bridge over the Goomtee at Sultanpore, a town thirty-four miles south of Oude, on the road to Azimgurh. The consequence was of necessity a change of route, which was notified to the secretary of the governor-general at Allahabad, in the following telegram from Sir Edward Lugard:—

"Sultanpore Cantonments, April 5th, 1858.

"Be so good as to tell his excellency that I arrived here this morning all right, but owing to the bridge having been destroyed by fire, and there being no boats, I could not effect a crossing under a week; I therefore proceeded down the right bank towards Jaunpore."

Pursuing this route, Sir Edward reached the last named place on the 9th of the month; from whence, on the evening of the following day, he marched to encounter a rebel chuckledar named Gholaum Hussein; but the enemy had no stomach for the fight, and prudently retired with all possible celerity; but not without serious loss of men and guns: the fact was announced by Brigadier-general Lugard, in the following telegram:—

"Camp Pigree, April, 1858.

"I marched to this place yesterday, expecting to find the force under Gholam Hussein, which had plundered and burnt the village of Selmedapore the previous day, and had actually threatened Jaunpore. On arriving, found that the rebels to the number of 3,000 with two guns were about five or six miles distant. My troops were too exhausted from the excessive heat, and a sixteen miles march, to proceed; but in the evening on hearing that there was a movement amongst the enemy, I pursued with three horse artillery guns and cavalry, came up with him, killed about eighty, dispersed the remainder, and captured their two guns, which are now in my camp. One officer, Lieutenant Charles Havelock* killed, and six sowars wounded."

The detour rendered necessary by the destruction of the bridge at Sultanpore, materially retarded the advance of Lugard's corps upon Azimgurh, which he did not reach until the 15th of April; but in the meantime, events of importance were in progress in the immediate neighbourhood of that town, consequent upon the repulse of the troops under Colonel Milman, and the rapid advance of a rebel force under Koer Sing.

As soon as intelligence of the unsuccessful effort of Colonel Milman had reached Benares, coupled with a rumour that the enemy had actually taken possession of Azimgurh, a force consisting of 450 men of her majesty's 18th regiment, and forty-six of the Madras rifles, were at once dispatched under Lord Mark Kerr, to the aid of the English commanders. The reinforcement also took under its charge a train of 300 bullock carts, conveying ammunition and stores for the troops in the intrenchment. Notwithstanding the heavy impediment to rapid movement presented by this large convoy, the troops marched with such celerity, as to arrive within ten miles of the station on the third day after quitting Benares. On the following morning (April 6th) the force reached Azimgurh, where it was confronted by the enemy, who occupied a position of great strength on both sides of the main road; their right resting on a strong walled village, and their left being protected by a ditch and embankment; they had also partly destroyed a bridge in their

rear, to assist them in their retreat into the town, if necessary. The attack was commenced with great spirit by the rebels, whose fire was very severe; but the Europeans maintained their claim to victory, by driving the enemy back into the town with considerable loss. On the British side, one officer (Captain Jones) was killed, and another wounded, and twenty-five men were numbered among the casualties of the day. The position of the convoy was, at one period of the struggle, extremely critical; as, while Lord Mark Kerr was arduously engaged with the enemy immediately in front of him, a large body of the rebel horse moved round to the rear, and made a furious onslaught upon the handful of troops left for the protection of the convoy. The attempt to cut off the latter, was, however, frustrated by the gallantry of the escort, the officer in charge of which (Captain Jones) was killed in the encounter. After this narrow escape from numbers that should have been overpowering and resistless, Lord Mark Kerr succeeded in reaching the intrenchment with his charge, where he remained watching the enemy until the arrival of the larger force under Sir Edward Lugard, enabled him to quit the position for active service. The rebel chief did not, however, wait for an encounter with that general; but after a few days of indecision, the 13th of April was reported as auspicious for the movement of the force; and on that day, Koer Sing and part of his followers quietly evacuated the town; the remainder of his men and guns marching on the 14th, General Lugard being then within seven miles of Azimgurh, which was still occupied by a strong body of insurgents belonging to the place, and several hundred sepoys of the mutinied regiments.

