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THE LIFE
OF
COLIN CAMPBELL, LORD CLYDE

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THE LIFE

OF

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COLIN CAMPBELL, LORD CLYDE

ILLUSTRATED BY EXTRACTS FROM HIS DIARY
AND CORRESPONDENCE

BY

LIEUT.-GENERAL SHADWELL, C.B.



IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.



WITH PORTRAIT AND MAPS

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

MDCCCLXXXI

1881



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LIFE OF LORD CLYDE.

CHAPTER XII.

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THE troops were in motion at sunrise on the 12th November 1857. Midway between the camp and the Alum Bagh the head of the column encountered a body of infantry, covered by two guns, which



opened upon it from the right of the road. They were met by the cavalry and artillery of the advance-guard, supported by Bouchier's field-battery, and after a short but sharp fight, were driven off, their guns being captured in a brilliant charge of a squadron of Hodson's Irregular Horse. That afternoon the camp was pitched a short distance in rear of the Alum Bagh, out of range of artillery-fire, to which that post was exposed. Mr Kavanagh having brought a code of signals from Sir James Outram, a semaphore was erected on the Alum Bagh, to communicate with one established in the Residency.

The force halted on the 13th to complete its preparations for the final advance. All the camp equipage was stored in the Alum Bagh, from which the effective men of the British regiments with Sir James Outram were removed and formed into two small provisional battalions. The 75th Regiment, less than 300 strong and "much harassed by its late exertions," together with some 50 men of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore and a detachment of artillery, constituted the garrison of this post. A party was despatched against the fort of Jellalabad, on which the body of the enemy defeated by the advance-guard the previous day had retired. The fort was found to have been abandoned during the night; but as its reoccupation would have threatened the communication with the Alum Bagh, it was rendered indefensible. In the afternoon Sir Colin pushed forward a strong reconnaissance to his left front, with



the object of deceiving the enemy as to his real line of advance.

Some reinforcements having reached camp during the 13th, and in anticipation of further arrivals the following morning, the finishing stroke was given to the organisation of the force. The infantry did not exceed 3800 bayonets, divided into three nominal brigades. That commanded by the Honourable Adrian Hope was the strongest. It was composed of the 93d Highlanders—a regiment of seasoned veterans, with its full number of companies, and, judged by its Crimean antecedents, of a quality not to be surpassed; a wing of the 53d Foot, an old and acclimatised regiment; the 4th Punjab Infantry, weak in numbers, but reliable soldiers, ready to emulate their European comrades in any deed of daring; and one of the slender provisional battalions. The two other brigades were mere skeletons: one, commanded by Brigadier Greathed, was formed out of the remnants of the 8th Foot, distinguished at Delhi; the 2d Punjab Infantry, which had also rendered good service there, though its numbers were greatly diminished; and a battalion of detachments. The headquarters of the 23d Fusiliers—a regiment of great renown, but which, owing to the severity of its losses in the Crimea, had none but young soldiers in its ranks—together with two companies of the 82d Foot, made up the other, which was placed under the command of Brigadier Russell.¹

¹ General Sir David Russell, K.C.B.



The artillery comprised Peel's naval brigade, consisting of six 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and two rocket-tubes; the sixteen field-guns which had accompanied Greathed's column; a heavy and a light field-battery of Royal Artillery, and one half field-battery of Bengal Artillery; a mortar battery manned by Royal Artillery; and two Madras native horse-artillery guns,—in all, thirty-nine guns and howitzers, six mortars, and two rocket-tubes. Upon this admirable and apparently disproportionate force of artillery, Sir Colin depended for the clearance of the formidable obstacles which interposed between him and the garrison he had come to relieve. The cavalry was the same as had formed part of Greathed's column, supplemented by the addition of the detachment of the military train, organised as two squadrons of cavalry. The little brigade of engineers comprised a company of Royal Engineers, a company of Madras sappers, a few Bengal sappers who had taken part in the siege of Delhi, and two companies of Punjab pioneers.

When all the arrangements were completed, Sir Colin's final act was to write to his sister, with whom he had occasion to communicate regarding his private affairs, in case of any accident befalling him. "I march"—so runs his letter—"to-morrow to a position from whence I purpose to act against the part of the city which is nearest to the place wherein our countrymen and countrywomen are surrounded. My force is high and powerful in spirit



and courage, but our numbers are not so many as might be desirable. Our friends in Lucknow have food only for five or six days, and the effort must be made to save them at every cost, and I hope to succeed."

At 9 A.M. on the morning of the 14th, the column of route having been formed under Sir Colin's eye, the flank movement to the Dil Khooshah commenced. As the rear-guard moved off, the expected reinforcements joined it. Passing over a plain of cultivated ground between the Char Bagh and the fort of Jellalabad, the force met with no opposition until it neared the Dil Khooshah park, when a long line of musketry-fire opened upon it. The advanced-guard was immediately reinforced; and whilst our skirmishers advanced against the palace under cover of artillery-fire, some of the cavalry and horse-artillery, pushing through a gap in the park-wall, menaced the retreat of the enemy, who quickly abandoned the building and made for the Martiniere College, situated at the foot of the plateau, a short distance from the Goomtee. The enemy having apparently recovered his surprise, opened some guns from the Martiniere on our cavalry, as it approached the edge of the plateau on which the Dil Khooshah stands; but they were immediately silenced by the fire of two of Travers's heavy guns and the light field-batteries. The 8th Foot and the 1st battalion detachments skirmished down the hill and drove the enemy from the Martiniere through its garden and park across the canal, the squadrons of Punjab cavalry join-



ing in the pursuit. The Dil Khooshah was occupied, and the headquarters established in the Martiniere. Hope's brigade was posted in the wood of the Martiniere, opposite a bridge over the canal, flanked on the high ground to the left by two of Peel's guns and Bouchier's field-battery. About an hour before sunset, just as Sir Colin had completed a survey of the panorama from the top of the Martiniere, on which a semaphore had been established, and by means of which some messages had been exchanged with Sir James Outram, the enemy attacked the position from the suburb on the farther side of the canal with some guns and a considerable body of infantry. Checked by the 93d—formed opposite the bridge—and succumbing to the superior artillery-fire brought to bear upon him, he was speedily driven from the cover he occupied by a spirited movement of the 53d and 4th Punjab Infantry across the canal.

A force having been posted for the defence of the Martiniere and Dil Khooshah, the troops bivouacked on the ground with their arms beside them. A halt was now made for twenty-four hours, to admit of the rear-guard closing up. It had been perpetually engaged with the enemy on the previous day, and did not reach the Dil Khooshah till late on the morning of the 15th. The troops were completed with a supply of small-arm ammunition, and rations were served out to be cooked and carried with them. A field-hospital and the headquarters of the commissariat were established at the Dil Khooshah, in which all the





baggage was deposited, the defence of the post being committed to a mixed force, including the 8th Foot, half of the cavalry, and five guns, which were placed under Brigadier Little,¹ commanding the cavalry brigade. When this detachment was deducted, the strength of the force available for the actual operation against the Residency did not exceed 4200 men.

In the afternoon an attack on the pickets on the extreme right of the position was repulsed by the cavalry and horse-artillery, two guns of the Madras native troop of horse-artillery being prominently engaged.

From the Martiniere a metalled road crosses the canal by the bridge which had been defended by the 93d the previous day. This road leads through suburbs and gardens up to the Begum's palace. From the Begum's palace are two roads,—one running down the Huzrut Gunj and in front of the Kaiser Bagh; the other, branching off at right angles and passing between the barracks and the suburbs, leads direct to the Secunder Bagh. The latter was the route taken by Havelock. It was also the road recommended by Sir James Outram in the memorandum previously referred to. There was clear evidence that the enemy occupied the suburbs in force; and there was every reason to fear that the hospital, the Begum's palace, the barracks, and other buildings, would present formidable obstacles to the advance. Sir Colin could not afford to run the risk of compromising his

¹ General Sir A. Little, K.C.B.

scanty means, already diminished by the detachments he was obliged to leave behind him. He therefore resolved to make a detour to his right, and approach the Secunder Bagh from the open ground adjacent to the Goomtee. To lead to the supposition that the advance would be made in the direction of the suburbs, he made a reconnaissance in the afternoon. The artillery was massed on his left front, the pickets drawn in from the right of the position, and a constant fire of mortars kept up during the night on the Begum's palace and the barracks. During the reconnaissance Sir Colin satisfied himself that the ground on the right or near bank of the Goomtee was open, and favourable for the advance of the column.

On the morning of the 16th the force moved from its right, and fording the canal not far from its junction with the Goomtee, proceeded up the right bank of the river, till it struck a cart-track which led through some gardens into a village. As the advanced-guard, consisting of a strong body of cavalry, Blunt's troop of Bengal horse-artillery, and a company of the 53d, made a sharp turn to its left, it was received by a heavy fire of musketry from some huts and enclosures on its right flank. Through an opening in the street, the Secunder Bagh could be seen 150 yards distant. The moment was one of considerable danger; for the movement in advance was checked, whilst the cavalry, jammed up in the narrow lane, impeded the passage of the artillery and infantry to the front. Under the personal direc-



tion of Sir Colin, the company of the 53d lined the enclosures to its right; and a gun, run through a gap in the bank, opened on the Secunder Bagh. A party of sappers loopholed the huts facing that building, and the way was cleared by the adroit movement of the cavalry into some side lanes. Then Blunt's troop of horse-artillery, dashing up the steep bank to its right, advanced at a gallop under a heavy cross-fire, till it reached the open space between a large square enclosure or serai at the end of the lane and the Secunder Bagh. Here this gallant officer unlimbered and opened fire in three directions, with difficulty maintaining his position; for he was not only within easy musketry-range of the Secunder Bagh, but cannon opened upon him from the Kaiser Bagh, and his men and horses were falling fast from a galling fire directed upon him from the serai and other cover in close proximity to his left. Simultaneously Hope's brigade came into action and drove the enemy out of the loopholed village to the left of the lane, as well as from the serai. Whilst superintending these movements, Sir Colin was struck on the thigh by a musket-ball, which had previously passed through the body of a gunner of Blunt's troop. Fortunately, the wound was not sufficiently severe to oblige him to dismount. Two of Travers's 18-pounders having been brought up and a way cut through the bank by the sappers, they were hauled up with great labour, and opened within sixty yards of the south-western bastion of the Secunder Bagh, the infantry, under cover of an embankment, keeping



up a brisk fire on the defences of that building. In the meantime some parties of the 93d and 53d, aided by two of Blunt's guns, drove a body of the enemy from the position they held on our left front. Pursuing them across the plain, the 93d seized and held the barracks,—the 53d, in skirmishing order, connecting this post with the main attack.

The Secunder Bagh is a large brick building 150 yards square, with walls 20 feet high, and a circular bastion at each corner. It was loopholed, and the roofs of the rooms constructed between the bastions formed an admirable rampart for defence. In about an hour and a half the fire of the 18-pounders had breached an opening in the wall of the bastion sufficiently large to admit two men abreast. The place was then stormed by the 93d, 53d, and 4th Punjab Rifles, supported by Barnston's battalion of detachments. In their eagerness to reach the breach, an exciting race took place between the Highlanders and the Sikhs. The foremost climbed in through the narrow aperture in the wall; a larger number, passing to the left, made for the gateway, and overcoming its obstructions, streamed into the building; whilst the 53d broke through a window on the right. Then ensued a scene which baffles description. The enemy, caught in a trap and finding escape impossible, fought with the courage of despair. The conflict raged for hours. From the rooms above a galling fire was maintained on our troops; but the Sikhs forced their way with indomitable





courage up the staircase, using the bayonet with deadly effect, and hurled the bodies of the mutineers into the enclosures below. The carnage was frightful. Ultimately, when the building was cleared of its ghastly contents, no less than 2000 of the enemy were found to have been slain.

The afternoon was well advanced before the movement towards the Residency recommenced along the road which runs from the Secunder Bagh across a narrow but open plain. Passing a village on its left, which was cleared and occupied, the forces advanced a short distance against the Shah Nujif, a large white domed tomb, standing 100 yards to the right of the road, and surrounded by high loopholed walls. The approach to the tomb was almost hidden from view by some huts with enclosures and a fringe of jungle which intervened between it and the plain. The mortars and Peel's guns being placed in battery, opened upon this building, the defence of which proved to be most obstinate. Not only from the Shah Nujif, but from the enclosures in its front, the enemy maintained an incessant fire of musketry. A gallant attempt made by Barnston's battalion of detachments to dislodge him from the latter failed. The Sikhs, however, were successful in carrying the Kuddum Russool, a building on the right of the road. From the other side of the Goomtee a gun opened with great effect, blowing up one of the ammunition-waggons of the naval brigade, and crossing its fire with that from the enemy's batteries at the Kaiser



Bagh. The musketry-fire was causing Peel serious losses. The attack had lasted nearly three hours, yet no impression had been made on the building. The aspect of affairs was becoming serious. A retreat under the circumstances was out of the question. There remained no alternative but to fall back on the bayonet to restore the ebbing fortune of the fight. Turning to the 93d, Sir Colin directed them to prepare for the assault, and intimated to them his intention of conducting them in person. As the 93d, in eager response to the call of their favourite chief, advanced, with Barnston's battalion of detachments in support, Middleton's light field-battery was brought up, and passing in gallant style under a withering fire of musketry from the mess-house, unlimbered and opened with grape in close proximity to the building. The 93d, with Sir Colin at their head, approached the Shah Nujif, but, unable to effect an entrance, halted at its foot. The wall, 20 feet high, was still intact, and there were no means of escalading. All that could be done was to open a musketry-fire to cover Peel's guns, two of which were dragged up in the most daring manner, and opened within a few yards of the massive stone walls. But the solidity of the masonry resisted even this heroic attempt to breach them. Meanwhile the fire of the enemy was telling with fatal effect upon the assailants. Of Sir Colin's personal staff, two, the brothers Alison, were struck down;¹

¹ The elder, Major (now Major-General) Sir A. Alison, Bt., K.C.B.,

and many of the mounted officers, including Hope, his aide-de-camp, and his brigade-major, had their horses shot under them. The aspect of affairs had become very grave. The day was far spent, and the advantage rested with the enemy. To cover the removal of Peel's guns, the rocket-tubes were brought up, and discharged their contents into the building. Allgood,¹ the assistant quartermaster-general with headquarters, returned to Sir Colin, who was back in the open superintending matters, and reported the result of the attack. He was desired to inform Hope that he was not to retire till he had collected all his dead and wounded. The order was given and duly carried out. Whilst this was being done Hope, turning to Allgood, remarked, "This is very mortifying: let us take 50 men and try and look into the place before we retire." They did so, and the two friends (they had been schoolfellows) crept stealthily through the brushwood to the right of the building, and there discovered a narrow opening in the wall, up which, not without difficulty, they scrambled by each other's help. On looking into the place, they ascertained that the enemy were abandoning it. The rest of the Highlanders, coming up, were pulled through the gap, and whilst Allgood went back for a company of sappers, Hope secured the gateway, and the place was won. "Never," remarked the

lost his left arm. The younger brother, Lieutenant (afterwards Lieutenant-Col.) F. Alison, was only slightly wounded.

¹ Major-General Allgood, C.B.



former in a letter written a few days after the event, "was I the bearer of more joyful news." Thus, at the critical moment, by this fortunate and unexpected turn of events, the doubtful struggle of this hard-fought day was brought to a happy conclusion. Seldom has the fickleness of Fortune in war been more strikingly exemplified.

The Shah Nujif was occupied by the 93d. Headquarters were established in that building, and the road between the Secunder Bagh and barracks held by a strong body of infantry. In this order of formation, ready to repel any attack, the wearied troops, cold and comfortless, snatched what sleep they could. Before dawn the beating of drums and ringing of bells manifested indications of an attack. The troops stood to their arms, but the foe did not venture into the open. He limited himself to the occasional discharge of round-shot, directed against our field-hospital, established at the serai near the Secunder Bagh.

Incalculable were the advantages resulting from the hardly-won triumph of the previous day. By the capture of the enemy's stronghold on the plain, freedom of action was guaranteed to our arms. Though the obstacles which still lay in the line of advance were formidable, it was hoped that under the fire brought to bear upon them from the Residency, as well as from the artillery of the relieving force, the enemy's resistance would collapse. The *morale* of the troops was at its highest, and their



confident bearing augured well for the successful completion of the enterprise.

The next object of attack was the mess-house, a large stone building situated on the left front of the line of advance. It was fortified with a ditch 12 feet broad, escarped with masonry, with the addition of a loopholed mud-wall behind. Upon this post a heavy cannonade was directed on the morning of the 17th. Whilst Peel's guns were thus employed, some important operations were conducted against that part of the enemy's position which lay between the left rear of the barracks and the canal, threatening our left flank. The rest of the barrack-square fell into our hands, and the roads leading from the Secunder Bagh to the Begum's palace, and from thence to the canal bridge, with the adjacent suburb and gardens, were cleared of the enemy. Banks's house, an advanced position near the canal, was captured, and held by a party of the 2d Punjab Infantry,—not without loss and expenditure of time; for the enemy's fire on the extreme left from the Begum's palace and the hospital was very severe. Colonel Biddulph was killed, Brigadier Russell badly wounded; and it was not till the 18th that the measures for giving comparative security to the left flank of the force were completed.

The steady fire from the heavy guns, which had continued without intermission since the morning, had by 3 P.M. subdued the enemy's musketry-fire from the mess-house sufficiently to justify the infan-



try being launched against it. It was carried with a rush by a company of the 90th under Captain Wolseley,¹ and a picket of the 53d, supported by Barnston's battalion of detachments. A colour was planted on a tower of the building, but was twice carried away by the enemy's artillery-fire from the Kaiser Bagh. Only one building, the Motee Mahul, now intervened before Sir James Outram's position was reached. An advance towards it had been made on the 16th by the garrison, who unmasked a battery and carried the steam-engine-house and Hiran Khana, on both of which buildings the British flag was seen to be flying. After the mess-house was stormed, the infantry pursued the enemy towards the Motee Mahul, lining the wall which formed the enclosure of that building. From thence, with the assistance of the sappers, who made openings in the wall, the troops poured into the Motee Mahul. The enemy, placed between two fires, offered but slight resistance. He was quickly driven out; and before the action was at an end, communication with the garrison was established. Running a gauntlet of fire poured from the Kaiser Bagh upon the open space intervening between the garrison and the relieving force, Outram and Have-lock, not without danger to themselves and their staff, three of whom were wounded on the way, crossed over to the mess-house compounds and ex-

¹ Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Quartermaster-General of the Forces.



changed greetings with their deliverer. As soon as the enemy had been cleared out of the Motee Mahul, that building as well as the mess-house was held with strong detachments; and in order to guard against a sudden irruption upon the latter post from the Kaiser Bagh, the Tara Kothi, or observatory, which stood between them, was seized and occupied.

Such was the glorious issue of this prolonged contest, which, notwithstanding his anxiety to save his troops, cost Sir Colin the loss of 45 officers and 496 men. But only half of the design had been accomplished. Firm in his determination to withdraw the garrison and its encumbrances from Lucknow, he rejected the counsel of those who would have preferred an attack on the town, and in his first interview with the generals made his arrangements for the prosecution of his original design. To effect the retreat in security required the utmost vigilance on the part of the troops, and the greatest nicety in their handling; for the foe still held his position in overwhelming numbers, and the long line which had to be traversed by the garrison and its unwieldy convoy was exposed to artillery-fire not only from the Kaiser Bagh and the city, but also from the other side of the Goomtee. The troops were distributed in fractions, holding the numerous posts requiring occupation between the Residency and the Dil Khooshah, so that practically no reserve existed to meet the contingency of an attack in force. Notwithstanding the success of the operations on the



heavy guns were established in battery near Martin's house, and opened on the 20th against the Kaiser Bagh. Under cover of their fire, which gradually assumed the character of a bombardment, the treasure, serviceable guns, stores, &c., were removed from the Residency. Such guns as were not worth the bringing away were burst. Three breaches now yawned in the walls of the enemy's stronghold. His fire had been sensibly subdued; and as there appeared to be every indication of his attention being concentrated on the defence of the place, in anticipation of an impending assault, it was determined to seize the opportunity, and withdraw the garrison on the night of the 22d. Every arrangement was completed, and by 9 P.M. the roads by which the several detachments were to retire were reported clear of all impediments.

The movement commenced at midnight. Amidst the deepest silence the garrison filed out from the Residency and passed through the advanced posts to the rear. The advanced posts then fell back upon the next body, which, when its front was clear, retired also in like manner, until all in succession had abandoned the ground as far as the Secunder Bagh, where Hope's brigade with 15 guns were drawn up and held in hand by Sir Colin, in readiness to fall on the enemy in case he ventured to molest the retreat. As soon as the lanes in rear of that building had been passed by the remainder of the troops and it was evident that the enemy had



no intention of interfering with the movement, the rear-guard fell back ; and simultaneously with it, the troops holding the barracks and positions on the extreme left were withdrawn by the roads leading across the canal, Sir Colin remaining behind with some infantry until every gun had passed by and been reported clear of the villages in rear.

Before dawn the whole of the force had reached the ground assigned to it at the Martiniere and Dil Khooshah. But once during the operations was there any cause for alarm. The enemy opened fire whilst the rear-guard was commencing to fall back, but ceased on Peel discharging a few rockets into the Kaiser Bagh. So completely deceived was the enemy, that he not only did not follow up the retreat, but continued to fire for many hours on the posts which had been abandoned. On the afternoon of the 24th, the relieving force under Sir Colin reached the Alum Bagh with its unwieldy convoy, the movement being covered by Outram's division, which closed up on the following day.

Thus terminated in complete success these difficult operations, not the least remarkable feature in which was the steadfast adherence to the original design elaborated by Sir Colin. Admirably planned and skilfully executed, it showed what a handful of disciplined men could effect against overwhelming odds and in difficult ground, under the guidance of a leader who, together with great experience in war, possessed the confidence of his troops.



The daring courage necessary to overcome the stubborn resistance at the Secunder Bagh and Shah Nujif, the patient endurance of fatigue on continuous outpost-duty under the harassing fire of the enemy, the intelligence and perfect discipline exhibited in the delicate movement to the rear, are qualities never wanting in the ranks of the British army; but it is the part of the general to call them forth and direct them. Most conspicuously were they displayed in the relief of Lucknow; and it was with a natural feeling of pride in themselves and their commander that the troops could point to the fact that on the withdrawal of the garrison not a single life of its members, European or native, had been sacrificed.

A melancholy interruption, however, to the rejoicings of the force, was occasioned by the death of Havelock. The hardships and anxiety of the campaign had told on a frame enfeebled by a life-long service in India; and though conscious that the object for which he had so pertinaciously and gallantly striven was attained, and that his services had not been overlooked, he was called away before it was permitted him to enjoy the full measure of the rewards which his sovereign and country were anxious to lavish upon him. An accomplished soldier, an earnest Christian, he met his end with the same calm fortitude which characterised his bearing on the field of battle, and by his death conferred additional lustre on the roll of gallant men who



had already rendered up their lives in the struggle for the existence of our Indian empire. He found a resting-place in the square of the Alum Bagh, where his chief, than whom he had no more sincere admirer, assisted in paying the last respects to his honoured remains.¹

A halt was made on the 26th, to make the necessary arrangements for the equipment of a strong column—about 4000 men, with 25 guns and howitzers, and 10 mortars—which was to remain at the Alum

¹ As soon as the Government of India had expressed in official form its sorrow at Havelock's death, Sir Colin seized the occasion to convey to the army, in the following general order, his tribute to the memory of this gallant and deeply lamented officer:—

“HEADQUARTERS, CAWNPORE, 17th December 1857.

“The Governor-General in Council has expressed his deep feelings of grief at the demise of the late lamented Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., who died a martyr to duty two days after he had left the Residency at Lucknow.

“The Commander-in-chief would fain join in that expression of heartfelt sorrow.

“During a long Indian career the late Major-General was ever distinguished. The campaigns of Burmah, of Afghanistan, of Gwalior, of the Sutlej, and lastly, of this eventful year, testify to his constant presence wherever hard service was to be done and honour was to be gained.

“But his march of this year from Allahabad to Cawnpore, his frequent victories gained over immensely superior numbers, when he was nearly without artillery and cavalry, and almost destitute of the means of feeding his troops, under the sun of July and August, with cholera and fever in his camp, concluded, as it was, by the onslaught on and forced entrance into Lucknow, have established a renown which will last as long as the history of England.

“Such is the glorious heritage he leaves to his children. Such a life and such a death leave recollections pregnant with the brightest example to the armies of her Majesty the Queen and of the Honourable Company.”

Bagh, under command of Sir James Outram, with a view of keeping Lucknow in check until such time as the reduction of that important city could be undertaken at leisure.¹

In a letter addressed from the Alum Bagh to his brother Colonel Henry Eyre, Major Vincent Eyre, who commanded the artillery of Sir J. Outram's division, thus narrates his first interview with Sir Colin: "On the arrival of Sir C. Campbell to our aid, I was sent by Outram to communicate with him on sundry matters. I found him at 8.30 A.M., in a very primitive dishabille, by the roadside making his toilet for the day. As soon as my name was announced by one of the staff, he came forward *in statu quo* with eagerness, and bade me welcome for my brother's sake." Again, in allusion to Sir Colin's operations for the succour of the garrison, the writer remarks: "Sir Colin's relief of Lucknow was admirably managed, and must itself render his name famous. The removal of some 600 women and children, and 1000 wounded and sick, without a single accident or loss, in the face of a besieging enemy four times his own in numerical strength, and their safe transfer to Cawnpore, was a feat far more difficult in warfare than the defeat of an enemy in the field. Sir Colin, too, showed great judgment in resisting the efforts that were made to induce him to assault

¹ This arrangement was determined upon after a reference had been made by Sir Colin to Calcutta and the Governor-General's sanction to the proposal had been obtained.



the city. This, even if successful, must have cost many valuable lives, have occasioned great delay, caused the expenditure of much ammunition, and perhaps imperilled the lives of 'those wives and daughters of England' whom he had come to save. He had a powerful enemy in his rear still unvanquished, and with 40 guns. As it was, he arrived back at Cawnpore not one hour too soon. In fact, the result has abundantly justified his course, and I hope to live to see him a peer."