The retirement of the force under Koer Sing was reported to the government by a telegram from the officer commanding at Benares, as follows:—

"April 16th, 1858.

"By express dated this morning the magistrate of Azimgurh reported that a large body of the rebels of that place with two horse artillery guns had marched off, it was supposed towards Ghazepore. It being

* This officer was a nephew of the general whose name is intimately connected with the series of brilliant triumphs, crowned by the timely relief of Lucknow (see p. 41). The lieutenant, at the commencement of the mutiny, was adjutant of the 12th Bengal native irregular cavalry, and was thrown out of the regular service by the revolt of that regiment. He afterwards joined his uncle as a volunteer, and for nine months was more or less actively employed

in and around Lucknow. When General Lugard left the army in Oude, with the column he now commanded, Lieutenant Havelock accompanied him, holding a command in a Ghoorka battalion. In the skirmish near Jaunpore, a lurking scoundrel fired at him from a hut window as he passed, and the shot took effect in his face. He survived the injury but a few hours, and his loss was a cause of deep regret to all that knew him.



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uncertain whether any troops can be spared from Azimgurh for the protection of Ghazee pore, and as the safety of that place is too important to be left to chance, the two companies of her majesty's 54th have been ordered to reach Ghazee pore in two marches, and that the soldiers may not be over-fatigued, I have arranged that one-half of them shall ride on elephants or ekahs."

On the 15th of April, as before mentioned, the division under Sir Edward Lugard, came within sight of Azimgurh; and upon his arrival at the bridge of boats which crossed the river Tonse at that place, he encountered a portion of the rebel force, which had been left to cover the retreat of Koer Sing. The men fought well, and with more determination than usual; and it was not without a severe struggle, that they were defeated and expelled the city. They retired in good order, and were pursued for about a dozen miles. In the action and pursuit, three of their guns were captured, and a few men killed and wounded. On the side of the British, twenty-five were wounded, among whom were Lieutenant Hamilton, of the 3rd Sikhs, and a civilian named Venables, who had rendered important service in the early days of the revolt; but one only was killed. As the retreat of the enemy was in the direction of Goruckpore, and likely to cause serious embarrassment in that quarter, Sir Edward Lugard dispatched Brigadier Douglas, with the 37th and 84th regiments, and some cavalry and guns in pursuit of them; himself, with the greater part of his force, remaining at Azimgurh, where, by the authority of government, a proclamation was issued, offering 25,000 rupees and a free pardon to any rebel, or other person, who should apprehend and deliver to the British authorities the person of Koer Sing, who, it was supposed, would endeavour to get into the Behar districts with his followers, most of whom were Bhojepore sepoys.

The troops under Brigadier Douglas started in pursuit of the rebel chief, and moved with such celerity as to accomplish a distance of a hundred miles in five days, ultimately overtaking the fugitive and his host on the 21st of April, at a place named Bausdeh, a town on the north bank of the Ganges, equidistant from Ghazee pore on the west, and Chuprah on the east. After a sharp encounter, in which Koer Sing himself was wounded, the enemy was routed, with the loss of a gun and four elephants. A marked instance of native hostility to the English rule was exhibited in this district by the inhabitants of the villages, who rendered

prompt assistance to the rebel chief in crossing the Ganges to his hereditary state of Jugdespore, and furnished him with information that enabled him to escape from a body of Madras cavalry under Colonel Cumberlege, which had been dispatched to intercept his flight. Upon his arrival at Jugdespore, Koer Sing, who it was reported had lost an arm, and been wounded in the thigh in the recent encounter, was joined by several thousand armed villagers collected by his brother, Umer Sing. These men were posted in the jungles which, on a former occasion, had witnessed the disaster of the troops near Arrah.