It was not till late in the forenoon of the 27th that Sir Colin, gathering up the sick and wounded of his own and Outram's force, the ladies and families rescued from Lucknow, together with the treasure and artillery and engineer parks, was enabled to put the remainder of the column in motion towards Cawnpore. The convoy, swelled by the addition of some 2000 people whom it was necessary to carry, covered an immense extent of ground, rendering the march extremely tedious. Late in the afternoon, camp was pitched two miles in advance of Bunnee bridge, the rear-guard not closing up till midnight. On reaching Bunnee, the sound of heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore caught the ear. The cessation of all communication with that place for several days had already given rise to considerable anxiety on Windham's account; and this fact, coupled with the ominous cannonade which the officer commanding the post at Bunnee reported as having attracted his attention on the previous day, pointed



to but one conclusion. It was evident that the contingency of which Sir Colin had never lost sight, and which had influenced him in limiting his operations at Lucknow to the withdrawal of the garrison, had arisen, and that Cawnpore had been attacked by the Gwalior contingent. The slender force at Windham's disposal, and the disastrous consequences that, it was foreseen, must ensue in the event of his inability to hold his ground against the superior numbers, which it was known could be brought against him, gave rise to the most serious apprehensions. Cawnpore and the bridge of boats in the hands of the enemy, the situation of the British force in Oudh would have been gravely compromised. To abandon the charge of the convoy was impossible. It therefore became necessary to press forward to the scene of action without a moment's delay. Preceded by the artillery and cavalry, the force resumed its march on the following morning. All doubts as to the cause of the cannonade, the incessant roar of which grew louder as the column advanced, were shortly resolved. Several notes from Windham, despatched by native messengers, who were met on the way, revealed the real and extremely critical state of affairs at Cawnpore.

General Windham, following the instructions he had received, had left no stone unturned to complete the defences of his position, and had with commendable promptitude sent forward the several detachments as they reached Cawnpore, to reinforce the



Commander-in-chief—the more so as the intelligence received through his spies regarding the movements of the Gwalior contingent led him to apprehend that advantage would be taken of the opportunity when the main body of our forces were operating at a distance, to attack his position. It is true that this belief was not shared by many officers of local experience, who imagined that the object of the enemy was to cross into Oudh and join their brother insurgents in that province. It had, however, become necessary to provide for the contingency. Authorised by the chief of the staff to detain detachments for his own use, Windham, by the 25th of November, had brought up his force to a strength of 1700 effective men. By this time the enemy—who, since the middle of the month, had been gradually closing in on Cawnpore, and who on the 19th held two advanced positions within fifteen miles of that place—left no doubt of his ultimate intention. Unfortunately, at this juncture all communication with the headquarters was interrupted. The authority which Windham demanded, to enable him to attack the detached bodies of the mutineers before their main body could support them, never reached him. He was therefore compelled to act on his own judgment. Accordingly, on the 26th November he moved out from his camp with his small force of 1200 infantry, 100 Sikh cavalry, and 8 guns, and attacked the advanced-guard of the enemy, drawn up on the bank of the Pandoo Nuddee, a dried-up river eight



miles west of Cawnpore. The position was carried with a rush, the mutineers abandoning in their flight two howitzers and a gun. Finding that he had now the main body to deal with, and that an engagement with such overwhelming numbers, backed by a formidable artillery, was not justified by the size of his force, Windham fell back leisurely, and encamped across the Calpee road, on the plain immediately outside Cawnpore. Late in the morning of the 27th, the enemy advanced under cover of a heavy fire of artillery, and attacked the camp in front and on its right flank. For five hours our troops gallantly maintained their ground in this unequal contest. At length, on its being ascertained that the enemy had penetrated the town, whereby the safety of the bridge was imperilled, the force fell back upon the intrenchment. This retrograde movement involved the loss of the camp, including a number of tents, which were burnt by the enemy. Reduced to the defensive, Windham still held, with a body of troops under Colonel Walpole¹ of the Rifle brigade, the open ground to his left, beyond the canal, he himself remaining in the centre to protect the portion of the town nearest the Ganges, and to support Walpole in case of need. A third detachment, under Brigadier Carthew,² was posted in advance of the Assembly Rooms on the Bithoor road, to guard the approaches on the right, supported by a picket at the Baptist

¹ The late Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Walpole, K.C.B.

² General Carthew, C.B., of the Madras army.



chapel. In this position the forces awaited the attack, which was delivered on the following morning. That on the left was successfully resisted by Walpole, who captured in a bayonet-charge two 18-pounder guns; but the same good fortune did not attend the efforts of the troops on the right. A gallant attempt to seize the guns in Carthew's front resulted in failure, with the loss of Brigadier Wilson and many men. By nightfall the troops had fallen back from the outposts to the intrenchments, on which the enemy, who had gained complete possession of the town, maintained an incessant fire.

Leaving the convoy and heavy guns in charge of the infantry, with instructions to relax no effort in pressing forward, Sir Colin proceeded in advance with the cavalry and horse-artillery, arriving at sunset on the plain of Mangalwar, where the camp was ordered to be pitched. Thence, attended by his staff, he galloped on to Cawnpore. As the bridge was neared, the party was accosted by an officer, who reported that "the garrison was at its last gasp." Angered exceedingly at the desponding tone and statement of the officer, Sir Colin spurred his horse across the bridge, which had hitherto fortunately escaped damage, and made straight for the intrenchment. As he entered, some soldiers of the Rifle brigade who had assisted in the defence of Balaklava recognised his well-known form. A cheer was raised, which became deafening as the troops rapidly passed the word that the Commander-in-chief was amongst



them. All doubt, all anxiety, vanished. It was felt that, in the very height of the crisis, the position was saved.

Remaining a short time with Windham, to satisfy himself as to the exact state of affairs, Sir Colin returned to camp, which the rear-guard, with the tail end of the convoy, did not reach till sunrise the following morning. How gravely he regarded the situation may be inferred from a letter addressed to the Governor-General, in which he narrates the measures he took for effecting the passage of the Ganges.

“CAWNPORE, 1st December 1857.

“MY DEAR LORD CANNING,—Your hearty letter of congratulation, dated November 21st, has just been put into my hands with Lady Canning’s very kind note. Pray accept my sincere thanks for so much kindness. When I have the time, I shall have the honour of writing to her ladyship also. I believe the arrival of the force under my immediate command at Cawnpore on the 28th ultimo was not a moment before it was wanted. I found that on the previous day at 5 P.M. General Windham had fallen back to his intrenchment from a position he had taken up on the southern side of the city, which was consequently left open to the enemy. In executing this retreat he was so unfortunate as to lose his camp equipage. Half an hour after I had entered the intrenchment, my force being still three hours’ march from the left bank of the Ganges, it



was reported to me that Brigadier Carthew had abandoned a most important post, which gave the enemy the command of the river-side, put the bridge in the greatest jeopardy, and surrendered the Assembly Rooms, which was a great store-house, containing all the property of the regiments which had advanced at different times to the relief of Lucknow.¹ The consequence of this disastrous step was, that the Assembly Rooms were burned, and with them, I fear, the clothing and property of some eight or ten of her Majesty's regiments. It was necessary to turn our attention to saving the bridge. At an early hour on the 29th all the heavy guns with me were placed in battery on the left bank, and directed to keep down the fire of the enemy. This was well done by Peel's 24- and 18-pounders. The force was then ordered to move over the bridge. For about thirty hours the stream of men, animals, and carts, the latter carrying the wounded sick and families, went slowly on, occasionally blocked and obstructed, but finally making its way. The camp has its right resting on the old dragoon lines, and its left stretches round the new barracks, across from General Wheeler's position. Until I am disencumbered of the women and wounded, 2000 in number

¹ At the time this letter was written, Sir Colin was under the impression that Brigadier Carthew had retired from his post without orders, and that no discretionary power had been given him. Subsequent inquiry proved this impression to have been ill founded. Sir Colin thereupon lost no time in expressing to Government his sincere regret that such an erroneous impression "should have been detrimental to Brigadier Carthew, and have given pain to that meritorious officer."



of helpless creatures, I can hardly do anything more than stand still; but I hope to clear out the place thoroughly. If the enemy does not go off altogether, it is evident he will not do much more than stand on the defensive. Your letter announcing your new policy with Jung Bahadoor has come safe to hand, and I am much obliged to you for the very important information. A very careful selection of the officers whom it is proposed to send to him shall be made.

“General Outram’s proposal to retire close to the bank of the Ganges to Mangalwar should not, I think, be entertained on any account. I was always against it, but I am now convinced that such a movement would be impolitic. It is my own opinion, and your lordship must not attribute more importance to it than I do myself, that Sir James Outram, as soon as I can provide him with carriage, should be directed to redeem all the country in his rear, collect revenue, and proceed exactly as if he were installed in instead of before Lucknow. He, I understand, says it is of no use, would cost more than it is worth, and that nothing is to be done without the capital. If it be so, it appears to my imperfect judgment that the province of Oudh is different from the rest of India; besides which, at this moment it is not mere cost, but the apparent restriction of authority and government wherever we have troops, which is the paramount consideration. I am assured there would be little difficulty, should the force



left with Sir J. Outram be used with judgment and activity. I venture to put all this to your lordship ; for, although it may perhaps be beyond my province, I shall make a poor return for all your kindness if I did not convey my own opinions on what I think may be for the advantage of your lordship's Government,—a matter I have so sincerely at heart. Just while I am closing my letter, your message showing the stoppage of troops at Benares has been put into my hands. This is very serious, as, in consequence of the numbers of wounded and women, I am precluded from acting strongly against the people who are holding Cawnpore. It may compel me against my will to send for the force under Sir J. Outram. I have been expecting some troops from Futtehpore, to pass the women, &c., to the rear. They have not arrived, and I cannot detach or do anything here till they come, although the numbers of the enemy are increasing around me."

Lord Canning's letter of congratulation referred to above, was in acknowledgment of the telegraphic message conveying the announcement of the relief of the garrison at Lucknow.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,
November 21, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I have never offered thanks more sincere and earnest than those which I beg you to accept from me for your invaluable success. It is impossible to describe the relief which



the certainty of safety to that long-suffering garrison brings with it. All other remaining cares feel small, now that they have been snatched from destruction; and heartily do I congratulate you upon having the glory and happiness of accomplishing this. I trust that your wound is really slight, as it is reported to be. But what business had you to put yourself in the way of it?

“Your message of yesterday reached me this afternoon, and was answered immediately. That which I sent to you on the 17th, and my letter of the 19th, will show you that your proposal of a movable division is all that I expected or desired in the present condition of affairs elsewhere. Provided that we make it quite clear that we are not going to loose our hold of the province, I think it of little importance whether the resubjugation of it commences a little earlier or a little later. The worst that will happen will be, that the rebels will be better prepared to receive us when we do come; but that is not to be set against the clearing of our communications on the other side of the Ganges, and afterwards between Cawnpore and Agra. Besides, now that we are to have the Goorkhas, there will be some gain in putting off active operations on the one side of Oudh until they can support us on the other. . . .

“I hope Major Alison's wound will not be serious. His brother, I am happy to see, comes off with 'slightly.' Pray remember me to them all.—Believe me, my dear Sir Colin, sincerely yours, CANNING.”



The restoration of the line of communication with Futtehpore and Allahabad, interrupted by the events of the 27th, was the immediate consequence of the occupation of the ground taken up by the force on its crossing the river. The forward movement of the reinforcements, many of which were on the road, was therefore at once resumed. In the meantime the camp, especially that portion of it where the headquarters were established, lay exposed to annoyance from the enemy's artillery. On the 1st December he opened some guns from the edge of the canal; but these were met by Peel with a 24-pounder and a rocket-tube, the fire of which soon compelled their withdrawal. On the following day the enemy opened such a smart cannonade on the camp as to oblige the ordnance parks to be moved to the rear, out of the reach of shells. On the night of the 3d, the convoy, consisting of the families and half the wounded, was despatched under a strong escort to Allahabad. Relieved of this anxiety, which had pressed so sorely upon him, Sir Colin was free to strike; but he stayed his hand until the convoy was sufficiently far on the road to be clear of danger from the possible movements of the Gwalior contingent when attacked by him, and until the reinforcements, which were arriving daily, had recovered the fatigue of their march. On the 4th the enemy made an unsuccessful attempt to burn the bridge by means of fire-rafts. On the afternoon of the 5th a vigorous attack on the pickets on the left, near



the Cawnpore and Delhi road, with the apparent object of turning the British flank, was repulsed by artillery. This was the last effort of the foe. The following morning the avenging blow fell heavily upon him.

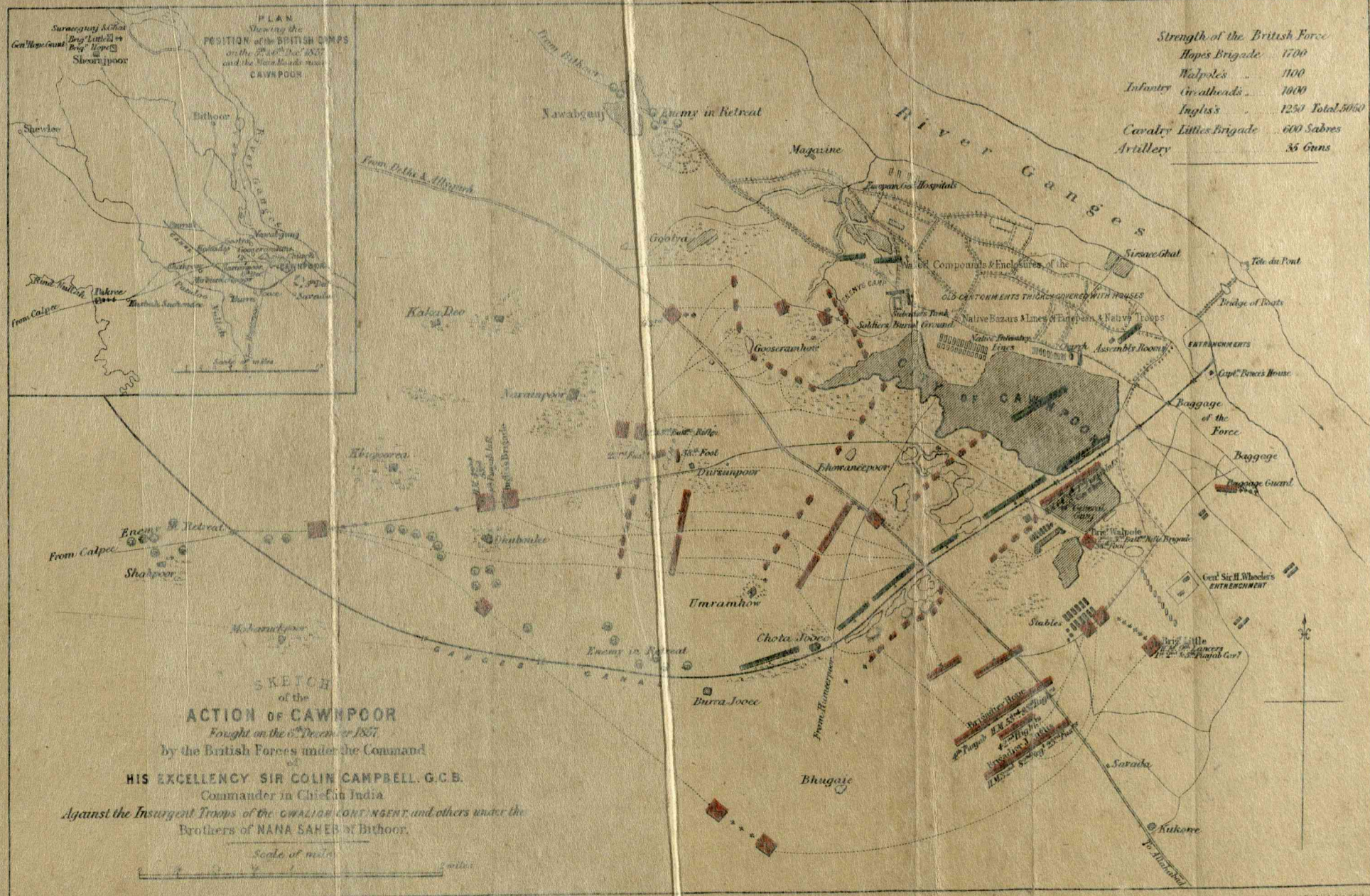
The enemy occupied a position having his left strongly posted in the old cantonments, situated between the town and the Ganges, the quarter from whence his main efforts had been directed against the bridge and the intrenchment. With his centre he held the town of Cawnpore, the principal avenues of which had been rendered defensible by barricades; whilst that portion of it abutting on the Ganges canal, and immediately opposite the position taken up by the advanced posts in front of the British camp, was thickly lined with troops. His right was prolonged behind the canal into the plain, some distance beyond the angle formed by the Great Trunk Road and the canal. Two miles in rear of this point the camp of the Gwalior contingent was established, so as to cover the Calpee road.

Thus the forces of the enemy, amounting to 25,000 men and 40 guns, formed two separate bodies, each having its own line of retreat: that of the left and centre, consisting of the Nana Sahib's followers, the remains of various mutinous corps, and four regiments from Oudh, on Bithoor; that of the right or Gwalior Contingent, on Calpee. To fall on one of these bodies, and to prevent assistance being rendered to it by the other, was the idea which governed Sir



Colin in his project of attack. On every account, tactical as well as strategical, the right offered the greatest promise of success. The position of the left and centre was formidable, from its difficulty of approach. The obstacles were numerous, and the defences of such a nature as to involve the risk of serious loss in overcoming them. On the other hand, the attack on the right would be made in an open plain, with only the canal—no serious impediment—intervening. The walls of the town would prevent the movement of troops from the left and centre in support of the right, at the same time that they afforded cover to the attacking columns; whilst the retreat of the Gwalior Contingent, with its guns and *matériel*, would be compromised by the occupation of the plain, through which ran the road to Calpee. Sir Colin therefore determined to throw the whole weight of his force upon the enemy's right, strike at the camp of the Gwalior Contingent, establish himself upon its line of retreat, and separating it from the Bithoor force, effect the discomfiture of both bodies in detail. The troops at his disposal amounted to 5000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 35 guns.

By 8 A.M. on the 6th December the tents were struck, and, together with the baggage, were collected in a place of safety near the river's bank, protected by the fire of the intrenchment. Just as the action was about to commence, Sir Colin's heart was gladdened by the announcement by telegraph that the convoy had arrived safely at the rail-



way station, twenty miles from Allahabad, which place, it was expected, would be reached in an hour or two more. At 10 A.M. Windham opened fire from the works with all the heavy artillery at his disposal, with the view of attracting the enemy's attention to that quarter and masking the real object of attack. In the meantime the troops were formed in order of battle on either side of the Delhi road (see plan), having in their front buildings and other obstacles, which completely screened them from the enemy's view. When the cannonade, which had lasted for some time, began to slacken, Greathed, advancing upon the line of the canal, engaged the enemy in his front with a heavy fire of musketry, so as to keep him in check at this point whilst the attack along the remainder of the line was in course of development. Then Walpole, with his Riflemen and the 38th Regiment, crossing the bridge immediately on Greathed's left, took the direction of the city-wall, and, whilst guarding his flank and rear from any attempt at molestation from such parties of the rebels as ventured to issue from the town, brought his right shoulder forward, and pressed onwards across the plain. Simultaneously Hope's and Inglis's columns, taking ground to the left, wheeled into three parallel lines fronting the canal, under cover of the heavy and field artillery, to whose fire the enemy responded with considerable animation. The cavalry and artillery made a still further detour to the left, and seized unopposed a bridge



over the canal, whence they were in a position to cut in on the enemy's rear. As soon as the formation in line was complete, Hope, followed by Inglis, and preceded by the Sikhs and 53d in skirmishing order, advanced against some mounds and brick-kilns which covered a bridge over the canal, and were strongly held by the enemy. These were carried in vigorous style by the skirmishers, the enemy falling back on the bridge, from which the assailants were met by a heavy fire. Nothing daunted, the skirmishers made a rush upon the bridge, when Peel's sailors, dragging up a 24-pounder gun as if it had been a light field-piece, crossed with it to the other side, and immediately brought it into action. Excited to the highest pitch by this gallant deed of arms, the troops pressed eagerly forwards. Passing the canal either by the bridge or fording it, they quickly resumed their order of formation, and advanced upon the enemy's camp, driving him before them in utter confusion. A battery, galloping to the front, unlimbered within short range, and poured round after round of grape into the tents, which were speedily cleared. By 1 P.M. the enemy had abandoned the camp and were in flight along the road to Calpee. Meanwhile Walpole, who by his skirting movement had effectually paralysed the enemy's centre, had aligned himself with Hope's infantry on his left. So demoralised was the foe, that Bouchier's field-battery, the Commander-in-chief's staff, and the per-

sonal escort of cavalry which attended him, were sufficient to keep the fugitives going; for the cavalry, which had been intended to swoop down and cut off the enemy's retreat, had been misled by a guide, and did not come up till the pursuit had been continued for some miles. Little expecting the attack from the quarter whence it came, the rebels had been taken unawares. The condition in which the camp was left afforded every indication of surprise. Neither the sick nor the bullocks had been removed; indeed many of the mutineers were engaged in preparing their meals, which were found on the fire. The result of the action fully justified the plan of attack conceived by Sir Colin. By reducing the enemy's centre to inaction, the full force of his blow fell upon the right, which in its isolated position was unequal to the shock. The Gwalior Contingent had become a wreck.

The camp having been secured, the 23d Foot and a wing of the 38th were left to guard it; whilst Walpole's Riflemen, to which were added the 93d Highlanders, Longden's heavy battery, and Middleton's light field-battery, proceeded under General Mansfield to execute a separate movement upon the Subadar's tank, situated on the left rear of the enemy's position in the old cantonments, with the view of compelling him to evacuate the town. Then Sir Colin followed up the fugitives along the Calpee road with the cavalry, the horse-artillery, and the remainder of the infantry, pressing them so hotly,



that by the time the fourteenth milestone had been reached, 17 guns with their ammunition-waggon, besides the whole of their baggage-carts—in short, all the *matériel* which the Gwalior Contingent had had with it on the right of the position—had fallen into the hands of the victors. To avoid the onslaught of their pursuers, the rebel infantry disencumbered themselves of their arms and accoutrements, and disbanding themselves, dispersed in all directions. So complete was the rout, that when the halt was sounded at a late hour, the road in front was quite clear of the enemy. It was not till midnight that the troops returned to the vicinity of the spot previously occupied by the camp of the Gwalior Contingent, and bivouacked on the ground with little food or covering—Sir Colin, as usual,¹ setting the example in this respect. To the knowledge that their leader shared their privations with them, was owing in no small degree that large measure of confidence which his troops never hesitated to accord to him in the hour of trial.

In the meantime General Mansfield, with the Rifles in skirmishing order, followed by the 93d Highlanders in reserve, had advanced against the enemy's position in the old cantonments, the movement being covered by the fire of Longden's heavy guns and Middleton's light field-battery. The enemy

¹ During the operations for the relief of Lucknow, notwithstanding quarters had been prepared for him both in the Martiniere and Shah Nujif, Sir Colin refused to avail himself of them, preferring to bivouac on the ground with his men.



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LETTER TO LORD CANNING.

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gradually fell back till the village was reached, when Middleton dashed through it at a gallop, and unlimbering close to the Subadar's tank on his right, opened fire on some guns which were being withdrawn along the Bithoor road, before the Rifles, who were pressing forward, had come up to his support. The position was then occupied; but the enemy, finding his retreat compromised, brought up some guns from the plain in the opposite direction and disputed possession of the ground. Prudently refraining from an advance amongst the enclosures and houses in his front, which would have involved serious loss, General Mansfield contented himself with holding what he had won, and threw out pickets in the direction of the enemy's line of retreat. As night fell, large bodies of the rebels were observed making a detour round the left of the position, and moving in full retreat along the Bithoor road. During these occurrences an attack upon the captured camp was repulsed by the 23d and 38th, who succeeded in taking two guns. Early on the following morning the town was patrolled by two squadrons of cavalry and found to be quite clear of the enemy.

In a letter of the 8th December to Lord Canning, Sir Colin indicated the measures he intended to take in consequence of his recent victory.

“My telegram of the 7th instant will have informed you of the satisfactory result of the attack made on the Gwalior Contingent and its allies the day before yesterday. I never saw a more complete



route. After the long pursuit and consequent bivouac of the night of the 6th-7th, no baggage having reached me till late on the 7th, it was impossible to throw any one forward before the 8th; but I have sent on this day Brigadier-General Grant, with a strong detachment composed of the three arms, to inflict punishment at Bithoor and take post at Sheorajpore, pursuing the rebels, if he can come up with them, in that direction. This I hardly expect. I have also directed General Outram to open out his communications between his position and Cawnpore. Brigadier Grant's detachment is the first move in advance to clear the road towards Agra and Meerut, as the brigade sent forward will not return here. The brigades left here will close on him. I hope in the course of a fortnight to have restored the communication effectually with Agra. These affairs at Jaunpore and Azimghur have indeed a very dark appearance. I have put two brigades of infantry at Colonel Franks's¹ disposal, and a powerful artillery. Cavalry I have none to give him. Would it answer to send to him Major Richardson's volunteer cavalry? I must leave it to your lordship to decide. I am of opinion that Colonel Franks should be restricted to the defence of our frontier—clear that as much as he can—but that he should by no means venture beyond. An Oudh campaign hereafter must be undertaken on a considerable scale. For the present, I take it, we have enough on our hands, without thinking more

¹ The late Major-General Sir T. H. Franks, K.C.B.



of Oudh than that it is one of our possessions to be reduced to order at our convenience. But upon this point I shall be very glad to hear from your lordship. It appears that there are still some 17 untaken guns with the remnant of the Gwalior Contingent. It would not, however, I think, be advisable to turn off from the main line towards Agra and Meerut to pursue that body into Bundelcund. The greater portion of their ammunition—far more important than the mere guns—must be in our hands. It has put our artillery officers quite at their ease as regards their own supplies. . . . I am afraid that a long interval of time elapsed between the first telegram announcing the relief of Lucknow and the receipt of letters and full account of the campaign. But in truth, we were quite cut off by the enemy closing in the road to Cawnpore; and until we reached the latter place, it was necessary to carry all our despatches with us. When I finally arrived at Cawnpore, nothing could be more vexing than having to submit to the necessity of arrangements before clearing the enemy out of it. But there was nothing for it but patience, so your lordship must excuse me for any apparent deficiency in affording you full information."

On the afternoon of the 8th, Hope Grant, taking with him Hope's infantry brigade, increased by the addition of the 42d Highlanders, 400 cavalry, and 11 guns, set out in pursuit of the enemy towards Bithoor. Empowered to use his discretion, he changed

the direction of his march in consequence of information obtained on the way, and proceeded to Serai Ghat, a ferry on the Ganges 25 miles above Cawnpore, for which point he had reason to believe the enemy was making with his artillery. Having halted and fed his men, he resumed his march at nightfall, reaching Sheorajpoor, distant three miles from the ferry, shortly before daylight on the 9th. Here he collected his baggage, and placing it under a guard, pushed forward to the river. He was just in time, for as he neared the bank he came upon a large force of the enemy engaged in preparations for the embarkation of the very guns in quest of which he had come. The rebels opened a heavy cannonade, and made an attempt with their horsemen to capture our guns, which experienced great difficulty in moving along the heavy road and quicksands under the bank. They were beaten off by the cavalry under Little, and the artillery overcoming with great perseverance the difficulties of the ground, came into action and opened at close range. In half an hour the enemy's artillery was silenced and the rebel masses were in full retreat, having abandoned the whole of the guns—15 in number. Strange to say, notwithstanding the closeness of the enemy's range, Hope Grant achieved his success without a single casualty, not a man of the force being even wounded.

The result fully justified the happy conception of attacking the separate bodies of the enemy, who, beaten in detail, were forced to adopt eccentric lines



of retreat, with the loss of 39 out of the 40 guns with which they had so confidently advanced against Cawnpore.¹ Not the less satisfactory was Sir Colin's reflection that he had thus disposed of 25,000 enemies, including the formidable Gwalior Contingent, at a cost of only 99 casualties amongst the troops he had led to victory.

¹ Of these 40 guns, 3 had been captured by Windham at the affair of the Pandoo Nuddee, 2 by Walpole on the 27th November, 19 by Colin Campbell's force at the action of Cawnpore, and 15 by Hope Grant's column at Serai Ghat, leaving 1 gun unaccounted for.



CHAPTER XIII.

MEASURES FOR RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DOAB—MARCH OF COLUMN FROM DELHI—MOVEMENT OF WALPOLE'S COLUMN TO JOIN IT—LETTER TO LORD CANNING—LORD CANNING'S LETTER ON READING THE LUCKNOW DESPATCHES—REPLY—SIR COLIN MOVES ON FUTTEHGHUR—MOVEMENT OF DETACHED COLUMNS—AFFAIR OF THE KALEE NUDDEE—BRILLIANT CHARGE OF THE CAVALRY—FUTTEHGHUR AND FURRUKHABAD OCCUPIED—HALT—CORRESPONDENCE AS TO FUTURE COURSE OF OPERATIONS—LORD CANNING DECIDES ON THE SIEGE OF LUCKNOW—LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

RID of the enemy in his front, Sir Colin found himself at length free to turn his attention to the measures necessary for the restoration of authority in the Doab, and the opening out of the communications with Agra and Delhi. To effect this object, it was requisite not merely to clear the ground by a rapid advance of troops sweeping everything before them, but to proceed leisurely in the re-establishment of order, so as to insure the systematic and permanent pacification of the country. The Gwalior Contingent had been beaten, but not destroyed—their numerical loss, owing to their rapid flight, being very inconsiderable. The chances were therefore in favour of their scattered bodies reuniting, as is the



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habit of Asiatic troops similarly circumstanced, and of their reappearance in the field at some future time as an organised force, there being no lack of artillery still remaining in the hands of the numerous insurgent bodies in Central India. Why therefore, it may be asked, did not Sir Colin, acting on purely strategical grounds, follow up and effect the destruction of the rebels he had just defeated, instead of leaving them to gather on his flank, and expose himself to the possible chance of annoyance whilst engaged in the operations he was about to undertake in the Doab? A moment's consideration will suffice to show how wisely he judged in adhering to his long-conceived plan of confining his attention to the pacification of the country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges. The complete re-establishment of British authority in the extensive regions situated between the Indus and the Ganges, and comprising some of the richest and most important portions of our Indian empire, could only be attained by the restoration of the communications with Delhi and the Punjab. To have followed up the Gwalior Contingent would have necessitated a movement across the Jumna—an eccentric, and at the same time tedious, operation, which in all probability would have eventuated in a fruitless raid on Central India, and have effectually played the game of the rebels, who would have profited by the withdrawal of Sir Colin's force to strengthen their position in Oudh, Rohilcund, and the Doab.



Regarding, therefore, the uninterrupted possession of the Great Trunk Road as the first step towards the paramount object of the restoration of order in the North-west Provinces, Sir Colin made his preparations for clearing the Doab, Futtehghur being selected as the objective point on which the movable columns destined for this operation were directed to converge. The possession of this place, from its position on the Ganges, midway between Allahabad and Delhi, was of strategical importance on several accounts. Situated close to the town of Furrukhabad, the native potentate of which was an active participator in the rebellion, it possessed a floating bridge over the Ganges at the point of junction of Oudh and Rohilcund, from which hostile territories the enemy was at liberty to issue, and by operating upon the line of the Great Trunk Road, intercept the communications with Agra, Delhi, and the Punjab. By its occupation, on the other hand, the fourth side of the Doab would be commanded—Agra, Delhi, and Allahabad, which from their respective positions dominated the other three, being already secured to the British power.

In the month of November, Colonel Seaton left Delhi in command of a column composed of a squadron of Carabineers, Hodson's Irregular Horse, a wing 1st Bengal Fusiliers, the 7th Punjab Infantry, a troop of horse-artillery, and two companies of sappers and miners, numbering some 1900 sabres and bayonets. An enormous convoy, covering 17

miles of road, and comprising carts, camels, and elephants, which were laden with tents, stores, and ammunition for the supply of headquarters, accompanied him. Moving in a south-easterly direction, and being joined at Allygurh by a small force from the Agra garrison, he continued his march on the 13th December towards Mynpooree, at which place Greathed had recovered some treasure on his march to Cawnpore in October. Surprising a body of the insurgents on the 14th December at Gungeree, Seaton captured several guns in a brilliant charge of cavalry, and following them up along the road to Futtehghur, came up with them at Puttiallee on the 17th, where he signally defeated them after a sharp action, in which he took 13 guns and all their camp equipage and ammunition. He then moved to and took possession of Mynpooree, an important point near the junction of the roads leading to Agra, Delhi, and Cawnpore. On the 16th December, Brigadier Walpole was detached from Cawnpore with a column over 2000 strong, including amongst his troops two battalions of the Rifle brigade, and a proportionate amount of artillery and cavalry, to sweep by means of a semicircular movement the western portion of the Doab, and, taking the direction of Akbarpoor and Calpee, move up the left bank of the Jumna by Etawah, and join Seaton at Mynpooree. As soon as these two columns were united, they were to advance upon Futtehghur, to



which point Sir Colin, with the headquarter column, about 5000 strong, was to move along the Great Trunk Road, clearing the right bank of the Ganges as he advanced. Thus it was hoped that these columns, sweeping the country as they converged on one point, would clear the Doab of the insurgents, who, flying across the Ganges into Oudh and Rohilcund, could be dealt with at a later period. The force to be left at Cawnpore under Brigadier Inglis was sufficient to guarantee the security of the line of communication in the lower Doab, between that post and Allahabad; whilst the defeat sustained by the Gwalior Contingent rendered it improbable that that body would be in a condition to reappear in the field for a long time to come. Its extinction was an ultimate certainty, consequent on the advance of the Bombay and Madras columns, which, in conformity with the general plan of campaign determined on in Calcutta, were destined to restore authority in Central India, and by distracting the attention of the insurgents in that quarter, obviate the risk of annoyance to the main army under Sir Colin whilst engaged in the reduction of the Doab, Rohilcund, and Oudh.

Owing to the want of transport, the movement of the headquarters division was delayed till the beginning of the last week in December. The deficiency of this requisite, a constant difficulty since the commencement of the operations for the suppression of the revolt, was caused in the present instance by



the enormous quantity temporarily abstracted for the carriage of the huge convoy of the families, sick, and wounded, despatched to Allahabad, leaving carriage barely sufficient for the use of two brigades. As the ground to be traversed by the brigade directed to make the semicircular movement by Akbarpoor, Etawah, and Mynpooree, required more time to reach Futtehghur than the headquarter column moving direct upon that point, and as the ultimate success of the combined operation was calculated upon the precision of its execution, Sir Colin was obliged to postpone his departure until Walpole had got well on his way.

On the day that Walpole started, Sir Colin addressed the Governor-General on the subject of the operations in question :—

“I hope your lordship will approve of the movements I have already announced by telegraph with a view to clearing up the Doab, as well in the Futtehpoor and Cawnpore districts as at Mynpooree and Futtehghur. I really do congratulate you and Lady Canning on the prospect of your lordship's great labours meeting with their reward in the gradual pacification of this country, and the rescue of it from the most horrible crisis by which the action of Government was ever paralysed in any part of the world. Few know, as I do, what those labours have been, and the unbending courage with which they have been prosecuted in the face of disaster, over which for the time you had no control, and



the exaggerating fears of the community surrounding you.

"I am truly glad to see the view taken of Sir James Outram's position by your lordship's Government, and that the political, and, as I conceive, the proper military views of the question involved in his request tally so thoroughly. But whatever there might be on Sir James's side of the question before, the march of the 9000 Goorkhas quite settles the matter. But as that stroke of policy is in the communications made to Jung Bahadoor—viz., that we accept his kindness now that our strength has been again proved to the world, while it was rejected till the notion of our weakness should be swept away—it cannot but have a good effect. Jung Bahadoor's division will be very useful in making the final advance and sweep through Oudh." After recommending to Lord Canning's protection Major Vincent Eyre of the Bengal Artillery, "who distinguished himself so much at Arrah, and in his march with Sir James Outram," Sir Colin thus concludes: "Much ought to be done for the officers of the Bengal Artillery. It is a most brilliant and effective service. It is impossible to conceive better officers than some of the men I came across—such as Turner,¹ Blunt,² Remmington,³ and

¹ Now General J. Turner, C.B., Royal (late Bengal) Artillery.

² Now Major-General C. H. Blunt, C.B., retired, Royal (late Bengal) Artillery.

³ Colonel J. F. Remmington, died 22d August 1868.



Bourchier,¹ besides Tombs,² of Delhi celebrity, whom I knew formerly."

In the meantime the despatches announcing the relief of Lucknow had reached Calcutta. The effect of them on the mind of the Governor-General may be inferred from Lord Canning's unofficial acknowledgment of them :—

"G.H., CALCUTTA, *December 14, 1857.*

"MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I cannot express to you the admiration which your operations at Lucknow have excited in me. The masterly conduct of the whole was evident enough from the despatches ; but I have just had Patrick Stewart here for two hours hearing from him the proceedings step by step from the 14th. I never spent two hours of greater interest. Your account tells the moves very clearly, but it says nothing of one half of the difficulties. The march of the 16th round the high grass to the north side of the Secunder Bagh, the device of the covered-way, and the pounding of the Kaiser Bagh, as if you had come there to do nothing else, are what I most envy you. I did not understand, until I saw Stewart, the full force of your expression that the garrison had been withdrawn in the face of the enemy. I must add, my dear Sir Colin, that when I speak of admiration of your achievement, I do not express my own

¹ Now Major-General Sir G. Bourchier, K.C.B., retired, Royal (late Bengal) Artillery.

² Afterwards Major-General Sir Henry Tombs, V.C., K.C.B., died 2d August 1874.



sentiments alone. There is but one voice respecting it. I wished to write to you two days ago, but you know, that my days are not often long enough for their work; and I do not think that you will suspect me of being slow to feel what I owe to you, though my letter is behind its time. I have a good deal to say on other matters—Goorkhas especially—but I fear it must wait till to-morrow.—Believe me, my dear Sir Colin, ever sincerely yours,

CANNING.

“Lady Canning had the first sight of your Lucknow despatches, being in my room when they arrived. When she came to the end of the second, I heard her say to herself, ‘Well, that’s workmanlike.’”

Sir Colin, writing from Cawnpore the 19th December 1857, replied: “I am indeed in your debt for your very friendly note of the 14th, and the no less hearty general orders which you published on receiving my despatches. As your lordship knows well, the very agreeable manner in which you have permitted me to carry out my views for the advantage of the service, has caused me the truest and most unaffected satisfaction. Ah, my dear lord, what a happiness it is for a general thus to work with the head of a great Government! The extraordinary personal kindness with which you have honoured me from the very first moment of our intercourse, can never be forgotten by me. Its immense value no one can estimate but myself.

Pray tell Lady Canning that I would rather have her *sotto voce* epithet, after reading the despatches, than anything else which could be said. I am terribly in her ladyship's debt. I do not know what to say in my excuse. She must take the will for the deed, and I will behave better in future. . . ."

The carriage despatched to Allahabad having returned thence to Cawnpore on the 23d December, Sir Colin commenced his upward movement with the headquarters column on the following day. From Arroul, a brigade under Windham was detached on the 28th to destroy the palace of the rebel Rajah of Thutteea. A halt was made on the 29th and 30th, to admit of Hope's brigade rejoining the headquarters from Bithoor, to which place it had moved after the capture of the remainder of the guns belonging to the Gwalior contingent at Serai Ghat. After completing the destruction of the Nana Sahib's residence, and recovering a large amount of treasure concealed in a deep well, Hope Grant left on the 24th December with his cavalry and guns for Mynpooree, leaving Hope to search the neighbouring ferries across the Ganges, and destroy as many boats as possible. At Chowbeypoor, Hope Grant joined the column from Cawnpore. On the 31st, Sir Colin marched to Goosaigunj, where a metalled road branches off to Futtehghur. At this point Windham's brigade joined the headquarters camp on the 1st January.

On the same day Hope, taking with him a



squadron of cavalry, the 53d Regiment and 93d Highlanders, 4 light field-battery guns, and a company of Engineers, marched about five miles, to the spot where the road to Futtehghur crosses the Kalee Nuddee river by a fine iron suspension-bridge. From this bridge a body of the enemy in the service of the Nawab of Furrukhabad had removed the planks, and had otherwise injured the structure, under cover of an advanced picket from Furrukhabad posted at Khoodagunj, but which had retired on its main body the previous day. On the morning of the 2d January, when Hope, with the assistance of Nicholson and his Engineers and a party of Peel's sailors, had completed the repairs of the bridge, the enemy, who had reoccupied Khoodagunj during the night, brought down some guns and infantry from the acclivity on which the village stood, and opened fire, with the evident purpose of disputing the passage of the river. It so happened that a few minutes previously Sir Colin, accompanied by General Mansfield, appeared on the scene, having ridden forward from Goosaigunj to inspect the repairs of the bridge, and observing the hill crowded with natives moving to and fro, had at first mistaken them for the inhabitants of the village. The dropping fire of musketry, followed by the roar of artillery, at once undeceived him. Sending back orders for the troops at the headquarters camp to push forward as rapidly as possible and concentrate at the bridge, Sir Colin made his dispositions to meet



the enemy's attack, which was rapidly developed. The 53d was pushed across the bridge to reinforce the pickets, one wing of the 93d being brought up behind the bridge to act as a reserve, whilst the other was detached to hold a ford three miles down stream for the purpose of securing the right flank of the force. At the same time, the field-battery which had accompanied Hope was brought up, and replied to the enemy's guns. Strict injunctions were given to forbid any advance until the arrival of the main body from Goosaigunj. In the meantime, the Nawab's force, consisting of about four battalions of native infantry, including the 41st Bengal Native Infantry, some cavalry, and eight guns, advanced with a confident air, and running down the slope, occupied some enclosures and houses of the village, whence they opened a vigorous fire of musketry, covered by three of their guns, most efficiently served—one especially, which was placed at the toll-house between the village and the bridge, causing considerable annoyance. At length, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy had brought a heavy gun into action, the main body of the column came up. The passage of the river, a somewhat tedious operation, was conducted under cover of the superior artillery-fire which was now brought to bear on the village, and which soon silenced the enemy's guns, the piece which had caused so much damage and annoyance having been effectually disabled by one of Peel's



heavy guns, brought into action on the left flank. Suddenly, and regardless of the order not to precipitate the attack, the 53d, which had found partial shelter under a bank, sprang forward. Under the idea that they were about to be relieved, and in spite of all efforts to restrain them, they made a dash with loud cheers at the toll-house, from which they expelled the enemy. Sir Colin, much angered at this proceeding, rode up to the regiment, which contained a large proportion of Irishmen in the ranks, for the purpose of venting his displeasure. At each attempt, however, to speak, his voice was drowned by repeated shouts of "Three cheers for the Commander-in-chief, boys!" until, finding it was impossible to obtain a hearing, the stern countenance which he had assumed for the occasion gradually relaxed, and the veteran chief turned away with a laugh.¹ Previous to this incident a spent rifle-ball had hit him on the stomach, happily with no ill effect beyond the momentary inconvenience of loss of breath. The force now advanced against Khooda-gunj, the 53d on the right, with the 93d in support, Greathed's brigade forming the centre and left of the line of infantry, on the outward flank of which moved the cavalry under Hope Grant, in readiness to cut in on the enemy's line of retreat. The village was carried with little or no opposition, the enemy, who abandoned the guns he had posted

¹ 'Incidents in the Sepoy War,' from the Journals of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B.

SKETCH
of the SKIRMISH of the
KALEE NUDDEE
Fought on the 2nd of January 1858.
by the Troops under the command of
GENERAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL C.C.B.
Commander in Chief in India
AGAINST THE REBEL TROOPS
of the
NAWAB OF FURRUKHABAD

Scale of Miles
0 5 10 15 20 miles

Scale of Miles
0 1 2 miles



In it, retiring with the remainder of his artillery in good order along the road to Futtehghur.

But for Hope Grant's able conduct of the cavalry, the enemy would probably have succeeded in carrying off all or most of his guns. Making a wide detour to his left, and dispersing the rebel horsemen in his front, he pursued a course parallel with the enemy's line of retreat, screened from their view by groves of trees and high-growing crops. Then suddenly wheeling to the right, he charged in echelons of squadrons right down upon the flank of the insurgent force as it moved with a narrow front along the highroad. Taken completely by surprise, and unprepared to meet the shock, the mutineers broke their ranks, flying panic-stricken before this terrible onslaught of cavalry, which, committing frightful havoc with the lance and sabre, followed them up in pursuit for several miles, capturing all their guns, ammunition-waggon, and carriage of every description. So demoralised was the foe, that he did not even venture to draw breath in his camp in the vicinity of Futtehghur, but abandoning it, made off across the floating bridge into the adjacent province of Rohileund. Towards evening the camp of the victorious column was pitched in advance of the village of Puttee, two miles beyond Khoodagunj. The return of the cavalry has been described by an eyewitness as "a stirring scene of war." "The 9th Lancers came first, with three standards they had taken waving at their head; the wild-looking Sikh



cavalry rode in their rear. As they passed Sir Colin, he took off his hat to them and said some words. The Lancers waved their lances in the air and cheered; the Sikhs took up the cry, shaking their sabres over their heads; the men carrying the standards spread them to the wind. The Highland brigade, who were encamping close by, ran down and cheered the victorious cavalry, waving their bonnets in the air. It was a beautiful sight, and reminded me of the old days of chivalry. When Sir Colin rode back to camp through the Highland brigade, the cheering and enthusiasm of the men exceeded anything I ever saw."

Early on the following morning Sir Colin pushed forward with the force to Futtehghur, which, as well as the town of Furrukhabad, about three miles distant, was found to have been abandoned by the rebels. Fortunately, the fort of Futtehghur, which contained the gun-carriage factory, with its plant and valuable stores of wood, had been left uninjured. To the panic engendered by the defeat sustained at the Kalee Nuddee this was attributable, as was also the preservation of the bridge of boats across the Ganges, over which the last remnant of the rebel body was observed to be crossing as the British force entered the fort. The bridge was immediately secured, and a picket established on the left bank of the river to watch it. Furrukhabad and Futtehghur were both occupied—the palace of the Nawab, who had been notoriously distinguished for treachery and

cruelty throughout the progress of the rebellion, being levelled with the ground. On the 4th and 5th January, Seaton's and Walpole's columns joined the headquarters camp at Futtehghur. Sir Colin's plan had been so to regulate the movements of his own force that Seaton and Walpole, when united, should advance on Futtehghur simultaneously with himself; but the affair of the Kalee Nuddee had precipitated matters, and, as often happens in war, had disarranged the intended combination. As it turned out, however, the result had exceeded the most sanguine expectations. The reconquest of the Doab was complete, and the restoration of the direct communications with the Punjab *via* Agra and Delhi had been successfully accomplished.

Seaton, after routing the enemy at Puttiallee, had moved on Mynpooree, where he found a body under the rebel leader Tej Singh awaiting him outside the town. Falling on the mutineers with vigour, he defeated them by means of a skilfully executed flank movement, capturing six guns and obtaining possession of the place. A few days prior to the affair of the Kalee Nuddee, Hodson, accompanied by a few troopers of his own Irregular Horse, had, with the daring which characterised that accomplished partisan leader, made his way through the enemy's posts from Mynpooree, and, after effecting a communication between Seaton's column and Sir Colin's camp, returned with directions for Seaton to wait for Walpole, and move with the latter upon Futtehghur.



Walpole, in pursuance of his instructions, traversed the ground on the left bank of the Jumna, so long disturbed by the Gwalior contingent, and reached Etawah, whence, after tranquillising the country in the direction of Agra and Dholpoor, he moved upon Bewar, where he found Seaton awaiting his arrival. From this place the two columns, united, advanced upon Futtehghur.

A long halt now ensued. Up to this point Sir Colin had executed the plan of campaign which he himself had formulated independently of the supreme Government. To this quarter, however, prior to his advance from Cawnpore, he had turned for instructions. The necessity for giving cover to Sir James Outram's force at the Alum Bagh, in view of the approaching hot season, preoccupied his thoughts; and on the decision of the Government depended the future course of the campaign. In short, the question had to be determined whether the subjection of Oudh was to be left over for the time, and an immediate advance made into Rohilcund, with the object of reducing that province before the hot weather put an end to operations in the field—or whether the reduction of Lucknow was to be undertaken in the first instance, leaving the resettlement of Rohilcund to be dealt with at a later period.

The following correspondence deals with this matter, and exhibits in a pleasing manner the cordial relations that existed between the head of the Government and his military subordinate.

Lord Canning was the first to approach the subject. Alluding, in a letter to Sir Colin of December 20th, to the correspondence he had forwarded regarding the Nepaulese auxiliary force, he remarks: "Jung Bahadoor should be at Soogowlee to-morrow or the next day. Lieutenant-Colonel MacGregor¹ (the one who was at Jellalabad), made brigadier-general for the purpose, will join the camp in a day or two. Six officers and four or five surgeons are on their way, and more officers will be sent as soon as there are enough available. Commissariat officers and establishment have been sent from the Central Provinces. I hope that all will go smoothly up to Goruckpoor, at all events. The recovery of that place will not take long; and allowing for the march from Soogowlee, and for what will have to be done at Goruckpoor, I reckon that Jung Bahadoor ought to be ready to advance from the latter place (where he will leave a small force as guard) some time in the second week in January. The question is, In what direction shall he advance? and upon this I should greatly like to have your opinion.

"Shall it be to Fyzabad, or to Azimgurh and Jaunpoor? It should, I think, be to some point in Oudh, and with a view to operations in Oudh, not only because we shall require for that province all the force we can scrape together, but because there is a shade less of humiliation in using him against that half-digested possession than in bringing him into

¹ Now Major-General Sir G. H. MacGregor, K.C.B.



our older provinces across the Ganges. I should not consider this a conclusive reason against using him elsewhere than in Oudh, if there were really need to do so; but it deserves to be weighed—the more so as you will probably not like to spare much in the way of European troops to be joined with his force; and the appearance of the Goorkhas alone, or accompanied only by an insignificant show of Europeans, in Saugor, Bundelcund, or any quarter where our supremacy has been long established, would leave a very mischievous impression. This does not apply with the same force to Oudh.

“But then comes the question, What are to be our own measures in regard to Oudh? My opinion is, that next to opening communication with Agra and the country beyond it, and keeping that communication safe, Oudh is what most presses..

“The Saugor and Nerbudda territories are in a bad condition, but the last account (by telegraph) from Mr Plowden at Nagpoor speaks of the fort of Saugor and Jubbulpoor as likely to hold their own. Bundelcund is in a bad way too; but the Bundelas are more intent upon attacking one another than us.

“Rewah is important, but still of secondary consideration. Central India and Gwalior must wait till the Bombay force comes up. At Agra they will cry out lustily for help if there should be an appearance of your not pushing forward to them; but they are always more frightened than hurt. Delhi and Meerut may be left alone: Rohilcund will be a

serious job, but it can be left to itself with less danger than Oudh. There are two parties there hostile to each other, and not likely to unite against us—at least for aggressive purposes. But in Oudh they seem to be pretty much of one mind; and so long as we delay to enter the province, we shall have to watch its frontier with a not insignificant force, besides the division which keeps Lucknow in check. They will become more violent and more aggressive; and even if kept in control on the border, they are far more likely than any other enemies to turn time to account by preparing for resistance and combining. After the small fruit that our success at Delhi has produced, it is not safe to be sanguine of the results of success in Oudh; but I believe that it would spread far and wide—and certainly, so long as Oudh is not dealt with, there will be no real quiet on this side of India. Every sepoy who has not already mutinied or deserted will have a standing temptation to do so, and every native chief will grow to think less and less of our power.

“I am therefore, as things now stand, strongly in favour of taking Oudh in hand after Futtehghur, Mynpooree, &c., and the Great Trunk Road communication are made safe. What do you think of this? There may be reasons against it in favour of some other course which are not known to me, but obvious to you. I am sure you will write to me unreservedly all you have to say upon it.

“Then if we do proceed against Oudh, how shall

the Goorkhas be disposed of? They might be sent by themselves to secure Fyzabad, and march upon Lucknow from thence; or they might enter by Azimgurh or Jaunpoor, in junction with Brigadier Franks; or they might give a portion of their force to swell Sir James Outram's division, or any other division that might enter Oudh from the Ganges side. The worst of them is, they have no cavalry, and possibly their artillery may not be equal to dealing with Fyzabad if that place has been much strengthened. —Ever, my dear Sir Colin, sincerely yours,

“CANNING.”