This latter place was at the time occupied by a British force, consisting of 150 men of her majesty's 35th regiment, 50 seamen of the naval brigade, and 150 of Rattray's Sikhs, the whole under the command of Captain Le Grand. This officer, hearing of the arrival of Koer Sing and his followers at Jugdespore, determined to attack the rebels, and marched for that purpose with his whole force of 350 men, and two 12-pounder howitzers, to encounter not only fearful odds in point of numbers, but also a difficulty he ought prudently to have been cognisant of. In approaching the stronghold of the rebel chief the path for the troops lay through a jungle which swarmed with the concealed enemy. The troops were there taken by surprise and shot down almost without a possibility of resistance. After some ineffectual firing of the howitzers a bugler sounded the retreat, and a panic seemed instantaneously to have seized the whole force, which was thrown into confusion and took to flight, abandoning guns and elephants, on their way to Arrah, whither, to within two miles, they were pursued by the exultant enemy, who shot and cut down the English soldiers without mercy. The men of the 35th regiment suffered most severely in this disastrous affair, more than two-thirds of their whole number being killed or wounded. Among the former were the unfortunate commander of the little force, Captain Le Grand, Lieutenant Massey, and Dr. Clarke. This mortifying calamity, in which the unfortunate commander appeared in the heat of military ardour to have disobeyed the instructions given to him by the superior authority in the district, occasioned much angry comment; and the result was by no means favourable to the professional reputation of the officer in command of the ill-fated men who were sent into the



jungle—as cattle are sent into the slaughter-house—to die.

The following letter supplies a full report of this disastrous affair. It is dated from Fort Arrah, April 26th:—"On the evening of the 22nd instant, a detachment, under the command of Captain Le Grand, marched out with a view of looking up the mutineers at Judgespore. We marched till half-past twelve o'clock, when the detachment was halted for refreshment and rest; and, at five the following morning, we again started, but had not proceeded far, when the enemy were observed in a village two miles from Judgespore, busily employed in throwing up a breastwork, which pursuit we quickly compelled them to abandon. A couple of howitzers were moved up, and some shells were thrown into the village; and the 7th company of the 35th deployed into line, while the Sikhs and sailors advanced in quarter distance column, with the 5th company thrown out, under Lieutenants Ross and Parsons as skirmishers. Upon arriving at the village we found it deserted, so we pushed on where the road led through a grove of mangoes. The skirmishers on the right, observing the enemy in great numbers flocking into a formidable position, opened fire on them, which was taken up by the whole line. The column was then halted, and ordered to form in line; but the men were so impatient, so eager to take revenge, that they paid no attention to the order! A few seconds after a cheer was given by the skirmishers, who perceiving the enemy pushing on in dense masses, were preparing to give them a taste of the bayonet, when the bugle sounded for them to fall back: this was a fatal error, it quite disheartened the men; and the enemy, who had wavered at the cheer and bold front of our men, now grew valiant as they advanced unmolested, and took a position behind trees, brushwood, &c.; and opened a galling fire from two guns, which was soon responded to by our artillery and infantry, and the action then became general. After an hour's fighting they outflanked us on the right and left, and their cavalry made an attempt to get in our rear and cut off our retreat. The order was now given to retire—that order which no English soldier likes to hear, but it was obeyed; our two guns being necessarily left behind, as the horses that dragged them to the place were not now to be found. They were first spiked in the face of the enemy by Sergeant Howleben

and gunners Heytrov and Watson of the artillery, who nobly fell in the act of duty.

"I have proceeded thus far, but I am really ashamed to write further: however, as I have begun I will end it. We began our retreat in a most orderly manner out of the jungle, driving the enemy back wherever they approached too near, till we reached a tank in the open plain, where soldiers, sailors, Sikhs and followers began swallowing stagnant water, as they could get no better, and were fainting with thirst, when a cry was raised that the cavalry was thundering down on us; but no one would rise till Dr. Clarke, running forward, drew his sword, and called on the men to form a square round him. A sort of one was formed, and a volley discharged into the approaching horsemen, which soon made the blood-thirsty villains turn about and be off. After this the retreat was disgraceful; every man had his own way; no commands were listened to; the men were raving wild; and when we gained the main road, a more dreadful scene never before was beheld. The European portion of the force were falling from apoplexy by sections, and no aid could be administered, as the medical stores were captured by the enemy; the dhooly-bearers having fled, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the medical officers to keep them to their post. What was to be done? What aid could be given them? Nothing. There were sixteen elephants, but they carried the wounded; so the poor unfortunate beings were left behind, to be cut to pieces. The buglers would sound the halt, the greatest portion of the Europeans, with about twenty or thirty brave Sikhs, stood; but where was the main body?—advancing on, regardless of their comrades.