The subjoined letter and memo. from Sir Colin, despatched two days later than the above, and which crossed it on the road, deals at large with the question raised by Lord Canning:—

“CAWNPORE, *December 22, 1857.*

“DEAR LORD CANNING,—I enclose a paper, which has been drawn up after very careful consideration. The subject of it has been for some days one of anxious consultation between Mansfield and myself. It is very possible that many of the points may have occurred to your lordship; but some of them are so purely professional, that it is likely they would escape one not bred in the army. The paper is sent, not, I beg your lordship to believe, for the purpose of hampering you in any manner, but simply in the earnest hope of rendering you some slight assist-



ance in considering a very difficult and knotty question; and I entreat you to use it or put it aside, as it may best suit your convenience. It is strictly a confidential document as yet, and no one about me is privy to it except Mansfield and the one or two confidential officers who are employed by him in copying such important papers.

"MEMO. of Points for consideration in the Disposition of the Forces in Oudh, by H.E. the Commander-in-chief.

*"HEADQUARTERS, CAWNPORE,
December 22, 1857.*

"Although the intentions of Government have not yet been declared with regard to Oudh, it is necessary to lose no time in considering the position of the forces at Cawnpore and in the vicinity of Lucknow, as respects the possibility of giving them cover after the cold weather shall have passed. As regards Cawnpore, the sanction of Government having already been given for the immediate roofing in of the barracks, and there being in addition a certain amount of spare accommodation to be found in the artillery and dragoon lines, which have escaped damage, it may be assumed there will be room to have a garrison equal in strength to the present one—say about 2000 men; and it is probable that another thousand may be added to this number. But with the force in Lucknow, the question assumes a very different aspect.



“Troops engaged in the active operations of a siege, as before Delhi, may preserve tolerable health, even throughout the hot weather and rains, as long as the excitement lasts. A standing camp, on the contrary, without the excitement of pressing an enemy, would entail death and destruction of the whole force stationed in it. It follows, therefore, that the force under Sir J. Outram, now encamped before Lucknow, must either conquer its quarters in the city, or hut itself at the commencement of the hot weather. It does not appear to me, after the experience lately gained of the stubborn spirit of the people of Oudh, that the reduction of that province may be attempted with an army of less than 30,000 men. Colonel Napier, of the Bengal Engineers, has given the deliberate opinion, in which I coincide, as regards numbers, that 20,000 men are necessary for the first operation of subduing the city. That having been performed, it will be necessary to leave a garrison in occupation, consisting of at least 10,000 men—viz., 6000 in the city, and 4000 in a chain of posts to the Cawnpore road—until the whole province shall have been conquered and the rebels driven out of their last stronghold. A siege in form will in all probability be necessary at Fyzabad, and the country must be traversed and occupied by various columns. For these latter purposes, if we are to avoid risk—which is necessary for duly impressing the native mind in Oudh and elsewhere in British India, when the undertaking is carried into execution, that the



fulness of our strength is restored to us—the requisite force should not be less than 20,000 men, or, as stated above, including the occupation of the city of Lucknow, and the necessary posts in its vicinity, 30,000 men in all, for the due subjugation of the province.¹ It is for the Government to decide whether it be possible, with regard to the other circumstances of the Presidency, to effect the necessary concentration of troops for this purpose. It would appear that his lordship in Council has decided that Rohileund demands immediate attention. That must include occupation by a sufficient body of troops, after they shall have traversed that warlike province in every direction. Sufficient garrisons must be apportioned to Agra, Delhi, and Meerut, and all the districts from Dacca upwards to Futtehghur must be reinforced; while the present condition of Bundelcund, and the impunity with which the beaten mutineers and rebels still threaten the Doab from the right bank of the Jumna, show that the same urgent necessity exists with regard to that province as to Rohileund. Until Bundelcund be fairly put in order, excitement in the Doab cannot be completely allayed, and will render the presence of many troops necessary in it during the progress of serious operations across the Ganges. During

¹ "It would not be necessary that all this force should be exclusively British. On the contrary, it is desirable that the native soldiery should bear a considerable part in the operation, more particularly with regard to the occupation of the city and the formation of military posts in aid of the police."



the whole of the cold weather it will be found necessary to show and move troops throughout the Doab. Another point must not escape consideration. Many of the British regiments now in the field have been actively engaged since May, June, and July of this year. They are reduced to skeletons, and the men composing them are much in need of rest. There is a limit to exertion; and if the corps alluded to be much further tried, without repose after the very wearing and exciting duties to which they have been so long exposed, a demand will be made on their physical and moral energies which all experience of war shows to be an imprudence.

“The corps alluded to are—H.M.’s 8th Foot, 32d do., 64th do., 75th do., 78th do., 84th do., 90th do., the Madras Fusiliers, 1st and 2d European regiments, H.M.’s 9th Lancers, the Bengal Artillery, the Sikh corps—which have been engaged since the commencement of the war in May.

“We should also recollect that if, through exposure during the hot weather and rains of 1858, the number of British forces in India be seriously reduced,—viz., by one-third, and less than that number could not be looked for if the campaign were prolonged throughout the year—it will not be in the power of the Government at home to replace them. A great effort has been made this year, under national excitement, to meet a great crisis, but the means of recruitment do not admit of its repetition. As an



urgent matter of policy therefore, as well as humanity, it is absolutely necessary to economise the forces of which we are now possessed. If, taking all these circumstances into consideration, the Government be pleased to decide that the subjugation of Oudh shall not take place till the ensuing autumn, the original question put in this paper remains for immediate solution—viz., how Sir James Outram's division is to be housed during the next hot season and rains. His lordship in Council has decided that it shall remain in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, as evidence to the people of Oudh of the irrefragable determination of his lordship's Government that Oudh will not be surrendered to native rule. The position at present occupied by that division is good for purposes of war and as the advanced post of an army of operations, in which view it was selected. But it is too near to the city, and too much subject to annoyance, to admit of the construction of huts, &c. In short, it would be impossible for Sir James Outram to carry such a design into execution. It is therefore expedient, indeed necessary, that an early decision should be come to on these matters, in order to choose a spot and materials at some point a few miles in rear of Sir J. Outram's position, if it be determined to adhere to the present policy of holding the city of Lucknow in check, without immediately proceeding to the conquest and subjugation of the whole province of Oudh."



" CALCUTTA, *December 29, 1857.*

"MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I have given the most anxious attention to the memorandum of the 22d December, in which the question of proceeding to the subjugation of Oudh is considered.

"My letter of the 20th has already indicated the tendency of my opinion upon this subject; but as you fully suppose, there are points noticed in the memorandum which had not presented themselves to me so fully and strongly as they are there brought forward. Still, I retain the opinion that Oudh, within certain limitations, should be taken in hand with the least delay possible.

"The limitations are these :—

"1st, That, foremost and above all things, the communications through the Doab should be opened and kept open; and by this I mean that not only should the road be scoured, but that any places likely to be attacked or held against us—places such as Etawah, Futtehghur, Mynpooree, or Allygurh—should be secured, either by being garrisoned, or by being occasionally visited or watched by a movable force. The communications being thus made safe, I hold that everything lying off the road, including Rohilcund, is of secondary importance to Oudh.

"2d, That it should not be considered as a necessary consequence of our entering Oudh that the whole province should be subjugated. For example, it is estimated in the memorandum that 20,000 men (of



which 15,000 Europeans) are needed to take Lucknow: 10,000 are required to hold it and its communications with the Ganges; 10,000 are required to clear the rest of the province, including Fyzabad and any other rallying-point of the rebels.

“ We certainly have not got 30,000 men at disposal; but assuming it to be possible to collect a force equal to taking Lucknow and holding it, without attempting more for the present, this, in my opinion, ought to be done. Paradoxical as it may appear, I think it of more importance to re-establish our power in the centre and capital of Oudh, which has scarcely been two years in our hands, than to recover our older possessions. Every eye in India is upon Oudh, as it was upon Delhi. Oudh is not only the rallying-place of the sepoys—the place to which they all look, and by the doings in which their own hopes and prospects rise or fall—but it represents a dynasty: there is a king of Oudh seeking his own. Few people care for him, it is true; but his existence, and the position he has assumed, gives to our success or non-success in Oudh an importance in the eyes of the native powers which they do not attach to our measures in our older districts. Anarchy in Rohilcund or elsewhere in the North-west Provinces will be bad enough; but it is a matter of police. If we cannot put it down, it will of course be obvious that our civil government is deplorably weakened, and that for the moment we have not troops to give for the purpose; but there



will be no triumph to any defined or well-known party. In Oudh, on the other hand, we are supposed to be in the presence of a recognised enemy—a rival Power has set itself up. Oudh and our dealings with it have been in every native's mind for the last two years. The attention of all native chiefs is drawn to see whether or not we can retain hold of what we have taken. This will be especially the case in a Mohammedan State such as Hyderabad; but the interest extends to all. It is true that some chiefs, such as Scindia and Holkar, would see that if we were doing nothing in Oudh, we were showing vigour and power elsewhere in our older territories. But this would not be appreciated in Southern or Northern India. It would only be known there that the Government was not coping with its rebellious subjects and mutinied army in their stronghold, and that little or nothing was being done towards the punishment of the worst and boldest offenders. I look with alarm to the effect of such a conviction, if it once establishes itself in the native mind.

“I grant that, as with Delhi, so with Lucknow, we may find ourselves disappointed of a very widespread and immediate effect from its capture. We may find that the revolt in Oudh will not collapse because Lucknow is taken. Still, I hold that the active mischief which will result from leaving it untaken will be incalculable and most dangerous—just as a retirement from Delhi would have been so, and scarcely less in degree.



“I also grant that by attending to our old provinces first, we should be discharging a duty to those who have stronger claims on us than the inhabitants of Oudh, and that we should be consulting more effectually our revenue interests; also that the shame of leaving unreclaimed and unprotected many districts, where order and our authority have been respected for years, is very great. Still, I think that broad considerations of State require that our power should be felt in Oudh sooner than in those districts, wherever it is necessary to choose between the two.

“This is my chief reason for pressing that Oudh should be dealt with; but other considerations come in aid. Oudh, and especially Lucknow, is the place in which the rebels will most strengthen themselves with time. They are reported to be doing so already. It is probably the only remaining focus of revolt in which artillery is collected. I have heard of none in Rohileund, and you have well accounted for the Gwalior guns. If the rebels in Oudh are left to themselves, it is almost certain that they will become aggressive, and trouble the Central Provinces. It is quite certain that we shall have to employ a considerable force as a cordon to keep them from aggression—larger probably than would be necessary after dealing them a heavy blow in the heart of the province. The auxiliary force from Nepaul is more readily available against Oudh than in any other quarter; and I should be sorry to make it clear to Jung Bahadoor that we are obliged for



a time to pass by anarchy and insurrection, where they are most formidable and raging immediately under his own hills, and to take him off to other distant parts, where no such serious struggle awaits us. I do not mean that in besieging Lucknow it would be necessary that Jung Bahadoor should join us in that particular operation, but only that he ought not to see us shirk Oudh. I also think (as I said in a former letter) that it is better to employ the aid of an ally in a new and unsettled province than in an old one. But I do not hold it to be necessary, in order to secure the best part of the effect which would follow from dealing at once with Oudh—or rather, to avoid the effects which would follow from not dealing with it—that all Oudh should be swept by our troops.

“If Lucknow be retaken and held, order established immediately around it, and the communications with Cawnpore kept open and safe, I should care comparatively little for the congregating of the rebels in the western part of the province and beyond the Ghogra. Fyzabad is the only place of note which they could seize and hold; and from what I can learn, I believe that a very moderate siege-train would suffice to knock them out of it. But with Jung Bahadoor in the field against them, I do not believe that they will attempt a stand there. They will know how easily Goorkhas can be poured down upon that part of the province, and they will see that if once that is done by the Nepaulese Durbar,



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their retreat into the Terai forests will be effectually cut off.

“Delhi has taught us not to be too sanguine of the effect of a single crushing of the revolt in any one place. But I have from the beginning considered Lucknow to be quite as much the stronghold of rebellion as Delhi, and sure to succeed to it in point of dangerous importance. I know no third place which can succeed to Lucknow, unless it be Jhansi, or some fortified post west of the Ganges. But that is far away from the sepoy country; and should any mutineers obtain possession of the place, rebellion could not be kept alive there. However, as I have already said, even should the capture of Lucknow not be a finishing blow to the revolt, I think that still it should be accomplished.

“I do not underrate the importance of recovering and pacifying the whole province as soon as may be; but I estimate the early possession of Lucknow as of far greater value—of value far and wide, from one end of India to the other. Of the rest of the province, I would say, as of Rohilcund, that the bringing of it into subjection again may be looked upon as a matter of police, and one in which a little more or less expedition is not of such great moment.

“There is one more point. Until we get Lucknow and establish ourselves in Oudh, we cannot hope to make any real advance towards bringing the mutineers to punishment. Those that are not killed in opposing our troops fly to Oudh; and if



we leave them there in impunity, the credit of the Government of India will be greatly impaired, and I should expect England to go mad with impatience. If it were only for the sake of establishing a commission of punishment in the heart of the disaffected province, supported there by the presence of a European force quartered in the city, and ready to deal with such prisoners as may be brought to them, there would be a great gain in possessing Lucknow.

“I need say no more to show why I set such store upon recovering Lucknow. But the question remains, Have we the means? I do not gather anything to the contrary from the memorandum.

“If Rohilcund is left alone, or watched to prevent excursions against Meerut, Delhi, or the places west of the Ganges; if no addition is made to the Delhi force; if Agra can be made safe with a very trifling reinforcement (which I fully believe it can),—I should hope that your force, with Sir James Outram’s added to it, and increased by some of the troops which were on the move upwards when you wrote (79th, 7th Hussars, a few of the 88th, &c.), would be strong enough to form the European portion (15,000) of the army which will be necessary for siege. It will, *a fortiori*, be strong enough to leave the force which is to occupy Lucknow.

“For native troops, those which Sir John Lawrence is sending to Rohilcund would be available; and then there are the Goorkhas, nearly the whole of whom, probably one-half (say 4000), could join the



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besieging army, leaving the rest to watch the Ghogra. Meanwhile additional regiments of cavalry have been asked for from the Punjab some time since, and more regiments of infantry are now asked for—to be used in the North-west Provinces or Oudh, as may be needed when they arrive. The 80th Regiment, from the Cape, may be here any day. A letter which I received a day or two ago from the Governor, promises more of what he calls ‘veteran troops’ as soon as he receives drafts, which he is expecting from England. Of drafts for India, I was assured three mails ago that after November recruits would be sent out at the rate of 1000 a-month overland, but divided, I presume, between the three Presidencies; also, that as soon as some of the Mediterranean regiments could be relieved by newly-raised corps (militia, I suppose), they will be sent on. But how soon that may be, I am not told.

“Then as regards Bundelcund, and the country west of Allahabad and Benares. The Bombay column is being organised, and will move up there, without having, so far as appears at present, much to detain it. I cannot think that any enemy on that side will be aggressive upon the Doab, or upon the country near to the Trunk Road between Allahabad and Benares, to such an extent as not to be repressible by detachments stationed, as you now have them, between Benares and Cawnpore.

“Continued disorder within Bundelcund must be expected, and in our own districts it will be long



before we shall get things into a creditable condition. This would be done more quickly by leaving Oudh alone, and devoting our force entirely to our older territory. But I believe that we should run great risk of paying dearly for this in the end.

"It is with these views that I so much wish and hope to see Lucknow disposed of. If this can be done, the question of Sir J. Outram's position settles itself,—excepting, indeed, that I have thought it right to tell him that considerations of policy alone must not prevent his withdrawing to Benares or elsewhere, if any day it should become prudent to do so upon military grounds.

"I shall be most anxious to hear whether you think that the obstacles to acting against Lucknow are so formidable as to override the considerations in favour of it.—Ever, my dear Sir Colin, sincerely yours,

CANNING."

"HEADQUARTER CAMP, MEERUN-KE-SERAI,
December 30, 1857.

"DEAR LORD CANNING,—My telegraphic messages will have kept you *au courant* of our proceedings, and of the deliberate manner in which the attempt is now being made to rough out the ground fair, and to enable the civil magistrate to go on with his work. It is necessary that this fact should be ever kept present to the mind, that throughout these districts it is not merely restoration, but almost reconstruction, of government which has been effected.



I do not think the strength of this fact can be estimated by any one who has not had an opportunity of observing personally the state of affairs from Allahabad upwards. That which has been the normal condition of Oudh from the time of Warren Hastings, has been formally organised in this Doab, if I may apply the word organise to so irregular a proceeding. The petty rajahs have put their forts into a state of defence; and they, as well as the chiefs of greater eminence, have set to work in the most systematic manner to extend their territories and mature their influence. What the Nana did in the district of Cawnpore, has been done much more efficiently by the Nawab of Furrukhabad, whose officers and troops were spread over the country from the Ganges to the Jumna—the revenue having been collected and authority maintained on his behalf after the most approved fashion, by many of the very men who were our own native official agents at the commencement of the troubles. So well was all this effected, that the march of Brigadier-General Grant's slender column in the month of October last only disturbed the new occupants for a few days, and the insurgents closed up round his rear immediately after his troops had passed. The punishment of many rebellious subjects has ensued on the advance of the force under my immediate command; but of course far larger numbers, including the leaders and the most dangerous agents of the revolt, have escaped across the Ganges on the



one side, and the Jumna on the other. Thus the Rajah of Thutteea, whose fort is in course of being razed, and whose villages are now being visited by the magistrate, is himself on the left bank of the Ganges, where he is said to give out that he is making levies to undo our work in these parts as soon as he has advanced. His intention may or may not be truly reported, but it is one that we ought to expect. Though the flight of the majority of the Nawab's people from Furrukhabad is asserted, and in all probability with truth, we must look upon this flight as a retreat to avoid immediate danger to their persons. It cannot be held to be a total abandonment of the usurpation which has been successful for six months. The Nawab and his followers know that such a practical avowal of total failure would involve the ruin, and in all probability the death, of every man concerned. His retreat on Rohileund thus is a very different thing from the troubles of that province, described by your lordship as a matter of less pressing necessity than many others. Let us not overlook, also, that the condition of Bundelcund is a direct menace on the whole Doab from the Jumna side, against which it must be well guarded if our forces be seriously engaged across the Ganges in any district. The guns have been taken, and the rebels of the Gwalior force were dispersed. But they still occupy the right bank of the Jumna, and even Calpee. Letters from the Nana to the Rajah of Mynpooree were

found in the house of the latter, in which the Nana regrets the failure of the Gwalior force, but says that they were gathering again at Calpee, and that he hoped they would soon be at Cawnpore. The junction of the force I have here with Colonel Seaton's column will effectually open the roads from Cawnpore to Agra and Meerut. That having been done, it is, as your lordship observes, of the first importance that there may be no further chance of the road being again closed. The maintenance of that great artery of communication free from all interruption is doubtless of the greatest consequence.

“Your lordship being of opinion—in which I entirely concur—that the preservation of the roads is of permanent importance, it remains to be considered how that can be secured. After much thought upon the facts mentioned above, and the inferences to be drawn from them being well weighed, it appears to me, on the whole, advisable to follow up the movement now made by this force by advance into, and occupation of, Rohilcund—to root out the leaders of the large gatherings of insurgents which we know to exist there, to seize their guns, and re-establish authority, as is now, I hope, being effectually done in the Doab. It seems to me that if we halt in this course to direct the only force at our command in these parts to another object, we run no slight risk of seeing the results of our late labours wasted, and of an autumn, perhaps a



summer, campaign on the same ground, to rescue the garrisons which would have to be left in Futtehghur and Mynpooree. Our late experience of the siege of Cawnpore might in such case be disagreeably repeated. The very fact of the retreat of the insurgents without a good beating renders this contingency so much the more probable if they be not followed up with a will throughout the province of Rohilcund, where they are falling back on the rebel forces reported to be massed at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly.

“In stating this opinion frankly, I trust your lordship will believe that it is not with the preference of one duty to another which has caused me to adopt this view, but what I really conceive to be demanded for the safety of the entire Presidency west of Cawnpore, in the Sikh cis-Sutlej States, as well as for the Punjab, and to prevent troubles again arising during the coming season in the neighbourhood of Oudh. My own private wish would naturally tend to the larger campaign. In the cis-Sutlej States we have had no troops since the first outbreak. I understand (for I have no returns) there are now at Umbala but 200 infantry. It might be dangerous to trust too much in that quarter, considering the long tract between Umbala and Delhi. I venture to include the Punjab and the cis-Sutlej States in the reasoning, in consequence of the reported great anxiety of Sir J. Lawrence for the freedom of the Great Trunk Road,



which would tend to increase the security of his own government. Agra can hardly be left to itself in any case, and another interruption of communication might in all probability put that city in a state of siege.

“I am very much afraid that the reasonings and conclusions advanced will be at variance with your lordship’s wishes. But you have been so good as to desire me to express my opinion without reserve; and I am convinced you will give me credit for having but one object in view—viz., the fullest success of your lordship’s Government. One point I do believe to be quite certain. There are not sufficient means at hand to undertake the conquest and subjugation of Oudh, not even the retention of Lucknow only, and at the same time to put such columns and establish such posts in other provinces as to insure the object which is absolutely and imperatively necessary—viz., the safety of the Trunk Road. By a movement against Oudh, disaffection would be enabled to break out again in our own comparatively peaceful provinces; but if we keep a strong guard of the latter for this season, all the rebels will be obliged to resort to Oudh as their last place of refuge, and can be there shut in, I think, without much difficulty.

“I come therefore, unwillingly, to the conclusion that Oudh ought to wait till the autumn of 1858, when, with the countries occupied in strength all around it, the proper subjugation of rajahs and people



might be expected without risk and without much loss. An operation at the present time would entail much of both; while our anxieties for the road and the provinces lately the seat of war, might, to say the least, prove very disagreeable. One other point must also not be forgotten—the safety of the British residents at Nynsee Tal. If Rohilcund be left untouched, could they be trusted solely to their Goorkha guard? Such, my dear Lord Canning, are the conclusions at which I have arrived, after the most careful consideration of the whole subject. I need not assure you that, if your opinion should eventually differ from mine, every energy I possess shall be devoted towards the execution of your wishes. I repeat again, I have none but for your entire success. But whether it be Oudh or Rohilcund, or elsewhere, that your lordship may ultimately decide on, the chances must be well calculated beforehand, and the requisite forces properly estimated. The force mentioned by Sir John Lawrence as sufficient for the march into Rohilcund is not so in my opinion, considering the information we possess, of which he must be ignorant. This entire force would in the first instance be necessary till the rebels should be broken up, and Shahjehanpore and Bareilly occupied.”

“CALCUTTA, January 7, 1858.

“MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I have had a press of business upon me all day, which has prevented



me from writing at length, as I wished to do, in answer to your clear and full letter of December 30th.

"Many thanks for it; and do not think me perverse if I still hold that Lucknow, and as much of Oudh as Lucknow carries with it, is of an importance to us in the present state of the country far exceeding that which belongs to Rohilcund.

"I have not many reasons to urge in support of this, but those which I gave in a former letter become more and more cogent. I must, however, put off saying more upon this until to-morrow, as the post is just going; but I do not like to leave you an unnecessary twenty-four hours without an answer in substance to your letter.

"Believe me, my dear Sir Colin, when I tell you how I value the kindly spirit of it.—Ever sincerely yours,

CANNING."

"CALCUTTA, *January 8, 1858.*

"MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—You may be sure that your letter of December 30th has led me to reconsider carefully all that I had thought and written to you as to the point to which our next operations should be directed. I have done so with a keen sense of the importance of the decision which has to be taken, and with a very anxious desire to make my own view accord as much as possible with that which your letter so clearly expresses. But I am obliged to say that I still think that those operations should



be directed against Lucknow at no long interval. That it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of showing ourselves to be masters of Lucknow is really no figure of speech. I believe it to be impossible to foresee the consequences of leaving that city subdued. I believe that we should see them rise up all around us.

"The Nana is said to be meditating an attack through Bundelcund upon the Saugor territories. Inaction in Oudh, and no force nearer to him than the Cawnpore and Allahabad garrisons, will encourage him greatly. He is also intriguing with the Mahrattas of Western India. If he can point to Lucknow as wrested from us, his appeal will have a dangerous force, and one which would not be counterbalanced by any reassertion of our power in Rohilcund.

"The reports from Pegu of things in Ava are, that news of Lucknow is anxiously looked for. Major Phayre,¹ who knows our Burmah neighbours well, and passed through Calcutta on his return to his post at Rangoon a few days ago, attached the greatest importance to success at Lucknow. He thinks that unless deterred by a notoriously complete turn of the tide in our favour, the king of Ava will be down on our provinces. This may be so or not; but it is a fact that the king has collected 20,000 men at Amarapoora, and that more are in course of collec-

¹ Lieutenant-General Sir A. P. Phayre, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.B., at this time Commissioner in Burmah.



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tion. The wing of the 29th, as you know, is gone back to Rangoon; and the 69th will go there from Madras. In a few days I hope to send a corvette and two gunboats to Rangoon river.

“Then there is that most formidable of all lurking-places of danger and revolt, Hyderabad,—especially Mahometan, and deeply sympathising with Oudh, because fearing, however unreasonably, the same fate. The recovery of Oudh would be of the greatest value to us there; whilst the penetrating into Rohilcund, leaving Oudh untouched, would be little thought of. It will become a question for early consideration, in the event of our not acting against Lucknow, and of General Outram having to withdraw from it, whether a part of Brigadier Whitlock’s Madras column should not be halted at Secunderabad, to guard against all contingencies in the Nizam’s dominions. I should not like to ask Madras for another man, out of her own proper territories.

“Nothing can be more satisfactory than the first start of the Nepaulese auxiliary force. But its leader is high-spirited and sensitive, and anything like inaction or a campaign of blockade would certainly not content him. He is thirsting to distinguish himself amongst us; and if Oudh be left alone, we must either leave him to observe it, or at best, leave a large portion of his force to do that work, and invite himself to join us in active operations elsewhere, shorn of a great part of his strength. He will not like this; and I am strongly of opinion that



it is no more than fair to Jung Bahadoor, as well as politic for ourselves, to render his freely-given service as congenial to him as we can make it. I would try to give active employment to as large a part of the Nepaulese army as possible.

"In Oudh itself, General Outram reports that attempts at overtures are being made by the Begum, and that there is no doubt that the rebels are becoming disheartened. These are golden moments for our purpose at Lucknow. It is true that against this report is to be set that which you lately received through Mr Glynn, of the determined preparations for resistance which are being made at Lucknow; but we have a right to distrust Mr Glynn's informant. He talks of an attack upon General Outram's position by 25,000 men being arranged to take place from the 18th December; but we know that nothing of the kind had occurred up to the 22d, when General Outram assumed the aggressive, and beat a force that was moving round his flank. Since when, up to the 2d January, all had been quiet around him.

"I fear I assumed too much as to the paucity of artillery in Rohilcund; and that, as you say, the force mentioned by Sir John Lawrence is not enough for a march into Rohilcund. But may it not be sufficient, or be gradually made sufficient, for dealing with that province pretty much as you suggest deal-with Oudh? That is shutting in our enemies, or at least guarding against or checking any aggression



on their part. From the latest information that has reached me, it seems that the districts of Bijnour and Mooradabad are well disposed, and might be held (if it be necessary to hold them) with a small force. Not so Bareilly and Shahjehanpore; and these, as we cannot reduce and occupy them, must be held in check. I write mistrustfully upon these points; but I should hope that it might be possible to do this, if not effectually, at all events in such manner as to make it very hazardous for the rebels at those places to attempt a descent upon any part of the Trunk Road: and although I put the clearing of that great artery of communications as the first of all our objects, I should be content to forego something of perfect safety and completeness if it should be necessary to enable us to get to Lucknow. I would, for the sake of this, compound for an occasional marauding or other insult coming upon us from the other side of the Ganges.

“I have a letter from Sir John Lawrence of the 24th December, saying that he has arranged to send you reinforcements of cavalry to the extent of 2000 sabres or more, of which 700 had started, and 700 were then starting; the rest to follow shortly.

“I rejoice to hear it, for I have had no news from Agra of the progress of Captain Meade’s levy, which ought to have made way by this time.—Believe me, my dear Sir Colin, sincerely yours, CANNING.”

It has been deemed advisable to quote this corre-



spondence in full, at the risk of taxing the patience of the reader, not only because it places in a clear light the military reasons on which Sir Colin's views were based, but because it is just to his memory to vindicate it from the aspersions which were liberally heaped upon him by a large portion of the Indian press, which clamoured at what it chose to deem unwarrantable inaction on the part of the Commander-in-chief. Nor could the troops understand the cause of the delay, at a moment when the successful progress of the operations justified the hope of a brilliant termination of the campaign, which up to this point had been conducted with a rapidity of execution characteristic of their leader. The tone of the letters, though expressing divergent views, is a pattern of the temper in which the interchange of opinions between the civil and military chiefs of a great Government should be carried on; and if no other proof were forthcoming, they bear ample testimony to the mutual respect and esteem which the writers entertained for each other.

In a letter of the 13th January to the Duke of Cambridge, Sir Colin informed his Royal Highness of the Governor-General's decision. After stating briefly his own opinion in favour of the Rohilcund campaign, he remarks: "On the other hand, there are, I believe, reasons of policy with which I am but little acquainted, more particularly the march of the Goorkhas under Jung Bahadoor. I am quite ready to acknowledge the superior judgment of the Gov-



ernor-General, and should indeed be sorry if an imperfect opinion of mine should entail a greater responsibility on his lordship. His means of information are far larger than any which I can possibly possess, and I have the greatest and most sincere respect for his opinion. We are now hard at work to carry out his lordship's wishes, and, if possible, to ward off the risks of which I deemed it my duty to give him notice. I am sorry to say I have as yet received no report of the movements of the columns from the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, but I presume we shall hear very shortly of their advance into and through Central India. The Punjab remains very tranquil; and Sir John Lawrence has been asked, and has promised, to part with a good deal of native cavalry and some Sikh infantry to help us down here. Of the affairs of lower Bengal, which some short time ago gave much alarm, I have lately heard but little; so I assume that the tranquillity of those districts has not been disturbed since the Chittagong¹ mutiny. Active measures are being taken for securing cover for the troops in all directions. I have a confident hope that whenever it may be convenient to the public service to put them in quarters, they will find ample accommodation. When that may be, I can assure your Royal Highness it is impossible for any man to tell. A great improvement has been made in their distribution, and I have succeeded to

¹ This occurred on the 18th November 1857.



a great extent in bringing corps together all over the country. . . .

“Judging from a passage in the last letter which your Royal Highness was pleased to write to me, I fear there have been alarms at home that I should divert the troops destined for Madras and Bombay to this Presidency. I can assure your Royal Highness my anxiety for the two former has been as keen as for that entailing an immediate responsibility on myself. Two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry were, at my suggestion, sent to Madras after they had arrived at Calcutta, and I begged in addition that the left wing of the 29th Foot might be sent back to Burmah to ease Madras. When taking all this trouble, I did not, of course, forget that Bengal was in open insurrection from one end to another, while there had not been a shot fired at Madras. We must remember, also, that Madras received full regiments in place of very weak ones, with which she had parted before. I trust the authorities are now satisfied. Lord Canning and I have worked hard for them; but I have noticed considerable alarm in that Presidency from the first, which has not been justified by events. Bombay also should now, I think, be satisfied; but I have had nothing to do with affording relief to that Presidency.”



CHAPTER XIV.

PREPARATIONS FOR SIEGE OF LUCKNOW—ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION OF FUTTEHGUR—SIR COLIN COMMUNICATES MEASURES TO LORD CANNING—LETTER TO SIR JAMES OUTRAM—LETTER TO LORD CANNING—DISCUSSION WITH SIR JAMES OUTRAM AS TO POINT OF ATTACK—OPERATIONS IN FURRUKHABAD DISTRICT—HEAD-QUARTER COLUMN MARCHES TO CAWNPORE—DISTRIBUTION OF ARMY OF OUDH—CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING SELECTION OF OFFICERS—ARMY ECHELONED BETWEEN CAWNPORE AND ALUMBAGH—NARRATIVE OF EVENTS ELSEWHERE—PAUSE IN OPERATIONS—SIR COLIN WAITS FOR JUNG BAHADOOR—PROGRESS OF COLUMNS IN CENTRAL INDIA AND RAJPOOTANA—WALPOLE MOVES UP TRUNK ROAD—HOPE GRANT'S MOVEMENTS IN OUDH—SIR JAMES OUTRAM'S POSITION ATTACKED—DELAY OF JUNG BAHADOOR—THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE TO SIR COLIN—LETTER FROM THE QUEEN FORWARDED BY THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—COLONELCY OF 93D HIGHLANDERS—SIR COLIN'S REPLY TO HER MAJESTY—SIR COLIN LEAVES CAWNPORE—LETTER TO SIR J. LAWRENCE—DR W. H. RUSSELL.

ONCE in possession of the Governor-General's views, Sir Colin Campbell lost no time in giving loyal effect to them by the adoption of active measures necessary for the reduction of Lucknow. Still keeping his own counsel, he satisfied himself as to the means which the arsenals of Agra and Allahabad could furnish in the shape of material. The supply of carriage he



urgently pressed on the attention of the chief commissioner of Agra.

Whilst engaged in these preparations, Sir Colin could not have selected a more advantageous position than Futtehghur. From that central point he was enabled to check any attempt on the part of the enemy to molest the upper Doab from either Oudh or Rohilcund. Inglis's brigade at Cawnpore afforded security to the line of communication in the lower Doab between Cawnpore and Allahabad, and was sufficient to exact respect from the remains of the Gwalior contingent, which had rallied on ten guns left behind by that force at Calpee, when it advanced to attack Windham, and which was daily being augmented by fresh recruitments in Bundelcund. With a detachment occupying Bithoor and a Sikh regiment at Meerun-ke-Serai, to keep open the communication with Cawnpore, the central portion of the Doab was rendered safe; whilst a European regiment holding Mynpooree, and a native detachment posted at Allygurh, established a secure connection with Agra and kept clear the road to Delhi. In short, Futtehghur constituted an admirable strategical centre, from which Sir Colin could radiate by the despatch of troops to any quarter seriously threatened by the enemy from Oudh, Rohilcund, or the trans-Jumna territories; whilst it effectually covered the transport of the siege-train from Agra to Cawnpore, a distance of 179 miles.

Nor during this enforced delay were the troops of



the headquarter force kept unemployed. Movable columns were sent out in various directions, clearing the villages of insurgents and reducing the rebellious districts to subjection. In a letter to Lord Canning of the 11th January, Sir Colin informs him of his proceedings: "I trust your plans may succeed as you desire; and you may be assured that no effort shall be wanting on my part to obtain the fullest execution of your wishes. We are all hard at work, and have been so ever since the receipt of your first letter. Indents and carriage to a large extent have been sent to Agra for the necessary siege-train. After a long consultation with Major Turner, R.A., and Captain Taylor, R.E., the officers best acquainted with the resources of the different arsenals, it was determined to use Agra for ourselves, and to leave Allahabad to supply General Franks¹ and Jung Bahadoor. The siege-train cannot be expected at Cawnpore before the first week in February at the earliest. I am trying to shape out the means of providing for the safety of the north-west while the Lucknow operation is in progress, but it is no easy matter between the present time and the arrival of the troops to be sent by Sir John Lawrence from the Punjab. One regiment will remain at Futtehghur, which is now being put in proper repair; one is at Mynpooree; and a third goes to Agra. A

¹ The late Major-General Sir Thomas Franks, K.C.B., operating at this time with a column in the Central Provinces, and covering the movement of troops between Benares and Allahabad.

attacked in so vigorous a manner by a large body of the enemy, led by the Moulvie of Fyzabad and Fer-ozeshah, the Delhi prince, that he found himself reduced to the defensive. For this reason Sir Colin hastened to his assistance, obtaining shelter from the terrific heat for his jaded men under such *topes* or groves of trees as were to be met with on the way. Notwithstanding all his precautions, the sun told with distressing effect upon the troops. During Jones's march to Shahjehanpoor, the 60th Rifles, which had borne its full share of fighting and exposure at Delhi, and was regarded as an acclimatised and hardy regiment, suffered very severely from sunstroke. Imagination fails to realise the painful consequences of a march made under such circumstances. All honour, then, to these noble soldiers, who, sustained by the example of their veteran leader, bore up with cheerfulness and alacrity against a foe far more formidable than the enemy, whom they were straining every nerve to encounter in fair fight.

Though as much exposed as the private soldier—for on such occasions he on principle shared the fatigues and privations of his troops—Sir Colin enjoyed excellent health. The manner in which he bore the heat and the bodily exertion of riding for so many hours continuously on the march, was a marvel to the members of his staff. On these occasions he invariably had a kind word to say or a remark to make to the soldiers as he rode with the column.

Cawnpore district. A brigade will move to-morrow across the Ganges about twelve miles, to hold the bridge over the Ramgunga. It will be complete, with infantry, cavalry, and guns; and some British refugees who have written in from Rohilcund will, it is hoped, be preserved by their means. A very good and enterprising Civil officer will be required to accompany it, with one or two assistants. A military man with experience would perhaps be the best for the duty, but I have no one here who is fit for it. A military post will also be formed in a week's time at Oonao, twelve miles from Cawnpore on the Lucknow road. Sir J. Outram is, it appears, advancing with his police arrangements, which he was recommended to commence before my departure from Alum Bagh. I have not communicated your lordship's designs either to him or to Colonel Fraser,¹ having thought it better that such important intelligence should only be imparted by your lordship's Government. Besides, it appears to me that, until the time for action has arrived, it is advisable that as few persons as possible should be able to discuss the matter. But I think, when the design comes to be known, the latter will be as much depressed as the former will be elated. Mr Raikes,² C.S., has acceded to my invitation, and comes to join me; but what we want is a number of very active hands to take up the executive in its details as the troops pass along, and they are not to be found. My pres-

¹ Chief Commissioner at Agra.

² Charles Raikes, Esq., C.S.I.

ence here is doing good. It cannot but be a check till the force is obliged to move downwards. . . .

Simultaneously with the movement of the siege-train from Agra, the 68-pounder guns of the Shannon, left by Peel at Allahabad, and exchanged for the 18- and 24-pounders so effectually employed at the relief of Lucknow and the subsequent operations, were ordered up to Cawnpore. The 2d Dragoon Guards and 7th Hussars, now nearly complete, at Allahabad, together with two troops of Royal Horse-Artillery, the 79th Highlanders, &c., were looked to as welcome additions to the force to be employed before Lucknow; but notwithstanding this, the drain upon his resources, owing to the very long line of communications required to be kept open, was a source of constant anxiety to the Commander-in-chief. The force under his personal command amounted in round numbers to a little over 10,000 men, diminished by at least the strength of a brigade, wherewith to furnish the posts established at Bithoor, Meerun-ke-Serai, Mynpooree, and Allygurb, the garrison of which latter place, in consequence of Bulundshuhur being threatened, it was deemed expedient to strengthen by the addition of the 64th Regiment. When it is considered that the line to Futtehghur from Calcutta was 717 miles in length, and those from Delhi and Agra 195 and 112 miles respectively, some idea may be formed of how an army, under such conditions, becomes wasted. In short, the distances constituted



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one of the most formidable difficulties to be encountered in the suppression of the revolt. From this will be more readily understood the reasons which actuated the Government of India in accepting the proffered aid of the Nepaulese force, some 9000 men, under Jung Bahadoor.

Matters were now sufficiently advanced to warrant Sir James Outram and Colonel Napier being called into council.

"You will be aware," wrote Sir Colin, addressing the former, "that the force with me is to be diverted from its present employment to that of laying siege to Lucknow. I received instructions to that effect on the 8th.

"I enclose a letter for our friend Napier, which kindly peruse; it will inform you of the steps I have taken to gather and have collected at Cawnpore all the means that are within my reach, to insure success to the undertaking. No one save the artillery officer (Turner), and Taylor of the Engineers, and our friend Bruce,¹ and Mansfield, in this camp, are aware of the orders I have received with respect to Lucknow. It will be prudent to keep the people of this place and neighbourhood ignorant as long as possible of the intention to employ the force elsewhere. When I begin to retrace my steps from hence towards Cawnpore, I

¹ The late Colonel Herbert Bruce, C.B., Bombay Army, Commandant 5th Punjab Cavalry—at this time head of the Intelligence Department.



am thinking of sending a strong brgiade, with a due proportion of artillery and cavalry, by the left bank of the Ganges, and to join you near to Alum Bagh. Do you see any risk or difficulty likely to attend a column moving by that route from this? We hear of people collecting occasionally on the left bank a little lower down than this, and threatening to cross to the right bank to plunder the neighbourhood. But the subject of moment just now is the affair of Lucknow. I should be glad to have your opinion as to the point of attack. Our forces will scarcely prove sufficient to encircle the place in any effectual manner—I mean, including General Franks's force, and the Goorkhas under Jung Bahadoor. As soon as the siege-train has begun to move from Agra, I think of going down to see you, in advance of the troops. But I shall be much obliged to you to let me hear from you in the meanwhile about this attack on Lucknow. I propose to send you some cavalry, and I have desired three companies of the Rifle brigade—about 360 men—to be placed at Oonao, a spot between Cawnpore and Bunnee. If Napier should desire to go to Cawnpore to make arrangements for this siege, will you kindly allow him to go?"

On the 19th January, Sir Colin, in reporting the progress of affairs to Lord Canning, still further unfolded his views:—

"I feel that I ought to write to let you know in detail exactly how matters stand in this quarter.



It has appeared to me necessary, owing to the very disturbed state of the country, to keep up as long as possible the delusion that I am about to operate in Rohilcund. For this purpose a brigade was sent to take position on the Ramgunga river, about ten miles on the other side of the Ganges. Materials have been collected to bridge the stream, and a considerable gathering of the enemy has taken place to oppose our progress towards Bareilly.

“It seems, from all the reports, that this hostile force on the Ramgunga is increasing daily, and that it now amounts to about 8000 men, with 8 guns. At the same time, the rebels threaten opposite to Anoopshuhur on the Ganges, which is not far from Allygurh. Many calls have come to me for assistance from Allygurh and Meerut on this account. Bareilly is also reported to be full of hostile Pathans, to the number, it is said, of 30,000 men, with from 30 to 40 guns. There is doubtless a very large gathering there. To the northward at Roorkee, and to the southward towards Mozuffurnuggur, there is also alarm. I hope that my continued presence here till the time has arrived for throwing off the mask, will have the effect of keeping the rebels massed together to resist my supposed advance. I have directed 600 irregular horsemen, called the Jowanna Horse, to be halted at Meerut, to be at the disposal of Major-General Penny. The 64th Foot has been sent towards Agra *via* Allygurh. A battery coming from the Punjab has been directed



to halt at Umbala, and it has been suggested to Sir John Lawrence to send one of his sickly English regiments to that station. A troop of artillery coming from the Punjab has been ordered to halt at Meerut.

“I have had a project of sending a very strong brigade—indeed a division—down the left bank of the Ganges towards Lucknow, on account of the good effect that such a march would have in the province of Oudh. Besides that, it would leave the Great Trunk Road and the Cawnpore bridge free for the passage of the heavy train. I cannot, however, yet make up my mind as to whether it would be prudent to do that, in consequence of the swarms of horsemen by which Rohileund is known to be tenanted, as well as the very uncertain temper of the Doab. All along the left bank of the Jumna, the disaffection of the people and their rebellious spirit have resisted the punishments which have been inflicted, while the Oudh rabble is constantly crossing over: the week after a movable column has passed along, insurrection again raises its head, and our new police posts are overwhelmed. Mr Hume at Etawah cries urgently for help; and it is evident that, whatever the calls elsewhere, a column must remain permanently on the banks of the Jumna. I enclose for your lordship’s perusal a few notes as specimens of the feelings of officials in these parts.

“Our great project advances favourably. The siege-



train will be in movement on the 22d from Agra, and I hope soon to see everything in order. But I must not conceal from your lordship that a certain combination is apparent amongst all the rebels in the provinces contiguous to the Doab. They show a greater liveliness than usual, whilst Sir J. Outram has been attacked twice—viz., on the 12th and 16th. There have been threatening symptoms along the whole line of the Ganges, including Oudh and Rohilkund. On the Jumna the same thing occurs at Tara Ghat and Calpee at the same time. A considerable activity is visible, and we hear of parties of rebel troops moving towards Goruckpoor, Roy Bareilly, and Allahabad. Reports to this effect are probably exaggerated; but I think we may say that combination is traceable, and that a good stand is now being made. I am in communication with Sir J. Outram, who strongly recommends me to pursue the march down the left bank of the Ganges; but as I said before, I am not clear that it is prudent, with regard to all the circumstances. The fort at this place is being put into a state of defence. Three hundred and fifty irregular horse, raised as police by Colonel Fraser, and put at my disposal by that officer, were this morning sent back from this camp to assist Mr Hume, and generally to aid the convoys to Agra, &c. I trust these precautions may keep the roads safe; but I confess to having fears on the subject, when my back shall be turned. Captain Bruce has just returned, 20th January,



and reports the most satisfactory progress at Agra. Brigadier Campbell having for the time left Allahabad for the purpose of taking the field, Brigadier Bradford has been directed to take command of that station, and Colonel Longfield, 8th Foot, to assume the command of the Delhi station, as a temporary arrangement. The Oudh campaign concluded, it will be necessary for all these officers to proceed without delay to their proper commands.

"The Madras column, moving by Nagpoor on Saugor, must be very near, if it has not actually reached, the latter place. If your lordship were to suggest that it should continue its march to Bandah, it would cause the mutineers and other rebels collected in that district, and at Calpee and other places along the left bank of the Jumna, to break up."

The details of the force to be left behind for the occupation of Futtehghur having been determined, Sir Colin selected Colonel Hale, commanding the 82d Foot, for the command, losing no time in conveying to that officer his recommendations regarding the precautions necessary for the defence of the post, in anticipation of his own departure, when the command of the brigade would devolve on Colonel Seaton. The following letter is quoted to illustrate the care with which Sir Colin looked to all military details of an important character, leaving nothing to chance or the course of ordinary routine, and supplementing the usual official instructions by a few words of counsel personally tendered.



"FUTTEHGHUR, *January 16, 1858.*

"MY DEAR COLONEL,—I shall be glad to see you in the course of the afternoon. I hope you are getting forward with the arrangements of the stores and provisions which are to be lodged in the fort for the use of your garrison, by placing them in the most convenient situation, and the provisions so arranged that they may be got at daily without difficulty. You must turn carefully over in your mind the best manner of distributing your little force for the defence of your post, taking care to hold in hand a certain portion, or a reserve. I would hope that you are not likely to be molested after the force may be ordered to leave this; but an officer in your situation, and having reference to the state of the country, should so prepare himself and his post for every possible contingency. Look to the careful storing of your ammunition, and afford every assistance to the engineers with fatigue-parties to assist in improving the defences: these fatigue-parties to consist of one or more (if necessary) distinct companies, with the captain and other officers and non-commissioned officers invariably present, superintending their men when at work, and to be made responsible that their men work zealously. No party to be employed on any fatigue without the presence of an officer; and when possible, the officer and men should be of the same company. In fact, you should arrange that duties of every sort should be performed by companies. If



the work or duty be imperfectly performed, the discredit will fall on the captain of the company. You will have much to think of in command of such a post as the one you are charged with, and it will be prudent to give it your early attention.—Yours
&c.,
C. CAMPBELL."

In the meantime, the preparations for the siege were rapidly advancing. On the 22d January, the siege-train and a large convoy of ammunition and stores, escorted by a detachment of about 3000 troops, left Agra for Cawnpore. Taking advantage of the protection thus offered, a number of ladies accompanied it on their way to Calcutta. During this period an active correspondence had been initiated between the Commander-in-chief and Sir James Outram, relative to the best point for approaching Lucknow during the forthcoming operations. It will be sufficient to give the two following letters on this subject:—

"FUTTEECHUR, *January 28, 1858.*

"MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have delayed answering your letter of the 17th instant till now, owing to my expectation of a detailed memo. from Colonel Napier on the subject of its contents. Having heard from him this morning that the expected memo. is not yet ready, I will delay no longer. In the first place, it now appears to me to be imprudent to march a single brigade down the left bank of the



Ganges from hence. A large force could not be afforded for such a detached duty, and I should be unable to support it, if it should get into an unexpected difficulty. Rohilcund is so rebellious, and there are such swarms of horsemen only watching an opportunity of giving annoyance and of plundering in that province, that a brigade so detached might become involved, and consequently unable to keep time for the execution of the intentions of Government. That idea may therefore be abandoned.

"In the second place, I do not think it will do to attack the Moosa Bagh (situated on the W. side of the Residency) first. We should, if we were to pursue that line, be implicated in a great mass of suburbs. Although your engineer talks lightly of troops being only liable to musketry-fire in this or that locality, I have the strongest objection to their being so annoyed in streets and suburbs. Such was the reason which caused me, before I left Calcutta, to select the roads in the neighbourhood of the Goomtee by which I proposed to myself to come to your relief at Lucknow, and which, after a personal reconnaissance of the ground, led me to the rejection of your plan. In the latter, if you recollect, you wished me to cross the canal bridge, or the canal a little below it, and fight through the suburbs to the barracks. I thought it safer to keep to the open, and first to attack the Secunder Bagh, and thus avoid all street-fighting. I have always been



strongly impressed with the danger of that sort of struggle, but in this particular case my personal attention was directed to it by General Havelock's description of the perils you all incurred on the occasion of your entry into Lucknow, which has since been even more strongly shown in one of your own last letters.¹ When I came to your help, I had previously made up my mind to make the most liberal use of the sapper and heavy artillery; and so I hope to be able to carry out our next operation, and thus economise life. I will not risk more in suburbs and streets if I can help it, till the road is so far clear as to enable the soldiers to be supervised by their commander, and to feel their own mutual support. It will, of course, be impossible for me to decide finally till I am again on the spot; but I suspect that all the reasons given above will be conclusive against the line of the Moosa Bagh, independent of our utter inability, for want of numbers, to spread our camp all around the city, as suggested in your letter of the 17th. . . .—Yours, &c.,

“C. CAMPBELL.”

“CAMP, ALUM BAGH, *January 29, 1858.*”

“MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—When I wrote to your Excellency on the 17th instant, I was not informed what the strength of the Goorkhas and Colonel

¹ Sir Colin, so far from imputing blame to Havelock on this account, has recorded his deliberate opinion that Havelock's conduct was “the prudence of a brave man overtaken by an unexpected difficulty.”



Franks's columns would be, nor did I know what the strength of your own force would be. I had supposed that your own column would not fall far short of 10,000 men, exclusive of this division; and in the hope that your means would suffice for effectually investing the whole city, I suggested a point of attack under that assumption, in accordance with your request that I should do so.

“Since then I have been informed by Captain Taylor that your Excellency's forces will be much weaker than I had anticipated, and that the entire investment of the place may not be practicable; in which case you will turn your first attention to the capture of the Kaiser Bagh, and from thence conduct operations against the remainder of the city. It is my belief that, the capture of the Kaiser Bagh once effected, the city will be evacuated by the rebels—the quarter towards Moosa Bagh being free for their egress; and in that case we shall not inflict so heavy a blow as if the main attack was from the Moosa Bagh side, hemmed in as the enemy would be on this side, and on the other side by the Goomtee.

“The mere capture of the Kaiser Bagh can be most easily effected from this side, I have little doubt,—not, however, by the route you formerly followed—for every possible obstruction in their power has been prepared on the river front of the Kaiser Bagh—but by forcing the canal about half a mile or so above Banks's house (between it and the Char Bagh bridge).



where there is a considerable extent of open ground on the other side of the canal, and a tolerably wide street penetrates into the city from thence to the Kaiser Bagh; by operating in which direction we should turn the defensive works which the enemy have prepared on the direct approach from Dil Khooshah, as well as those on the main street leading from the Char Bagh bridge to the Residency: and I do not anticipate much difficulty in penetrating from house to house, and holding all that intervenes between the said open ground (where batteries might be erected, the play of which would expel the enemy from the intermediate houses) and the south-western angle of the Kaiser Bagh, which possesses no defences in that quarter that I can hear of. If there are guns at all in that direction, as reported, they must be outside, in the houses and streets leading to the Kaiser Bagh. No works in the Kaiser Bagh itself have been there prepared for artillery, I believe.

“The principal advantage I contemplated by operating from Moosa Bagh along the river side of the city, was the fire of your heavy artillery from the other side of the Goomtee, held by the Goorkhas and Franks’s column; and any of your artillery necessary for that purpose could readily have been transported from Moosa Bagh to the other side by a bridge of boats, for which we have nearly or quite sufficient means in the large flat-bottomed river-boats which General Havelock brought with him.