"About two miles from the village, on the retreat, Captain Le Grand was shot through the breast, and died; Lieutenant Massey and poor Dr. Clarke, both of the 35th, fell from apoplexy on the road, and were left to the mercy of the enemy. When we had got five or six miles on the road, the soldiers and sailors were unable to load and fire their pieces through exhaustion; while the main body of the Sikhs, who were accustomed to marching under a burning sun, kept a-head with the elephants instead of covering our retreat, and the only time they did so was about three miles from Arrah, when there were only about eighty Europeans left from 199. They got off the



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A.D. 1858.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE RANEE OF JHANSIE.]

road near a large house, and when the enemy approached near enough they brought them down very thickly. The Dinapore folks have it that the 35th ran away from their officers, and left them to be cut up. This is a disgraceful calumny, and I am happy to have it in my power to contradict it. Had the men been handled at the outset as Neille handled his fistful of men, they would have gone through fire and beaten the rebels, though they were twenty times their number. Our loss is immense.

In consequence of this unfortunate mishap near Jugdespore, a new series of operations became necessary; and Brigadier Douglas, crossed the Ganges at Seena ghât on the 25th of the month, with a strong detachment of the 84th foot and two guns, for the purpose of clearing the jungle, that had been so fatal to our troops. This, however, was a work of time; and it was not until the middle of May that the rebel haunt was effectually broken up.

While the commander-in-chief was arranging, and his lieutenants, diverging from Oude in various directions, were carrying his well-concerted plans into operation, the progress of the war continued active in all parts of the revolted provinces; and although success, as usual, crowned the efforts of British prowess, triumph in one quarter was but a prelude to renewed struggles in another. The whole country was in a blaze of insurrection; and the fires were no sooner trampled out in the east, than they broke out with renewed intensity in the west, and spread north and south in their devastating flight. The region south-west of the Jumna, comprising Bundelcund, Central India, and Rajpootana, was thus specially afflicted.

Among the commanders who eminently distinguished themselves at this period, were General Sir Hugh Rose, commanding the Central India field force, and Major Roberts, who had under him the division of the army known as the Rajpootana field force, both of whom were now to add to the triumphs of the British army in India. The former commander, after a succession of brilliant operations, in various parts of the vast region through which he led his troops from January to March, at length, by press of circumstances, found it necessary to direct his attention to the town and fort of Jhansie, then held by a strong force of the insurgents, under the ranee in person. This extraordinary woman was the

wife or mother of the last rajah, and who appears to have united the martial spirit of her race with extraordinary ability and aptitude for command, had determined upon a formidable resistance to the English troops; and, having a force of near 12,000 men, and a strongly fortified position in which to meet an attack, the attempt to subjugate her was one of no small difficulty. It, however, had to be done; and it was accomplished.

On the 20th of March, Sir Hugh Rose, after disposing of a number of captured forts in his way, arrived before Jhansie with the first division of his force, consisting of horse artillery and cavalry, and at once proceeded to invest the place. The two following days brought with them successively the two remaining divisions of his army; and, as far as was practicable, a cordon was drawn around the city. For want of a plan of the town, repeated *reconnaisances* were necessary, and consequent delay; but on the 23rd, a fire, both vertical and horizontal, was opened from a flanking battery in an excellent position, which told well upon the fortifications of the town, then defended by some 1,500 sepoys, 10,000 Bundelars, and about 500 sowars. The position was strong, the town having a good wall, mounted by many guns;—above the town, and constituting a separate and very formidable point of defence, frowned the huge castellated palace of the former rajahs; and thither, from her palace in the town, the ranee repaired upon the investment of the latter by the British troops. The qualifications of this lady for command at this crisis, were exhibited in two directions—first, by extreme cunning, and secondly, by an indomitable spirit. At first, with a view of feeling her way, the ranee assumed a condescending and even friendly tone to the British commander, and attempted to open a correspondence with him, in which she expressed a desire to visit his camp, for the purpose of an amicable arrangement of the existing difficulty. Sir Hugh Rose, however, knew the cruel and treacherous character of the artful woman, and was probably aware of her real design in this proposition, and he at once put an end to further overtures of the kind by informing the messenger, that if his mistress should presume to enter the British lines, upon any pretext, she would, although a woman and a princess, most assuredly be hanged, in just retribution for