“Had your Excellency sufficient forces to afford



both attacks, of course simultaneously penetrating from both sides would be most effectual and speedy; but if not sufficiently strong to invest the whole city while penetrating from Moosa Bagh, then I think the speediest and easiest way of getting Kaiser Bagh would be by the way I have indicated. But the Kaiser Bagh does not command the city, and the moral effect of its occupation does not cause the evacuation of the city, which we may reasonably expect it would do, egress towards Moosa Bagh being open to the rebels. Then we should have to prosecute the capture of the rest of the city by degrees; whereas, I believe that, once in possession of the Imambara, Shishmahal, Doulut Khana, and Muchee Bawun from the Moosa Bagh side, the entire city would be at your mercy; but if the Kaiser Bagh still held out, its capture could as easily be effected afterwards from that side as from this quarter above mentioned.

“With the view of turning the proposed feint from this side into a material diversion in support of the main attack from the Moosa Bagh direction—should your Excellency approve it—I had, before Captain Taylor’s arrival, instituted secret inquiries through Captain Hutchinson, Chief Engineer of this division, as to the possibility of a direct advance on the Kaiser Bagh I thus contemplated submitting to your consideration, and the result of these inquiries appears to have satisfied Colonel Napier and Captain Taylor that this would be the best direction for the main



attack, should complete investment not be practicable.—Believe me to be, &c., JAMES OUTRAM."

Twice during the month of January, Brigadier Adrian Hope had been detached with a body of troops into the district of Furrukhabad, for the purpose of punishing the insurgents and restoring order. On the second occasion, a force consisting of a troop and a field-battery Bengal artillery, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, the headquarters of Hodson's Horse—brought specially from the Ramgunga for the purpose—the 42d and 93d Highlanders, and the 4th Punjab Rifles, proceeded in the direction of Shumshabad, where it was known a considerable body of rebels had assembled. After a long night's march, Hope succeeded in coming up with the body he was seeking—which, it was believed, included two of the regiments that had mutinied at Bareilly. He was received by a well-directed discharge of round-shot; but he soon silenced the enemy's guns by a fire opened on their flank, and then advancing with his infantry, carried the rebel camp with a rush. The mutineers fled discomfited across the Ganges, losing many of their numbers, and abandoning several guns, together with much ammunition, in the pursuit which followed.

The siege-train having passed Futtelighur on its way to Cawnpore, and the force collected in the Punjab, for the protection of the territories which were exposed to the possible incursions of the rebels from Rohilcund, being expected to reach Umbala by



the 1st February, the time had arrived for Sir Colin to throw off the mask and put the headquarter column in motion, for the purpose of co-operating in the projected movement against Lucknow.

Orders were therefore given to recall Walpole's force from the Ramgunga. The 1st Bengal Europeans, followed by a squadron of the Lahore light horse, were the first to leave Futteghur. On the 1st February Sir Colin, accompanied by a troop of Bengal horse-artillery, the 9th Lancers, and a squadron of Bengal cavalry, proceeded by forced marches to Cawnpore, which he reached on the 4th. A few hours later Hope Grant, taking with him the headquarters of the cavalry and artillery, together with Hope's brigade of infantry, set out for the same destination, with directions to effect the movement by the usual marches. Walpole had orders to remain at Futteghur for three days; after which interval, if unmolested by the enemy, he was to follow Hope Grant towards Cawnpore, leaving the 82d Foot, a light field-battery of Royal Artillery, a few sappers, and a body of police cavalry, to hold Futteghur.

Two good bridges of boats, constructed at Cawnpore, about half a mile apart—one opposite the intrenchment, the other lower down below the junction of the canal—materially increased the facilities for the passage of the troops, stores, and baggage about to be thrown into Oudh. On the morning of the 4th February, the 7th Hussars, Anderson's troop



of Royal Horse-Artillery, and the 79th Highlanders, under Brigadier Campbell, crossed the river Ganges and encamped at Oonao. Hope Grant reached Cawnpore on the 7th February, on which day Sir Colin left that place to meet Lord Canning at Allahabad, whither the Governor-General had repaired, as a more convenient centre, from whence to direct the Government during the military operations about to be undertaken in Oudh and the adjacent territories. Sir Colin remained one day with Lord Canning, returning to Cawnpore on the 9th.

On the following day a general order was issued announcing the formation of the army of Oudh into brigades and divisions.

Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi celebrity, was nominated to the command of the artillery division. The brigade of Engineers was confided to the charge of Brigadier R. Napier of the Bengal Engineers. The cavalry was placed under Brigadier-General Hope Grant. The infantry was distributed in three divisions—the first under Major-General Sir James Outram, the second under Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard,¹ the third under Brigadier-General Walpole. This force was exclusive of the column under Brigadier-General Franks, about to advance from the S.E. frontier of Oudh simultaneously with the movement of the

¹ Sir E. Lugard had accompanied Sir James Outram as chief of his staff in the Persian expedition of the previous year—now General the Right Honourable Sir E. Lugard, G.C.B.



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gigantic task which was confided to you.—Believe me to be, my dear Lord Clyde, very sincerely and gratefully yours,

J. OUTRAM."

No less cordial were the felicitations which reached him from his friend and compatriot Sir Patrick Grant—generous words, prompted by a noble spirit, when it is remembered that Lord Clyde had displaced this distinguished officer, who had been summoned from Madras to Calcutta to take up the duties of Commander-in-chief on General Anson's death, and because his claims to the supreme command in India had been warmly advocated by influential portions of the English and Indian press, on its becoming known that Sir Colin Campbell had been preferred to him.

"OOTACAMUND, 11th September 1858.

"MY DEAR LORD CLYDE,—The 'London Gazette' announcing your elevation to a peerage has just reached us, and my prediction of many a year back has at length been fulfilled. Allow me to offer my most cordial congratulations on the event, and my earnest best wishes that you may long live to enjoy the proud distinction you have so nobly won. Every soldier will rejoice to see his profession thus honoured through you; and the united voice of the nation hails your elevation to this high dignity with genuine satisfaction and pride.

"For myself, I thank God that you are not only



tended over a distance of at least twelve miles. Nor was it necessary to hurry the troops across at once, inasmuch as a large convoy of ladies was *en route* from Agra to Allahabad, and it was deemed prudent to assure their safety by keeping a large force on the right bank of the Ganges until they had passed Cawnpore.

By the 15th of February the main portion of the army destined for the siege of Lucknow had crossed the Ganges, and was echeloned along the road between Cawnpore and the Alum Bagh. The siege-train was collected at Oonao. In the meantime, no pains had been spared to improve the position at Cawnpore, the works of which had been much augmented and strengthened, in view of the possible contingency of attack from the side of Calpee, whence the Gwalior Contingent had assumed a threatening attitude.

Leaving the army of Oudh for a short time to itself, it may tend to give the reader a better idea of the general plan of the forthcoming operations, if a brief summary be sketched of the events which had been occurring elsewhere since the relief of Lucknow, and of the march of the various columns which had been put in motion, for the purpose of co-operating in the attempt about to be made for the subjugation of Oudh and Rohilcund, as well as for the pacification of the semi-independent States of Central India.

Since the end of November, Sir James Outram had stoutly maintained his own against enormous odds at the Alum Bagh, notwithstanding the repeated at-



tempts of the enemy to interfere with his communications and prevent his obtaining supplies. On the 22d December he sallied forth from his position in order to intercept a force of the rebels, which had moved out to Ghylee, with the view of molesting his communications with Bunnee. The main body of the enemy, finding their rear attacked, retreated by a detour into the city, but not before Outram was enabled to inflict on them a sensible loss, besides capturing four of their guns and much ammunition, as well as baggage, &c. On the 12th January, when a larger portion than usual of the British force was employed in escorting a convoy from Cawnpore, the enemy seized the opportunity to attack him. With his available force of 1500 men he moved out to meet a body computed at not less than 30,000 men. The rebels failed at every point, and abandoned the attempt utterly discomfited, besides suffering a heavy loss. Outram's casualties were trifling. A few days later, the enemy made an attack upon the pickets between the Alum Bagh and Jellalabad, which was attended with the usual result. Saving some minor demonstrations on the part of the foe, matters remained comparatively quiet till the middle of February.

On the eastern frontier of Oudh, Goruckpoor, an important city, which had for many months passed from British control, was recovered by the Nepaul-ese force, with hardly any loss, in the first week of January. This body, amounting to 9000 men, with 24 field-guns, was composed of Goorkhas



commanded by Nepaulese, acting under the advice of English officers specially attached,—under which arrangement good service was rendered to the British cause. This result was mainly due to the tact and ability displayed by Brigadier-General MacGregor,¹ who was at Jung Bahadoor's side to advise him on the expulsion of the rebels. Active measures were taken for the re-establishment of civil authority in the adjacent districts.

Farther to the eastward, a small column under the command of Colonel Rowcroft² of the Sarun field-force, including a naval detachment under Captain Sotheby³ of H.M.S. Pearl, had been operating from Tirhoot in the north of Behar, along the Gunduk, in the direction of Goruckpoor. On the 26th December, Rowcroft, who had been reinforced by a Nepaulese battalion, attacked and carried a strong position held by a body of rebels at Sohunpoor, on the Chota Gunduk. He then advanced to Burhut Ghât, on the Ghogra, where he halted pending instructions from Brigadier-General MacGregor, under whose orders he had now been placed.

Since the end of November the command of the troops in the districts of Azimgurh and Jaunpoor had been confided to Brigadier-General Franks. The instructions he received from the Governor-General had been "to protect Benares against attack or insult,

¹ Major-General Sir G. Hall MacGregor, K.C.B.

² The late Lieutenant-General Rowcroft, C.B.

³ Admiral Sir E. S. Sotheby, K.C.B.



to prevent the rebels from crossing the Ganges near Benares, to drive them to a distance from Benares, and to recover any district which they may have occupied." On the 23d January this able officer, who had been reinforced for the occasion by some cavalry and horse-artillery from Allahabad, captured and destroyed a strong position held by the rebels at Nusrutpoor, not far from that station. Favoured, however, by the jungle and the difficulties of the ground, the enemy succeeded in carrying off all but three of his guns.

Thus had the preliminary measure of clearing the districts bordering on Oudh been accomplished. Franks held himself in readiness to advance as soon as he heard that Jung Bahadoor was in movement to Lucknow. Jung Bahadoor set out from Goruckpoor on the 14th February. On the 19th, Rowcroft's force, which had embarked on board a fleet of boats, and had ascended the Ghogra, reached a point a few miles below the Nepaulese position on the left bank. Rowcroft crossed to the right bank, and being joined by a Nepaulese brigade on the 20th, advanced against Phoolpoor, the point where it was intended the Nepaulese force should cross, and defeated a body of the enemy at that place, capturing three guns. Three days previously, Captain Sotheby, whilst escorting boats up the Ghogra, had captured the fort of Chundeeppoor, on the left bank of the river. The boats were then brought up; and a bridge having been constructed, the main body of the Nepaulese effected the passage.



On Jung Bahadoor's advance into Oudh, Colonel Rowcroft was left behind with a mixed force to afford protection to Goruckpoor.

In the middle of February, Franks's column, comprising three regiments of British infantry (the 10th, 20th, and 97th Foot), with six regiments of Goorkhas¹—in all, 5500 men and 20 guns—was at Budlee-poor, *en route* from Jaunpoor to Sultanpoor, in Oudh. On the 19th he crossed the frontier, when he ascertained that a large body of the enemy was in his front. Attacking them in detail—for their leader, Mehndee Hussein, had divided his forces—Franks obtained an easy victory at Chanda, and on the same evening a second at Ameerapore, the rebels beating a retreat with a loss of 600 or 700 men killed and wounded. From this point it was an object of equal importance to both Franks and his opponent to gain the pass and fort of Budhayan. In this attempt Franks out-manceuvred him and effected his purpose. On the 23d, Franks made a march of ten miles, turned the enemy's position, and having got into his rear, defeated him after a brilliant action. The rebels suffered severely, abandoning 20 guns, as well as their camp, baggage, and ammunition, all of which were captured.

In the regions of Central India, important pro-

¹ This force had been despatched by Jung Bahadoor from Nepaul to aid the British Government in July of the previous year, and since that time had rendered excellent service in the defence of the Azimgurh and Jaunpoor districts, which had continued to remain in a state of turbulence.



gress was being made by the Bombay column, under Sir Hugh Rose,¹ known as the Malwa, and eventually as the Central India field-force. Prior to Rose's appearance in the field, a column, commanded by Brigadier Stuart,² which afterwards formed the first brigade of Sir Hugh Rose's force, had been operating in conjunction with a field-force of the Hyderabad Contingent in Malwa and the borders of Rajpootana. In a series of engagements, between the 21st and 24th November of the previous year, Stuart had defeated the enemy near Mundesore and had raised the siege of Neemuch. He then marched to Indore. Rose reached that place in the middle of December, accompanied by Sir Robert Hamilton,³ who had resumed his appointment of agent to the Governor-General for Central India. Rose at once marched north-west with his second brigade from Sehore through Bhopal to Saugur.

In the last week of January, Sir Hugh Rose captured Ratgurh, an important stronghold of the insurgents, situated on the confines of the Saugur territory. He then marched to Saugur, for which point General Whitlock,⁴ in command of the Madras column, was also making. In the meantime, Stuart's

¹ Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

² The late General Sir C. S. Stuart, G.C.B.

³ During Sir Robert Hamilton's absence in England, Colonel (the late Major-General) Sir Henry Marion Durand, C.B., K.C.S.I., had been acting as the Governor-General's agent for Central India, and it was under his able direction that the operations of Brigadier Stuart had been conducted to so successful an issue.

⁴ The late Lieutenant-General Sir George C. Whitlock, K.C.B.



(the first) brigade of Rose's force had been detached from Indore to move upon Goona, and clear the Great Trunk Road leading from Bombay to Agra. From that point he was to effect a junction with Sir Hugh Rose during that officer's march to Jhansi, in Bundelcund, the reduction of which important fortress and focus of rebellion demanded the undivided strength of Rose's force.

Saugur was relieved by Rose on the 3d February, Whitlock, with the Madras force, reaching Jubbulpoor on the 6th. Thus these columns were, in accordance with the general plan of the campaign, steadily pursuing the object in view, and sweeping before them the numerous bands of rebels towards the line of the Jumna. Great anxiety was felt on this point, and on the necessity for securing the rear of Sir Colin Campbell's army—so much so that, in a letter to Sir Colin, Lord Canning states: "I have written to Sir R. Hamilton and Sir Hugh Rose, in the sense of your instruction to the latter, impressing upon them, that if for any reason, whether as being too strong for him, or from any other cause, it should be politic to pass by Jhansi for the moment, there is plenty of work for the Nerbudda field-force in the neighbourhood of the Jumna."

Far away to the west another column, under General Roberts,¹ had advanced into Rajpootana, and was operating from Nusseerabad, in Ajmeer, against the various rebel bodies infesting that territory.

¹ The late General Sir H. Roberts, K.C.B.



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During the preliminary operations for the final conquest of Lucknow, Roberts was preparing to attack Kotah, an important fortress on the Chumbul.

Whilst the troops sent across the Ganges were collecting in Oudh, matters in the Doab had assumed a disquieting appearance. An inroad of the rebels had been made from Calpee. This, however, was successfully met by Colonel Maxwell of the 88th, who with a small detachment watched the district between Akbarpore, on the Cawnpore and Calpee road, and the Jumna. About the same time, a small body of insurgents—accompanied, it was believed, by the Nana and his brother—crossed the Ganges above Cawnpore and took the direction of Sheolie and Secundra. A gathering of insurgents between Futtehghur and Cawnpore having caused further alarm, Brigadier Walpole, with three regiments of infantry, 500 sowars, and 12 guns, was directed to fall back to Chowbeepoor, some twenty miles up the Great Trunk Road, in order to combine with Colonel Maxwell, who had moved from Akbarpore to Sheolie for the purpose of intercepting any large body attempting to cross from Oude. Thus the Commander-in-chief's anticipations, that the opportunity, when the main body of the forces were withdrawn for the operations before Lucknow, would be seized by the rebel leaders to foment fresh disturbances in the Doab, were to a great extent verified. So seriously did Brigadier Seaton regard the condition of things, that he deemed it necessary to stop for a time the



convoy of ladies and families which was on its way from Agra.

Simultaneously, a strong movable column under Hope Grant proceeded to make a circuit in Oude, and sweep from the left bank of the Ganges to the westward such bodies of the enemy as were known to be hovering near the fords. This duty was successfully accomplished, though the rebels made a determined but fruitless stand at Meeangunj, where Hope Grant killed and captured a large number of them, with an inappreciable loss to his own troops, as was usually the case in any affair intrusted to that able and painstaking officer, one of Sir Colin Campbell's most trusted lieutenants in the field. The result of this operation was, that the Nana, finding his left flank and rear threatened by Grant's force, made off in a north-westerly direction to Rohilcund.

Barring some minor demonstrations on the part of the enemy, matters at the Alum Bagh remained comparatively quiet till the middle of February. In the meantime some reinforcements had reached that post, and the enemy had become disquieted by the gathering of Sir Colin's army. On the 15th an attempt to intercept a convoy was frustrated; but symptoms of uneasiness which for several days had been apparent, culminated on the 21st in a serious effort. The attack was directed round both flanks of Sir James Outram's position, whilst at the same time the whole length of it was threatened. A Sunday had been selected, in the belief that the troops would be en-



gaged at church parade, and when his cavalry force had been much reduced on account of convoy duty. Met by the artillery-fire and the cavalry opposed to them on either flank, the rebels gave way and abandoned the attempt, having suffered heavy loss. Their final and most desperate attempt was reserved for the 25th, and was made under the eye of the Begum and her prime minister. But Outram was well prepared. He had now additional troops wherewith to deal an effectual counter-stroke. The principal attack having been directed against his right, Outram moved out against a column which, supported by heavy masses in rear, had opened fire on Jellalabad. Checking a demonstration of the enemy's reserve against his left, Outram advanced. By a skilful use of the cavalry on his left flank, which was pushed forward, at the same time that he sent another body of his cavalry by a detour to his right to act on the rear of the rebels, he menaced their retreat. They quickly gave way, and their retrograde movement was converted into a rout as soon as they found themselves attacked on both flanks by the British horsemen. Whilst the enemy was in full flight, the military train dashed into them and captured two guns. Later in the day the enemy made a determined attack on the left of the position. The rebels suffered severely. Outram's losses did not exceed five men killed and thirty-five wounded. He was not molested again. Right worthily had this gallant officer, by his resolute maintenance of the posi-



tion at the Alum Bagh, discharged the trust reposed in him.

For some time it had been a question with Sir Colin whether he should delay the operations against Lucknow till Franks and Jung Bahadoor had joined him. To solve the difficulty, he addressed Lord Canning on the 12th February as follows: "I send you the enclosed official letter addressed to Colonel Birch, that your lordship may see at a glance exactly how we stand. From that, you will observe that we shall be ready to commence operations from Buntera, which is six miles from the Alum Bagh, about the 18th instant. It is a question, however, whether we shall begin so soon. Jung Bahadoor and General Franks cannot, under the most favourable circumstances, be at Lucknow and able to take part in the fray before the 27th instant. Together they muster 12,000 infantry. Thus, with their forces united to mine I should have 22,000 infantry, and without them 10,000, for the actual siege of Lucknow. The position which that force—I mean Jung Bahadoor's and General Franks's—would take up on the left bank of the Goomtee would render our battering operations comparatively easy in front along the line I propose to attack. The loss on our side should in such case, as a matter of course, be small in comparison with what it would be if we were to attack with the force now under my immediate command only. Another advantage would be found in time being afforded for putting matters in a more com-



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fortable state as regards the threat against the Cawnpore district, itself not an unimportant matter. I shall halt the heavy train at Oonao until I hear from yourself as to which course you would prefer—the immediate operation against Lucknow, or to wait with patience till Jung Bahadoor is able to take an active part in co-operating. Other causes strike me for being in favour of the delay. It would give time for your lordship's proclamation to take effect on the public mind of Oudh; and our Goorkha ally might feel hurt if we were to appear to shut him out from participating in the grand operation. In conclusion, I beg to assure your lordship that we are able to take the strong positions of the city without him, and that I am perfectly ready to follow your lordship's wish with the greatest willingness, whatever may be the course you prefer."

Lord Canning's answer was prompt and decisive. "I wish," he wrote on the 15th, "the pause in the operations against Lucknow could have been avoided; but I am sure that, as matters stand, we do better to accept the necessity, and wait for Jung Bahadoor. It would drive him wild to find himself jockeyed out of all share in the great work of the campaign. He has been looking forward to it, with General MacGregor's encouragement, from the beginning. We are in chief measure to blame that he is not farther on his road, the ammunition and carriage having lagged at Benares; and if we now disposed of Lucknow without him, there would be no noticeable feat



with which his name would be associated. His great object in coming to help us is to make a reputation as a soldier; and if the best chance of this were taken unexpectedly from him, it would try his temper dangerously. I am convinced that he would break with us and go back to his hills within a week. The loss of this help would be very inconvenient, but to find ourselves on bad terms with him would be much more so. I am therefore quite reconciled to a little delay; but I shall let General MacGregor know that we cannot wait an unlimited time, and now that all the Jung's wants have been supplied, he must make the best of his way. It will be a good thing if the intervening time can be turned to account against the Nana's people. It is pretty certain that the Nana himself has not moved, —at least not across the river. . . . As to the proclamation, the delay of operations till the 27th makes me glad that it was not put forth. Unless its issue were followed immediately by some very noticeable effect (which I should not expect), there would be an appearance of waiting purposely through a long interval for some result; and failing to obtain any, I think this would damage our cause. The last news from the Doab is that 10,000 men and 14 guns were collecting to cross the Ganges at some place opposite to Allygurh. I hope General Penny will be able to check them."

Sir Colin, allowing for delays, had reckoned on

Jung Bahadoor's force reaching the neighbourhood of Lucknow about the 17th February, and in anticipation of this, had arranged to be encamped beyond Bunnee by the 23d February. But this intention was defeated, owing to Jung Bahadoor's inability, for the reasons above mentioned, to carry out his portion of the plan by the specified date. News, however, at that moment having been received to the effect that the passage of the Ghogra was imminent, Sir Colin put the best face he could on the matter, and for a short time longer deferred his departure from Cawnpore, notwithstanding the heat of the advancing season was already beginning to tell on the health of his troops. It may be imagined how the anxious old soldier chafed at these delays, which appeared interminable. As a solace to this disappointment, letters from England expressive of the effect produced at home by the news of the successful operations for the relief of the heroic garrison at Lucknow, had reached the headquarter camp at Cawnpore. The first was from Lady Canning, written from Barrackpore on the 6th February :—

“MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I must tell you of the Queen's last joyful letter to me, after hearing of your rescue of Lucknow,—news which filled their hearts with joy, and gave them all the happiest Christmas that ever was. Her letter begins with



this, and ends by these words,—‘I hope and trust dear old Sir Colin is not seriously hurt. Say everything, pray, most flattering and kind to him from us on his success, which is such a blessing!’

“It is a duty to write you this, or I would have scruples at troubling you with a single word. You must be very busy with your great preparations; and the more you prepare, the more the enemy will lose heart, for I trust they begin to know you very well by this time, and not to like what they have to look forward to in the next great encounter.

“I have come for a few days to Barrackpore, which is looking more peaceful and flowery than ever.

“The telegraph only tells me of Lord Canning’s arrival at Allahabad. I think his journey will be a wholesome and pleasant change, besides of much use in the way of business.

“I am quite content to wait patiently until I am sent for, and told I shall not be ‘in the way,’ as I wish to set a good example to other wives.

“The idea prevails here that only the civil authorities disapprove of the ladies going ‘up country,’ and that you are far more kindly disposed, and would willingly see them arrive, or at least go to stations within reach of their husbands. With all your kindness and chivalry, I think it is a mistake. I hope you are well, and take a little more care of yourself.—Believe me yours very sincerely,

“C. CANNING.



"Pray remember me to General Mansfield.

"I hope Major Alison has nearly recovered. I admire his spirit so much in remaining at his post.

"All your great deeds are well appreciated at home. They are indeed a great joy there."

Such a gracious message from her Majesty was a favour which Sir Colin, with his characteristic sense of gratitude for any personal kindness shown him, did not fail to estimate at its full value; but it was only a prelude to the highest honour a subject could receive at the hands of his sovereign. The Duke of Cambridge, who had been his constant correspondent since he left England, and whose unfailing support Sir Colin acknowledges in warm terms in nearly every one of his numerous letters to his Royal Highness, wrote on the 25th January:—

"MY DEAR COLIN CAMPBELL,—I have no further accounts from you, the mails not having as yet arrived, and the telegrams bring nothing of any great importance, though you are evidently adopting the wise military policy of concentrating your forces and securing your lines of communication, both towards Calcutta and Delhi. I therefore have little or nothing to write to you about by this mail, and have only the pleasing duty of sending to you a letter which has been placed in my hands by her Majesty, who was anxious to express to you in person her sense of the great services you have per-



formed for her and for the country. You already know my opinion of them ; and I can therefore add nothing more to what I have said before, than to assure you again and again that all England is proud of you, and nobody more so than England's Queen, as you will see by her own letter on this subject. . . .”

This letter has recently been given in the fourth volume of Sir Theodore Martin's 'Life of the Prince Consort;' but as that interesting work may not have reached some of the readers of this biography, and as her Majesty's words will assuredly bear repetition, it is hoped that its insertion in this volume may not be considered inappropriate, its object being to make known as widely as possible her Majesty's personal estimation of the brave, yet simple, old soldier, to whose keeping she had intrusted the honour of her arms in the supreme effort England was making to crush the widespread revolt, which had shaken her Indian empire to its foundations:—

“January 19, 1858.

“The Queen must give utterance herself to the feelings of pride and satisfaction with which she has learnt of the glorious victories which Sir Colin Campbell and the gallant and heroic troops which he has under his command have obtained over the mutineers.

“The manner in which Sir Colin has conducted all these operations, and his rescue of that devoted



band of heroes and heroines at Lucknow (which brought comfort and relief to so many, many anxious hearts), is beyond all praise.

“The Queen has had many proofs already of Sir Colin’s devotion to his sovereign and his country, and he has now greatly added to that debt of gratitude which both owe him. But Sir Colin must bear one reproof from his Queen, and that is, that he exposes himself too much: his life is most precious, and she entreats that he will neither put himself where his noble spirit would urge him to be, foremost in danger, nor fatigue himself so as to injure his health.

“In this anxious wish the Prince most earnestly joins, as well as in all the Queen’s previous expressions.

“That so many gallant and brave and distinguished men, beginning with one whose name will ever be remembered with pride—viz., General Havelock—should have died and fallen, is a great grief to the Queen.

“To all European as well as Native troops, who have fought so nobly and so gallantly, and amongst whom the Queen is rejoiced to see the 93d, the Queen wishes Sir Colin to convey the expressions of her great admiration and gratitude.

“The Queen cannot conclude without sending Sir Colin the congratulations and good wishes of our dear daughter the Princess Royal, who is in a fortnight to leave her native land.



with great success in clearing the country in that direction. His presence there has also aided considerably the movement upon Fyzabad, the rebels having imagined that an advance was being made upon them from two directions. As soon as I can reinforce him with a Sikh regiment which is now on its way to this place, it is probable he will be pushed farther forward. We are not out of our difficulties in Behar. The rebels stick tenaciously to their jungles and fortresses, but I hope ere long to drive them out of these places. Brigadier Douglas, 79th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Turner,¹ are remarkably active, and seem to understand how to meet the partisan warfare in which they are engaged. I have reinforced Colonel Turner with the camel corps, whose special duty is the care of the Great Trunk Road from Benares to Shergotty."

About the end of July a fresh disposition was made by Government relative to the military commands in Central India, the districts of which, owing to the paucity of troops and the non-existence of any police force, still remained in a very disturbed and unsatisfactory condition. Two divisions were created: one, embracing the districts of Saugor, Jubbulpoor, Bandah, Humeerpoor, and Calpee, constituted the Saugor division, and was intrusted to the command of General Whitlock, whose headquarters were at Saugor; the other, including Gwalior, Sipree, Goona, and Jhansi, formed the Gwalior division,

¹ The late Colonel Sir W. W. Turner, C.B., K.C.S.I.



Cawnpore to Buntera on the 27th. Prior to leaving his camp, he addressed Sir John Lawrence as follows: "I have seen your letter to Mansfield of the 23d instant. The siege-train has been on the other bank of the Ganges since the 9th instant. It is now in movement towards Lucknow, and will be collected to-morrow at Buntera, six miles from the Alum Bagh, when I shall join it in the afternoon. The troops I hope to have in their first positions before the city by the 2d or 3d proximo, and that Brigadier-General Franks will effect his junction by the 4th or 5th. The movements of Jung Bahadoor appearing to be uncertain, I begged the Governor-General to allow me to proceed, and to leave Jung Bahadoor to follow, or rather our friend MacGregor. The latter has led me to hope that he may be able to effect his passage of the Ghogra about this date, and that he will push on with all convenient speed to Lucknow. Franks defeated a very large force of the enemy on the 23d instant, two miles on the Lucknow side of Sultanpoor. He took 20 guns, their camp, and everything in it, causing them a loss in killed and wounded of 1800 men. The loss in men may be exaggerated, but the loss of 20 guns and the dispersion of the whole force is undoubted. The enemy attack Outram's force frequently. They came within grape-range of his big guns on the last occasions, and suffered severely. I should hope that, after we break ground, a fortnight will put us in possession of it [Lucknow], and that we may then be able to help your advance into Rohilcund. Until



that has been accomplished, however, we shall not be able to spare you assistance (European) from this. Your estimate of the number of regiments of infantry and cavalry which you think it would be advisable to allot to the care of the Punjab, supposing no diminution of the force in Bengal were to be ordered by the home authorities, appears to me a fair proportion of the whole number employed in Bengal at present, and certainly not more, in my opinion, than you should have, even with your iron grip, to keep the people of the Punjab in a wholesome state of order and subjection. I have heard of occasional remarks, made in a good-natured manner, of Sikh soldiers in the hearing of our officers, which lead to the suspicion that all hope of the recovery of their country is not entirely abandoned. Mansfield will send you the return of the number of European troops demanded by Madras and Bombay for their respective Presidencies. If we are fortunate enough to settle Lucknow speedily, and that troops can be spared to go to Rohilcund, I will endeavour (with the sanction of the Governor-General) to accompany them myself, sending all the headquarter staff round by the Trunk Road. I may in such case have the pleasure of seeing you, which would be a very great one to me.

"P.S.—When I found I must wait for Jung Bahadoor, I turned time to account by detaching a considerable force through the country to the northward, on the left bank of the Ganges, clearing all the small gatherings of Numsib Ally and the

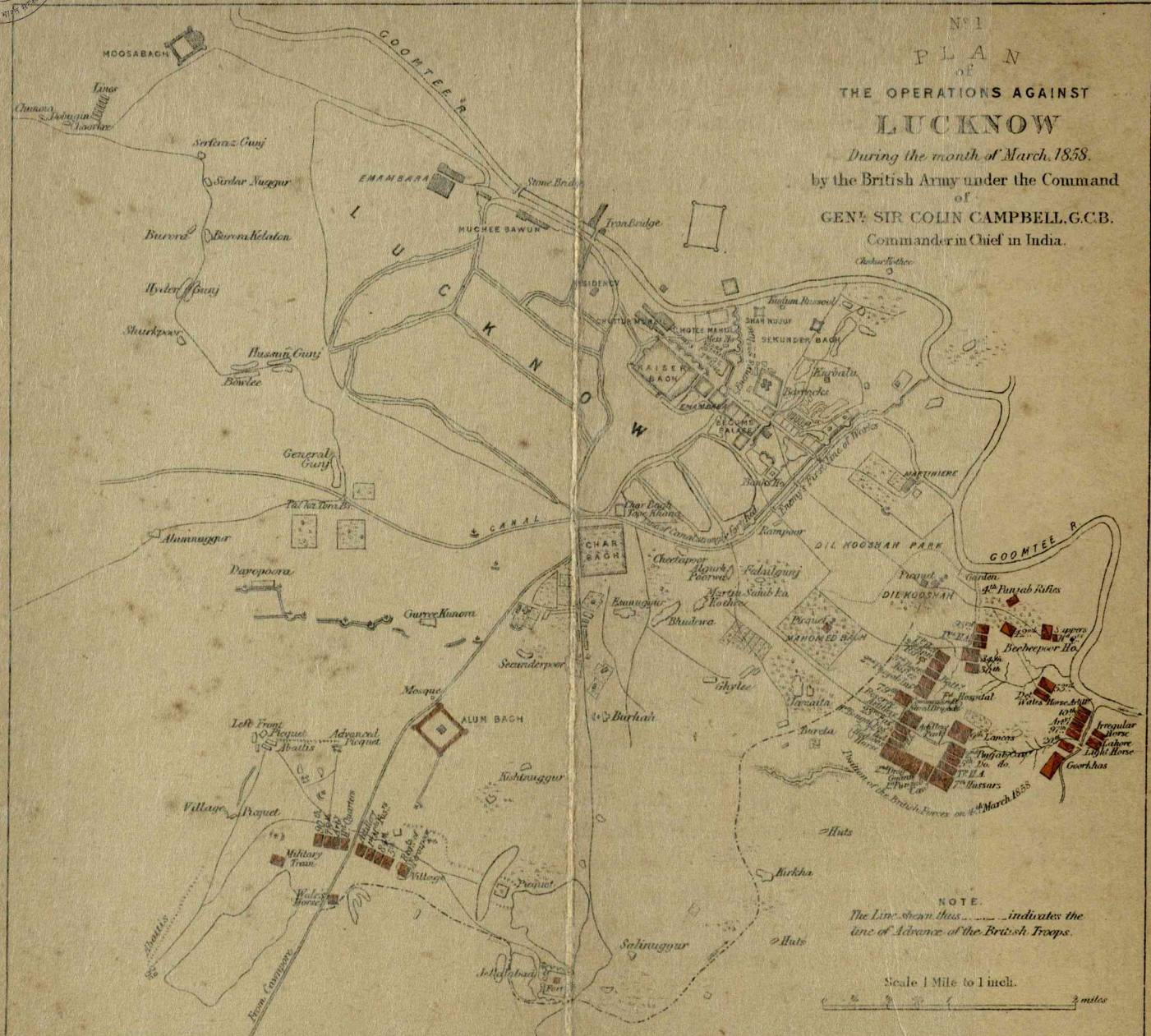


Nana,—both these gentlemen decamping from the retreats they have so long occupied, and causing a general stir and certain amount of uneasiness throughout the district; while the movement of this force gave security to the convoy of women and children on their way from Agra by the Trunk Road to this place and Allahabad. Besides carrying by assault the fortified town of Meeangunj, in which there were some 2000 sepoys, some 500 of the enemy were killed and 4 guns taken. All this will also contribute to the security of our line of communication between the Alum Bagh and Cawnpore."

In the Commander-in-chief's train followed Dr W. H. Russell, the well-known correspondent of the 'Times,' who had been at Cawnpore since the second week in February. He had now become an acknowledged entity at headquarters. On condition that he would not mention in camp any information that might be imparted to him, or let it be known in any way except in his letters to England, Sir Colin engaged to take him into his confidence and keep him supplied with authoritative intelligence.¹ Dr Russell, who became attached to headquarters, and was made a member of the headquarters staff mess, most honourably fulfilled his part of the contract, the result being the series of brilliant letters which filled the columns of the 'Times,' and narrated in glowing words the fall of Lucknow and the progress of subsequent events.

¹ 'My Diary in India.'

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PLAN
 of
THE OPERATIONS AGAINST
LUCKNOW
During the month of March, 1858.
 by the British Army under the Command
 of
GENL. SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B.
 Commander in Chief in India.

NOTE.
 The Line shown thus indicates the
 line of Advance of the British Troops.

Scale 1 Mile to 1 Inch.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles



CSL



PLAN
of
THE OPERATIONS AGAINST
LUCKNOW
during the Month of March 1858:
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Commander in Chief in India.

Scale 1 mile to 1 inch
0 1/2 1 3/4 2 miles



CHAPTER XV.

HEADQUARTERS AT BUNTERA—STRENGTH OF ARMY—REASONS FOR OPERATING FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE GOOMTEE—SIR COLIN MOVES UPON THE DIL KHOOSHAI—OCCUPIES IT—BRIDGES THROWN ACROSS THE GOOMTEE—SIR JAMES OUTRAM CROSSES WITH HIS FORCE—ESTABLISHES BATTERIES TO ENFILADE ENEMY'S OUTER LINE OF WORKS—MARTINIÈRE—ENEMY'S OUTER LINE OF WORKS CARRIED—OUTRAM BOMBARDS THE KAISER BAGH—BANKS'S HOUSE CARRIED—APPROACH ENEMY'S SECOND LINE OF WORKS—ARRIVAL OF JUNG BAHADUR—HIS RECEPTION BY SIR COLIN—ASSAULT OF BEGUM'S PALACE—CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD CANNING REGARDING SUCCESSION TO COMMAND—ASSAULT OF THE IMAMBARA—CAPTURE OF KAISER BAGH—SIR JAMES OUTRAM CROSSES THE GOOMTEE AND TAKES THE RESIDENCY AND OTHER BUILDINGS—PLUNDER BY TROOPS AND CAMP-FOLLOWERS—LETTER TO LORD CANNING—LORD CANNING'S CONGRATULATIONS—MOOSA BAGH CARRIED—FAILURE OF COMBINED MOVEMENT TO INTERCEPT REBELS—REVIEW OF OPERATIONS—HOPE GRANT'S EXPEDITION TO KOORSEE—MEASURES FOR OCCUPATION OF LUCKNOW—FORCE DESPATCHED TO AZIMGURH—CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD CANNING.

ON the afternoon of the 27th February, Sir Colin established the headquarters of the army on the plain of Buntera, at which rendezvous, as has been stated in the last chapter, the 2d division, under Sir E. Lugard, had already arrived. On the following day, the troops which had been operating on de-



tached duty under Sir Hope Grant, as well as those employed similarly under Brigadier-General Walpole, joined the camp.

The effective force at Sir Colin's disposal for the undertaking in hand may be calculated at 18,708 men;¹ but in addition to these, he could reckon on Franks's column, and eventually on the Nepaulese force under Jung Bahadoor,—making, in all, something like 31,000 men, with 164 guns.

The information which for some time past Sir Colin had collected concerning the fresh works prepared by the enemy, as well as the formidable numbers assembled for their defence, had led him to the conclusion that it would be impossible, with the means at his disposal, to invest the city, the circumference of which was not less than 20 miles. Weighing these considerations, he was of opinion that, having regard to the economy of life, he had no alternative but to operate from both sides of the Goomtee. By so doing, he judged he would be able to enfilade the enemy's triple line of works with artillery-fire, and thus weaken the resistance to the advance of the troops directed upon the line of the canal and the approaches to the Kaiser Bagh. No

¹ Naval Brigade,	421
Artillery,	1,745
Engineers,	865
Cavalry,	3,169
Infantry,	12,498

Total, 18,708

—From the Field State of the 14th February.



clearer idea of the system of the enemy's defences can be conveyed to the reader than by the words of Sir Colin's despatch reporting the fall of the city : "The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiser Bagh—considered as a citadel by the rebels—was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomtée, 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 Mahul ; and the first or interior one was the principal rampart of the Kaiser Bagh, 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 Huzrut Gunj, all of which were strongly fortified, and flanked the street in every direction."

The amount of artillery with which it was believed the enemy defended these works was set down at 131 guns. Various estimates were made of the numbers of the insurgent troops ; but it is not beyond the mark to reckon that, in addition to the normal population of Lucknow, which was known to contain 280,000 inhabitants, the rebel leaders had at their disposal not less than 100,000 armed men, including mutineers of the sepoy army, the Oudh force, irregular regiments, retainers of different disaffected chieftains of the province, and levies collected by them.



To enable troops to be thrown across the Goomtee, and to maintain the communication between both banks, casks, wherewith to form floating bridges, had been collected and put together in the Engineer park, ready for use.

All being in readiness, Sir Colin—taking with him three troops of horse-artillery, four heavy guns of the Shannon's Naval brigade (under the personal command of Captain William Peel), the headquarters of the cavalry division, Little's (the 1st) brigade of cavalry, and Lugard's (the 2d) division of infantry—moved on the 2d March upon the Dil Khooshah. The route lay along the Lucknow road to Outram's camp at the Alum Bagh; thence through the flat cultivated country, past the fort of Jellalabad, which was held by a detachment from the former post, and formed the extreme right of Outram's position. In this fort were collected commissariat stores, fascines, gabions, and other articles belonging to the Engineer park. As the advanced-guard debouched into the open plain in front of the village of Kurkha, a strong picket of the enemy, posted at the village of Ghylee (see plan No. 1 of the operations against Lucknow), opened fire from their guns. This picket was immediately driven in by the horse-artillery and cavalry, who captured a gun. The Dil Khooshah palace, as well as the enclosure of the Mahomed Bagh, was occupied without any further opposition. As the columns in rear closed upon the advanced-guard, a heavy fire was directed upon them from several

guns in position along the canal or outermost line of works. Establishing advanced pickets on the right in the Dil Khooshah, on the left in the Mahomed Bagh, Sir Colin encamped his troops behind the park-wall of the Dil Khooshah, as far removed from the effects of the enemy's fire as the ravines in rear would permit—the right resting in a wood a short distance from the Goomtee. Heavy guns were placed in battery at both the advanced pickets, to reply to the enemy's artillery. The troops bivouacked on the ground,—the infantry with their arms by their side, and the artillery horsed, in readiness to repel any attack. The fords in the Goomtee were carefully watched. Having thus secured an excellent base for further operations, Sir Colin waited in the position he had taken up until the remainder of his force had closed upon him, and until everything was in readiness for the attack upon the insurgents' stronghold.

An examination of the enemy's works, which had been materially increased and strengthened since the end of November, confirmed Sir Colin in his resolution to prepare the way for his infantry by a lavish use of his heavy artillery. The siege-train was therefore ordered up from Buntera, and, escorted by Walpole's division, occupied the two following days in closing upon the position at the Dil Khooshah. The Engineer park accompanied it. On their arrival, the British camp extended to Beebeepoor and the Goomtee on the right, having its left in the direction of the Alum Bagh. The interval between



the left of the position and the fort of Jellalabad, a distance of two miles, was occupied by Hodson's Irregular Horse, which were encamped midway between these points, for the purpose of protecting the commissariat stores conveyed into camp. Brigadier Campbell, with a brigade of cavalry and horse-artillery, secured the extreme left, and swept the country in a north-westerly direction. Sir Colin was already in communication with Franks, whose column, now constituted as the 4th division of infantry, had successfully made its way across the kingdom of Oudh, defeating, as has been seen, several bodies of the insurgents, and executing his movement with remarkable punctuality. On its arrival in camp on the 5th March, it took up its position in the second line, in rear of the Dil Khooshah position. Heavy guns were placed in battery on the edge of the plateau, in advance of the Dil Khooshah palace, to keep down the fire of the enemy's guns from the Martiniere, which maintained a constant fire towards the British camp, up to which they ranged, causing some, though very slight, loss. Heavy guns were also brought down to the river-side behind the Dil Khooshah park, to flank the enemy's guns at the Martiniere, and to prevent any possible annoyance to the camp from the left bank of the Goomtee.

On the same day two bridges formed of casks were prepared and thrown across the Goomtee near Beebeepoor (see plan). The river in the vicinity of this place averages about 100 feet in width, and

possesses one or two deep fords practicable for cavalry, but which were not used by the attacking army. The enemy, apparently jealous of the works of the bridge, showed in considerable force on the left bank, but refrained from making any real attack when they discovered that a disposition of troops with heavy guns was being made to oppose them.

The honourable task of operating separately from the left bank of the Goomtee had been confided to Sir James Outram. For more than three months, as has been shown, that gallant officer had held the Alum Bagh and kept the city of Lucknow in check, notwithstanding the repeated though fruitless efforts of the enemy to dislodge him from his position. He was now about to reap the reward of his endurance by the assumption of the most important command it was in Sir Colin's power to bestow on his distinguished lieutenant. Handing over the force over whose fortunes he had so long and efficiently watched to Brigadier Franklyn, who was directed to remain stationary at the Alum Bagh and keep open the Cawnpore road, Outram joined the head-quarter column and received his instructions from Sir Colin. Taking with him a detachment of engineers and sappers, three troops of horse-artillery, two light field-batteries, the 2d Dragoon Guards, the 9th Lancers, a body of Punjab cavalry under Watson and Sanford, and the 3d (Brigadier-General Walpole's) infantry division, Outram crossed the Goomtee by the newly-made bridge about 2 A.M.



on the 6th March, and following the route indicated by the dotted line on the plan, struck the Fyzabad road near Ismaelgunj. The enemy showed but feeble symptoms of resistance. On perceiving a column of troops established on the left bank of the river, a body of the rebels moved out to attack it, but were speedily driven back into the town by the field-guns and cavalry. In this skirmish Major Percy Smith of the 2d Dragoon Guards lost his life. Outram then occupied a position across the Fyzabad road, having the Chukur Kothee, a circular building, rather more than a mile in his front. Strong pickets were posted on the edge of the high ground overlooking the stream of the Kokrel Nuddee; whilst the camp equipage and baggage, which had been left ready-laden on the right bank of the Goomtee, were brought up to the column. Franks's force occupied the space left vacant by the 3d infantry division. Meanwhile Sir Colin remained on the defensive. Until the plan of attack on the left bank of the Goomtee had been sufficiently developed, he was content to assume a passive attitude under the enemy's fire, which was incessantly maintained from the Martiniere, but happily, owing to the inexperience of the enemy's gunners, without occasioning any serious loss to the besieging force.

Early on the morning of the 7th, Outram's advanced pickets were attacked, though in a desultory manner, the enemy retiring with his guns on fire

being opened by the skirmishers and three troops of horse-artillery, protected by the cavalry. Consequent on a reconnaissance made by Sir Colin the next day, Outram was instructed to prepare batteries during the night for the reception of 22 heavy pieces of ordnance, which had been sent across the river on the morning of the 8th, for the purpose of bombarding the Chukur Kothee, the key of the enemy's position on the left bank of the Goomtee. All being in readiness, the batteries opened at daybreak on the 9th. By 7 A.M. the right column of infantry had with great spirit driven the enemy from the close cover he occupied, and cleared the gardens on the Fyzabad road, its right flank being protected by cavalry and horse-artillery. Then bringing its right shoulder forward, it occupied the Fyzabad road, and advancing in concert with the left column of attack against the Chukur Kothee, carried that position in gallant style, whereby the enemy's line of intrenchments on the right bank of the Goomtee was turned. Pressing the rebels vigorously through the gardens and suburbs, a portion of the force reached the Badshah Bagh, a large garden enclosure, which was seized and occupied. Having accomplished the primary object of his movement, Outram established near the village of Jugrowlee, at the extreme left of his line, a battery of heavy guns, wherewith to enfilade the enemy's outer line of works along the canal. Another battery of two 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers was placed



near the river to keep down the fire from the town.

Dispositions were in the meantime being made by Sir Colin for carrying the Martiniere. Early in the afternoon a column, composed of a troop of horse-artillery, the 42d and 93d Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Rifles, the 53d and 90th Regiments, was formed under the command of Sir E. Lugard in rear of the Dil Khooshah palace. For some two hours prior to the assault a heavy fire of shrapnell, in which the naval brigade took part, was directed upon the Martiniere.¹ This was replied to with occasional shots from a battery at the corner of the Martiniere, and with a wild fire of musketry. As, however, Hope's brigade, covered by skirmishers, descended the slope, the rebels abandoned the Martiniere, and, with but slight resistance, fell back upon their first line of works, from which they opened a sharp fire of grape and musketry upon the Martiniere garden. Sir Colin having directed the occupation of a village situated near the Goomtee, and opposite the extreme left of the enemy's exterior line of defence, Major Wilde² was ordered to advance with his Punjabees, supported by the 42d Highlanders, and effect an entrance near the Goomtee, which post was found to have been abandoned by the enemy, as a con-

¹ Some time before the attack on the Martiniere began, Peel, who had been superintending the fire of his guns on that building, was disabled by a musket-shot, which struck his thigh.

² The late Lieutenant-General Sir A. T. Wilde, K.C.B., C.S.I., Member of the Council of India.

sequence of Outram's turning movement and the enfilading fire from his guns. This fact had been established some time previously by Lieutenant Butler of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, who, having failed to attract from the other side of the Goomtee the attention of our troops on the right bank, had, with consummate bravery, swum across the river, and had remained exposed to the fire of the enemy in possession of this portion of the enemy's works until relieved by the arrival of Wilde's troops. For this deed of daring, Lieutenant Butler was rewarded with the Victoria Cross. Once established in the works, the Punjabees and Highlanders advanced along the line of defences, sweeping everything before them, till they reached the vicinity of Banks's house; when night put an end to further operations. The position which had been won was occupied in strength by the troops which had first entered, and by the 53d Regiment. Thus had the first part of Sir Colin's plan been successfully accomplished; and this result had been attained with little loss, owing to the feeble resistance offered by the enemy, when he found his defences were searched by Outram's flanking fire from the opposite side of the Goomtee.

The following day, the 10th, was employed by Outram in strengthening the ground he occupied, and in placing his heavy guns in battery to play on the mess-house and the Kaiser Bagh, on which latter building a battery of five mortars, construct-



ed during the previous night, had already opened. Whilst thus engaged, Hope Grant reconnoitred and patrolled with his cavalry the ground lying between the Goomtee and the old cantonments. On the right bank of the river, the enemy, apparently in ignorance that the line of defences captured on the previous day were held in strength by their opponents, made a demonstration in some force at an early hour of the morning, with the view of re-occupying them, but were driven off by the first discharge of musketry. At the same time, Lugard made arrangements for the attack, with heavy guns and infantry, of Banks's house, which, after a breach had been made in the high walls surrounding it, was captured at noon and converted into a military post.

With the systematic deliberation which characterised Sir Colin's proceedings in these operations, he now set about the execution of the second part of his plan. In the execution of this, the paramount object he held in view was the effectual expulsion of the enemy from his stronghold, with no more loss to his own force than the ordinary risk of such a service would justify. All his instructions, all his measures, conduced to this end. Such care in economising the lives of his troops was fully appreciated by them, and will perhaps serve more than anything else to enshrine his memory in the grateful recollection of his countrymen.

Arrangements were now made for prosecuting the advance on the Kaiser Bagh. On the 11th the camp

was moved in advance of the Dil Khooshah, and some 68-pounders and heavy howitzers were placed in battery near Banks's house. In approaching the enemy's citadel, Sir Colin designed to use the great block of houses and palaces on the right and left of the Huzrut Gunj, and profiting by the advantage of this cover, take in reverse the enemy's second and third line of works, instead of sapping up to their front; whilst they were, at the same time, enfiladed on the right by Sir James Outram's advance. A gradual approach was made towards the Begum's palace, and several of the gardens and a portion of the suburbs in that direction were occupied by the troops. The Secunder Bagh was also taken possession of without resistance. Early on the same morning Outram had pushed his advance with great spirit on the left bank of the Goomtee, having captured the suburbs up to the iron bridge, the head of which was occupied,—not, however, without determined resistance by the mutineers, who continued to hold the other end till it was ultimately taken in reverse. He also established a battery to sweep the iron bridge. In approaching the head of the stone bridge, he met Hope Grant's cavalry and horse-artillery, which had been covering his advance on the extreme right; and with their assistance, he surprised the camp of the 15th irregular cavalry, which fled in all directions across the plain, abandoning their standards and two guns, and were pursued and cut up



by Grant's horsemen. On the right bank of the Goomtee, the operation, to use Sir Colin's words, "had now become one of an engineering character," under the direction of Brigadier Napier, the chief engineer, who ably seconded Sir Colin's endeavours "to save the infantry from being hazarded before due preparation had been made."