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the murders committed by her orders. This, of course, stopped further negotiation of any kind, and the ranees bravely determined to defend herself to the last; nor was there at any time during the continuance of the siege any symptoms of weakness or vacillation on her part, or that of her personal adherents.

A letter from the camp before Jhansie, dated March 26th, says—"The enemy are returning shot for shot, and their guns are admirably managed by a Bengal artilleryman, who has been distinctly seen, through a telescope, laying them so as to make them bear on our positions. We have four batteries round the fort and town, and keep peppering away day and night. A party of the 3rd Europeans is posted under cover of a mound near the fort, and they, with their Enfields, topple over any of the enemy who show their heads about the walls. There were nine mutineers hung on the 24th, and yesterday evening twenty-eight were shot to death by musketry. A *tehseeldar*, who formerly belonged to our service, but who had been seen with the enemy at Chunderie, leading or encouraging them on, came in a few days ago, with the face of brass, to pay his respects to Sir Robert Hamilton. Sir Robert desired him to be seated, went over to the general's tent, and in less than five minutes the said *tehseeldar* was seen hanging in silks in a prominent position in front of the enemy, who fired on our people while the execution was being performed. We have a fakir prisoner, who was present in Jhansie when the massacre of our countrywomen and men took place: his life was spared on condition that he would point out where the magazine of the rebels was situated—and I am glad to say his information has proved of some service already; for yesterday, our batteries were pouring red-hot balls and live carcasses into the fort and town, and set the latter on fire in several places. The magazine, has, however, as yet escaped. The 1st brigade joined us yesterday morning; and when their siege train begins to play, we may soon expect the fort to be breached. We moved ground this morning to the right of the fort, and the other brigade took up a position to the left."

By the 28th of the month, two 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, two 10-inch and six 8-inch mortars with some light field pieces, were pouring their iron mes-

sengers of death and devastation upon the town. The fire of the enemy in return was vigorously sustained, and so well directed, that the officers were confirmed in their opinion that some European or well trained native *golandauze*, commanded their artillery. While this interchange of mischief was carried on with untiring spirit by both parties, intelligence reached Sir Hugh Rose that a large rebel force commanded by Tantia Topce, a relative of Nana Sahib, and his principal agent in seducing the Gwalior contingent from its fealty, was on the way to relieve the city. This necessitated the division of Sir Hugh's army into two parts, one to continue the siege, the other to meet the advancing enemy in the field, who numbered from twenty to twenty-five thousand men. On the morning of the 1st of April, the two forces joined battle; but as General Rose was determined not to cease or slacken the fire of his batteries upon the town, or discontinue the investment of it, he had but a small portion of his troops to oppose to the immensely numerical superiority of the enemy; this portion he, however, manœuvred with the eye of one familiar with the battle-field, and it accomplished gloriously the task assigned to it. Dividing his small force into three divisions, one of which remained to carry on the bombardment of the town, he, with the other two, proceeded to attack the advancing enemy in front and flank. After a cannonade, which the rebels contrary to their custom bore for some time without falling into confusion, the cavalry were ordered to charge. For the first time in the sepoy war, the rebels formed squares, received the charge with the bayonet and twice repulsed the horsemen. The third time the latter came on in front and flank at the same time, the square was broken and the enemy, thrown into confusion, began to retreat. They were, however, rallied and again attempted to hold their ground, but a fourth charge utterly routed them, and they fled precipitately towards the river Betwa, in which hundreds who had escaped the sword met with a miserable death. The rear brigade of the enemy, in which were two regiments of the Gwalior contingent, was at the same time cut up and dispersed by the second division of the British force, after a short but desperate resistance, in which they exhibited extraordinary resolution, and many instances of individual bravery, that would have been honourable had their arm