By the afternoon, matters were sufficiently advanced to admit of the assault on the Begum's palace being delivered. Before that event, however, occurred, Sir Colin was reluctantly summoned from the scene of action to receive a visit of ceremony from Jung Bahadoor, who had just arrived, after interminable delays, with his army of Goorkhas at the Dil Khooshah. Doffing his working dress—which was of the plainest kind, and consisted of a blue patrol-jacket, brown corduroy breeches, high boots, and a pith-hat—for the scarlet, gold-lace, and cocked-hat of a general's uniform, Sir Colin, punctual to the moment, awaited with undisguised impatience the arrival of the Nepaulese chieftain, whose dilatoriness in joining the British force had necessitated the commencement of operations without him. Whilst the two chiefs were engaged in the exchange of formal compliments, an exciting scene occurred, in consequence of the arrival of a staff officer with the report that the Begum's palace had been successfully stormed. Thereupon Sir Colin, who entertained an abhorrence of ceremonial, and whose thoughts were far removed from its attendant page-

antry, seized the occasion to bring the interview to a close, and after announcing the news to his distinguished guest, took his leave, and hurried back to resume his duties in the field.

To Sir E. Lugard had been intrusted the assault on the Begum's palace. About 4 p.m., Napier having reported the breach practicable, Lugard made his dispositions for the attack. The storming brigade consisted of the 93d Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Rifles, with some Goorkha troops in support, under the command of Adrian Hope. Under cover of a battery established across the Huzrut Gunj road, the 93d led the way. The fighting for some time was very severe; for the place was strongly intrenched, with a deep ditch in front, and the enemy showed a determined resistance. It was, according to Sir Colin's official testimony, "the sternest struggle of the siege;" but though the mutineers fought with desperation, they were no match for the hardy veterans opposed to them. When the contest ended, and the palace and adjacent buildings, including the barracks, were occupied, it was computed that the enemy had left 600 or 700 dead bodies in the place. The British loss was necessarily very severe. Amongst those who fell on this occasion was the gallant Hodson, whose name for chivalry and daring had become a household word in India. He had accompanied his friend Napier the engineer in the attack on the Begum Kothee, and received a mortal wound from a bullet. In a few touching



words of sympathy, Sir Colin was the first to communicate the fatal news to his widow, and assure her that "the whole army, which admired his talents, his bravery, and his military skill, deplored his loss, and sympathised with her in her irreparable bereavement."

No sooner was the capture of the Begum Kothee effected than a battery of mortars was opened upon the Imambara, the next great building interposing between the first-mentioned palace and the Kaiser Bagh, but not to be confounded with the great Imambara situated between the Muchee Bawun and the Moosa Bagh, close to the Goomtee.

At this point it becomes necessary to pause in the narrative of the siege, in order to set before the reader a correspondence which, during this eventful period, had been taking place between the Governor-General and Sir Colin relative to the succession to the command in the event of any contingency rendering it vacant.

"There is a matter," writes Lord Canning on the 7th March, "upon which I must write you a few words—the fewer the better, for it is not a welcome one—and upon which I beg you to give me a line in reply. If you should be disabled, to whom, in your opinion, should the conduct of the army in the field be intrusted? The question is separate from that of the succession to the commandership-in-chief of Bengal, or might be made so if this should be desirable; but I should like to know your views

upon both points, no matter how briefly stated. The commandership-in-chief of Queen's troops in India settles itself by rule, as you know. I pray to God that I may be asking idle questions, and that you may be enabled to fill up your full measure of duty and honour unharmed. God knows this, my dear Sir Colin. God bless you !”

“I got your note marked ‘private’ of the 7th March,” wrote Sir Colin in reply, three days later, “just as we had established ourselves with scarcely any loss in the Martiniere and on the left of the enemy's defences along the canal. . . .

“With respect to the question your lordship alludes to, on the chance of an accident happening to me, I am bound, both by my sense of duty to my sovereign, and by a very strong and thankful feeling of gratitude to your lordship, to state my candid opinion that there is no officer in India so competent to take my place as General Mansfield. He has a perfect knowledge of both services. He has all the things which guide this army in his hands; and from his position, as well as from his great and peculiar qualifications, he alone of all the officers in this country, with whom I am acquainted, is the man suited to the situation, not merely of commander in the field, but of commander-in-chief in India. The rules by which the commander-in-chiefship in India settles itself I do not know; but I beg to suggest to your lordship that at this crisis rules should be overruled for the good of the service and the safety of the country.”



Lord Canning acknowledged this letter on the 14th: "Your reply to my question is exactly what I expected it to be, and accords exactly with my own judgment. If—which God forbid!—the occasion should arise, it will be General Mansfield who will take up your work, and he will have the heartiest and fullest support from me in carrying it out. I think you have not understood me as regards the commander-in-chiefship in India. The matter stands thus: I can appoint a commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, pending the decision of the Home Government; but if the officer so appointed is a Company's officer, or if he is not the senior of the Queen's officers in India, the commander-in-chiefship of the Queen's troops in India falls at once into the hands of such senior, and I have no power to rule otherwise. For instance, when, upon General Anson's death, Sir Patrick Grant was made commander-in-chief in Bengal, Sir Henry Somerset became commander-in-chief of the Queen's troops in India; and he would equally have become so if, instead of Sir P. Grant, I had appointed a Queen's officer. Sir Henry Somerset would probably interfere as little upon any future occasion as he did upon the past one; but that would be his position until the Queen's Government ordered otherwise. It is likely, however, that precautionary orders may be sent from England which will provide against any temporary routine succession."¹

¹ The distinction between the Queen's and Company's troops here

On the afternoon of the 12th, Jung Bahadoor's force took up its position in the British line, and on the 13th moved close to the canal, in readiness to operate against the suburbs to the left of Banks's house, by which measure the left of the main attack was efficiently covered, and all the available means of the British force concentrated on the attack directed from both sides of the Goomtee. On the afternoon of that day, Sir Colin, escorted by a squadron of the 9th Lancers, and attended by such of the personal and general staff as could muster full-dress uniform, paid a return visit of ceremony to the Nepaulese Maharajah in his camp.

The field-telegraph was now in working order, an office having been established at the Alum Bagh, the Martiniere, and Outram's camp. On the night of the 12th, Outram, who had been reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, was instructed to increase his fire on the Kaiser Bagh, whilst the bombardment of the Imambara was prosecuted without intermission from a battery of mortars established in the Begum's palace. By the afternoon of the 13th, a practicable road for breaching guns having been made to within twenty-five yards of the wall of the Imambara, a 68-pounder and a 24-pounder were placed in position, and in the course of the evening opened fire. On the right of the Huzrut Gunj road the advance progressed equally with that on the left.

referred to ceased on the passing of the Act transferring to the Crown the possessions of the East India Company on August 2, 1858.



During the night additional vertical fire was brought to bear upon the Imambara from a battery of mortars constructed at the most advanced post.

By 8 A.M. of the 14th a practicable breach had been made in the walls of the Imambara, when dispositions were effected for carrying the building by storm. Franks had relieved Lugard in the duties of holding the posts in the city, and the column of attack was confided to the troops of his division. It consisted of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore, designated to lead the assault, with the 10th and 90th Regiments in support. The Imambara was carried without difficulty, by which operation the second line of the enemy was turned. Then Bras-
yer's Sikhs, carried away by their ardour, pressed forward in pursuit of the discomfited foe, until they entered the Kaiser Bagh and took in reverse the third and last line of defence, without a gun being fired from it. The enemy, panic-stricken, offered but slight opposition; the supports came rapidly up; and by the afternoon the Kaiser Bagh, with its numerous courts and enclosures, was in possession of our troops. By nightfall all the other buildings in the immediate vicinity of the enemy's citadel—the mess-house, the Tara Kothee, the Motee Mahul, and Chuttur Munzil, notorious as the scenes of the hotly-disputed contests in the previous operations for the relief of the Residency—were seized and occupied. The formidable nature of the defences—for every outlet had been covered, and the

utmost care manifested in the preparation of barricades and loopholed parapets—not only confirmed Sir Colin in the opinion that every man he had was necessary for the operation he had undertaken, but revealed to him the absolute necessity that existed for making use of the sap and his heavy artillery to facilitate the advance of his troops.

With the capture of the Kaiser Bagh and the buildings included within the third line of works, Lucknow may be said to have fallen; for though much remained to be done, the principal portion of the work had been accomplished. The following day, the 15th, was employed in further securing the ground which had been won, removing powder, destroying mines, and preparing for the bombardment of the remaining positions held by the enemy on the right bank of the Goomtee and in the heart of the city. During the 14th and 15th large numbers of the enemy, taking advantage of Sir Colin's inability, from the paucity of his troops, to invest so great an extent of ground as that represented by the circumference of Lucknow, streamed out of the city in the direction, as was supposed, of Sundeela. Brigadier Campbell, who had been well posted on the left of the Alum Bagh, was sent in pursuit at an early hour on the 15th, with a strong brigade of cavalry and two troops of horse-artillery. Campbell proceeded along the Sundeela road; whilst Hope Grant, taking with him 1000 sabres and two troops of horse-artillery, started simultaneously towards Seetapoor, on the



direct road to Rohileund, with the view of intercepting any fugitives turned off by Brigadier Campbell's movement. Both these bodies resumed their former positions on the 17th.

On the 16th, Sir James Outram, taking with him Douglas's (the 5th) infantry brigade, crossed the Goomtee by a bridge of casks, which had been thrown across opposite the Secunder Bagh. Supported by the 20th Foot and the regiment of Ferozepore, Outram was instructed to advance through the Chuttur Munzil and take the Residency. This was accomplished with scarcely any opposition. Prior to the commencement of the attack, large bodies of the enemy were observed crossing the stone bridge; but as the palaces and buildings situated between the stone and iron bridges were approached, some resistance, though slight compared with that shown on the previous days, was encountered. Pressing his advance, which was covered by his heavy guns, Outram was enabled not only to take the iron bridge in reverse, thus effecting Sir Colin's principal object, but to seize and occupy the Muchee Bawun and the great Imambara, in which latter building, as the day was waning, his troops passed the night. Finding their retreat intercepted by Grant's troopers, who at this time were near the stone bridge, the flying enemy skirted the right bank of the river and escaped into the open country north-west of Lucknow. A serious attempt was made on the morning of this day by a considerable

body of the enemy against the Alum Bagh, which during the recent operations had been held in diminished numbers. Directing a large body of infantry against the front of the position, the enemy made an effort to turn the left flank with their cavalry and artillery. He was, however, kept at bay by the fire of the guns, and after some time withdrew, having failed in his purpose. Before nightfall Jung Bahadoor, at Sir Colin's request, moved to his left up the canal against that portion of the enemy which had just threatened the Alum Bagh. Executing the task allotted to him in a vigorous manner, the Nepaulese leader took the enemy's position in reverse, and expelled him, with trifling loss to himself, from the spot, whence he had so long and pertinaciously annoyed the post, capturing all his guns, which he had abandoned. Lucknow had been virtually wrested from the grasp of the mutineers.

The rapid capture of the series of vast palaces, commencing with that of the Begum on the 11th, with their stores of European and oriental luxuries, had been the signal for plunder, in which the European vied with the native soldier and camp-follower. The saturnalia indulged in by the latter, whose number may be computed at 20,000, may be more easily imagined than described. Fortunately few or no opportunities existed for obtaining liquor, so that the discipline of the European portion of the force did not succumb to the temptation of drunkenness.



As soon as the proper military measures had been taken for the security of the buildings, Sir Colin issued most stringent orders against plundering. An officer was nominated to collect all property of value that might be found; and the commandant of the town was instructed to afford him assistance, and comply with his requisitions for guards. Still, what between the love of revenge and the lust of greed, the opportunity had been too good to be neglected.

The 17th and 18th were passed in consolidating the conquest already effected, and in the first attempts to restore authority in the city, whence the inhabitants had fled to the neighbouring villages. Preparations were also made for a combined movement on the following day.

Sir Colin seized the opportunity of this interval to submit his views to the Governor-General. Writing from the Kaiser Bagh on the 17th, he says: "My telegrams will have informed you that, as we advance into the city, the enemy gradually give way and disappear before us. I think that the contest, as far as Lucknow is concerned, may be said to be at an end. The sepoys have been going off in very large numbers, mostly towards the N.W.; but our information is defective, and to what point they have directed their course we have not yet ascertained. The ground near Lucknow is so intersected with ravines and so thickly wooded, and every house and village is so strongly fortified, that I cannot

employ the cavalry without infantry, which arm cannot be spared at this moment from work in the city. As your lordship will believe, I think mostly of our army in this matter, and more particularly of the British part of it; and I am very anxious to have it under cover as soon as possible. From the beginning of April till the middle of August is the period of the year when it is desirable that no one should be exposed, excepting in case of vital necessity. We cannot expect more regiments from England; and there will be, I am afraid, the greatest difficulty in completing those we now have to their proper establishment. If we are obliged to march our troops about during the hot winds, we shall lose a great many, the excitement of the Lucknow campaign having passed away. I venture, therefore, to submit to your lordship, on these grounds, the expediency of issuing some notice to the sepoys, which may have the effect of dissolving the confederacy between the mutinous regiments. If something of this sort be not done, I am afraid we shall have a most serious business all through the hot weather, which will break down the troops, and will be never-ending. I do not presume to go into the political part of the question; but I think that some general notice, now that the mutineers have been forced to leave Lucknow, would have the best effect, not only for Oudh, but for Rohilcund, and other parts of the country which have not yet been visited by our troops. In this opinion I find all the authorities



unanimous, who are experienced in the effects produced in India by the breaking up of large native armies; I allude more particularly to Sir J. Lawrence and Sir J. Outram. I venture to hazard one more remark. The punishment of the native insurgent army has already been very severe. If there be no prisoners for secondary punishment, it is because all sepoys have been summarily put to death; and their number must have been very large, independent of those who have fallen in fight.

“I congratulate your lordship on the very great success which has attended the operation here. This can, indeed, be scarcely appreciated except by those who have seen the enormous defensive works constructed by the enemy, which were rendered entirely useless by the plan of operating on the left bank of the Goomtee, and thus taking the whole line of defence in reverse, depriving the enemy, in fact, of the only sort of defence—viz., one under cover—which natives can ever hope to offer against European troops. The operation on the left bank of the Goomtee turned the two first lines of defence. The third, which was in front of the Kaiser Bagh, was turned by a different flank, in consequence of our employing the large buildings between the Begum's palace and the Kaiser Bagh as a double sap, through which we worked our way under cover into the very heart of the citadel; and thus in a week, and with small loss of life, Lucknow has been



won. We have already in our artillery park upwards of 60 of the enemy's guns."

In the meantime, a letter conveying Lord Canning's thanks was on its way to Sir Colin Campbell:

"ALLAHABAD, *March 16, 1858.*

"MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—Bouverie is just off to settle about Jung Bahadoor's visit.

"I send you by the earliest means these my sincerest and most joyful congratulations. You have indeed laid up for yourself a store of gratitude and honour. Long may you live to enjoy it is my earnest prayer.

"I can determine nothing about Lucknow and civil government until we see how the proclamation¹ works, and what is the temper of the people,

¹ This was the famous document which at the time caused so much controversy. It announced the forfeiture of the estates of all the native proprietors in Oudh, with the exception of six who had remained steadfast in their allegiance throughout the rebellion. On the receipt of the proclamation and the letter of instructions accompanying it, but before the explanatory despatch reached England, Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, wrote the celebrated secret despatch of April 19, 1858, in which, in the name of the Secret Committee, he condemned the tone of the proclamation, and conveyed an unqualified reproof to the Governor-General. This despatch, though entitled secret, was made public in England some weeks before it reached the head of the Government in India. Lord Canning replied in a tone of dignified remonstrance, repudiating the idea of abandoning the trust imposed upon him, until he had submitted to the authorities responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England the grounds on which he had acted, and until his policy had been declared by them to be erroneous. The matter became the subject of Parliamentary discussion, and assumed the charac-



except that it is necessary that General Outram should remain there (at Lucknow) for the present, as head both of civil and military affairs. I would ask you, therefore, to place the garrison and all the troops in the province under him. He will not remain there long—indeed he cannot do so; but a change to a civilian (and I have got no military man) would be most inopportune just at this moment.

“I shall be glad to hear that there are no symptoms of a stand being made at Fyzabad or elsewhere. Bouverie will tell you of one or two things on which I have not had time to write.—Ever, my dear Sir Colin, yours most sincerely, CANNING.”

Though it was known that the largest portion of the mutineers had been expelled from Lucknow, there still remained a considerable body of them who seemed disposed to make a stand at the Moosa Bagh. In this large building, with its numerous courts and enclosures, situated on the right bank of the Goomtee, and distant in a north-westerly direction about four miles, were collected several thousand insurgents. To expel them from this their last stronghold, Sir Colin made the following dispositions:—

On the 19th, a column under Sir James Outram

ter of a party fight. The result was, that Lord Ellenborough resigned office, and a resolution was passed by the Court of Directors expressive of its continued confidence in Lord Canning.

—composed of a light and heavy field-battery, a detachment of sappers, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, and an infantry brigade (Douglas's), consisting of the 23d Fusiliers, the 79th Highlanders, and the 2d Punjab Infantry—was instructed to make a direct attack on the Moosa Bagh, whilst Hope Grant cannonaded it with his horse-artillery guns from the left bank of the Goomtee. The brigade of cavalry and horse-artillery which had been posted on the left of the Alum Bagh, and to which had been added two infantry regiments, the 5th Fusiliers and 78th Highlanders, had received directions to move at 2 A.M. from its position to intercept the retreat of the enemy when dislodged from the Moosa Bagh.

As soon as the attack was developed, the mutineers, who appear to have been completely demoralised, abandoned their strong position without a contest, and fled in a north-westerly direction. Their retreat was effected with comparative impunity, owing to the force which had moved round the western side of the city from the Alum Bagh having reached its ground too late to bar the flight of the rebels by the only exit open to them. The squadrons, however, of the 9th Lancers, led by Captain Cole, a good and prudent officer, pursued the fugitives for some miles, destroying a considerable number of them and capturing six guns, but with the loss of Captain Hutchinson of the same regiment, who was mortally wounded.



Though the combination had failed in accomplishing the entire destruction of the rebels in the Moosa Bagh, as originally designed, the occupation of that building gave Sir Colin complete possession of the entire line of defences established by the enemy on the right bank of the Goomtee, and confirmed him still more in his hold on Lucknow. Yet in the heart of the city there lingered a band of fanatics, who, under the leadership of the Moulvie of Fyzabad, still made a determined stand. They were effectually dislodged from the position they held in an enclosed *serai*, by a body of troops under the direction of Sir E. Lugard, on the 21st. To overcome their resistance, it was found necessary to employ the sappers. They left 150 of their number dead behind them; and on their retreating before Lugard's advance, Brigadier Campbell cut in upon them with his cavalry, pursuing them for some miles and destroying many more of them. This was the last attempt at organised opposition by any detachment of the insurgents in Lucknow.

Measures were at once taken to reassure the well-disposed inhabitants, and to invite them to return to their homes, so long abandoned to the dangerous classes of the population, who had not omitted to profit by the anarchy and confusion consequent on the overthrow of British authority. The plundering of the camp-followers was checked, steps were taken for organising a police force, and the city gradually resumed its normal condition of peace and security.



Thus terminated this remarkable series of operations, which had extended over a period of twenty days. With a force, as he has himself shown, quite inadequate to invest a city 20 miles in circumference, Sir Colin had gradually carried out his well-matured plan of turning the enemy's defensive works, and of expelling some 100,000 armed men from the formidable positions which they had prepared with so much labour and skill. To effect this under any circumstances, must have involved a certain loss; but the care which he took to employ his artillery and to avail himself of the aid of the engineer, with a view to the economy of life, is abundantly exemplified by the result shown in the return of casualties. Of officers, 19 were killed or died of their wounds, and 48 were wounded; in the inferior ranks, 127 were killed, 595 were wounded, and 13 were missing,—the total loss amounting to 802 of all ranks, exclusive of the casualties in the Goorkha force, which may be reckoned at 300. To have achieved such a conquest with so comparatively trifling a loss of life, was not the least pleasurable reflection to Sir Colin. It more than compensated him for the disappointment occasioned by the partial miscarriage of his combinations for the attack on the Moosa Bagh.¹

¹ In promulgating in general orders the despatches announcing the capture of Lucknow, the Governor-General alluded to this fact in graceful terms of compliment: "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."



forces effected. Hope Grant was selected to command the Lucknow field-force, which included the troops available for the garrison of Lucknow and for movable operations in Oudh. It comprised three troops of horse-artillery, three light field-batteries, three garrison batteries, with siege-train, a company Royal Engineers, a company Madras Sappers, three companies Punjab Sappers, the Delhi Pioneers; 2d Dragoon Guards, one squadron Lahore Light Horse, 1st Light Cavalry, Hodson's Horse, 7th Hussars; 20th Foot, 23d Fusiliers, 38th Foot, 53d Foot, 90th Light Infantry, 2d and 3d battalions Rifle Brigade, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, 1st Madras Fusiliers, 5th Punjab Infantry, and the regiment of Ferozepore.

The main body of the Goorkha force set out on its return march to the Nepaul frontier through Oudh—Jung Bahadoor proceeding with a few of his best regiments to Allahabad *via* Cawnpore, in order to pay a visit to the Governor-General.

In the meantime reports of an alarming character had been received from the Azimghur district. In the third week of March, the field-force operating in that quarter had experienced a serious discomfiture at the hands of a body of mutineers under the direction of Koer Singh. On the 29th a body of troops—consisting of half a troop of Royal Horse-Artillery, a Madras field-battery, a heavy field-battery (including 9 field-guns, 4 heavy guns, and 4 mortars), a detachment of Engineers, two squadrons military train, the 3d Sikh Cavalry, 12th Irregular



Cavalry, one squadron the 10th, 34th and 84th Foot—left Lucknow for Azimghur. This column formed the nucleus of a force which, together with certain reinforcements furnished from Allahabad and the troops already in the district, was destined to constitute the Azimghur division, under the command of Sir E. Lugard. His orders were to proceed *via* Atrowleea, and take Azimghur in rear. His route lay along the right bank of the Goomtee.

On the completion of these arrangements and the departure of certain corps to Cawnpore, there still remained a considerable body of troops disposable. These were eventually formed into a division under the command of Hope Grant, both for the occupation of Lucknow and the operations in the province.

The direction in which a column should be employed—indeed the future course of operations generally—had engaged Sir Colin's attention the moment Lucknow fell. Between him and Lord Canning this question formed the subject of earnest correspondence. In a letter of the 24th March, Sir Colin thus unfolded his views: "I have the honour to address your lordship on what may be the most advantageous mode of employing the troops who have lately been engaged in the siege of Lucknow. I approach this subject with the greatest diffidence, the more particularly as I may appear to be stepping beyond the proper limit of my duty in adverting to subjects having a political as well as a military bearing. Having been led to believe that your lordship

wishes for my opinion on the matter above alluded to, I lose no time in putting it forward. In a statement of troops and their possible disposition which I lately sent to your lordship, it appeared that after providing for a strong garrison at Lucknow, and two regiments for Goruckpoor and Benares, about 10,000 of all arms would remain available for other service.¹ The question, therefore, arises as to what is the best manner of employing this part of the force. It seems that there are two modes of making use of these troops—the one being to employ them in the province of Oudh in support of the central position of Lucknow, the other being the prosecution of operations beyond the limits of the province in Rohilcund. In favour of the latter—viz., Rohilcund—it may be said that great anxiety exists for its occupation. Those best acquainted with it allege that this can be effected with but little risk; but they admit that it requires combined operations from different quarters, and a considerable body of troops. It may therefore be taken for granted that all the regiments held to be available, after the mere garrison of Lucknow had been provided for, would be demanded for such an operation, the more particularly as to proceed against Bareilly would involve a siege. The province of Oudh being still in a state of active rebellion, it becomes a matter of doubt whether any mere garrison could take care of itself,

¹ "This includes about 1000 sappers and miners, who are non-combatants."



—that is to say, whether it might not be liable to be blockaded and cut off from supplies, unless the country within a certain radius be thoroughly reduced and held. To do this effectually will demand the occupation of certain points of strategic importance as regards Lucknow. The bodies holding such points should consist of a brigade of infantry, with artillery and cavalry in proportion. While holding the points, these columns, kept in a movable state, would have to reduce the country in their own neighbourhood, to raze every fort to the ground, and disarm the population—most perfect communications being at the same time maintained with the capital. As the process became more and more complete, the distance from the capital would be increased; while at the same time opportunity would be afforded to the civil authority for the institution of a police, or of other military levies, which in the coming autumn would be able to hold the country with a reduced European force, as compared with that which is now deemed necessary. I venture to submit to your lordship that the experience gained during the last six weeks has led me to entertain the plan I have put forward. I have observed that wherever our columns have marched they have literally walked over the insurgent bodies; but that directly they had passed, the rebels again formed in their rear, cut off their communications, and intercepted their supplies. The respective marches of the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, of Brigadier-General Franks, and Brigadier-General



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Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B., are all convincing instances of what has been advanced. In point of fact, until the country shall have been thoroughly reduced, we may almost say that, as far as the garrison of Lucknow is concerned, the enemy is as formidable after he has been beaten as he was before. As the most recent instance of this, I would quote the advance of the Rajah Jai Lall Singh to Koorsee, within sixteen miles of Lucknow, two days after the city had fallen. When Sir J. Grant advanced on him yesterday, more than half the enemy had decamped. But what would have been your lordship's anxiety if I had gone away with the bulk of the force to Rohilcund, and this Rajah had thrown himself into the city to excite the population and recommence the annoyance of last year? Again, it is reported that there are considerable assemblages at Nawabgunj and Sundoola. It is very possible that the reports are exaggerated; but they are sufficient to show how necessary the reduction of the country has become, and that it would be hazardous to trust to the action of one movable column, which it might be possible to detach from the garrison. With respect to the garrison and the position it holds, a few remarks may not be inopportune. For the due coercion of the town, and to give cover to the troops, we are obliged to hold a line of about two miles through the range of palaces along which the late advance was made. This occupation demands at least 5000 or 6000,¹

¹ "This is exclusive of the cavalry, horse-artillery, and infantry nec-



thus leaving but a slender margin for a movable column. Hereafter, when the engineers shall have been able to clear great roads through the town and to construct a commanding citadel, it will be possible to reduce the force actually in the city to a considerable extent, but not till then. A vast mass of bazaars, stretching away to the north-west from the lines held by us, cannot be occupied by troops; and if the country around the city be not watched in the first place, and reduced afterwards as proposed, we may at any time hear of large numbers of insurgents entering those quarters to annoy the garrison. They would be expelled, but their expulsion would always cost much valuable life to our own soldiers, besides destroying the peace and welfare of the inhabitants. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, I am therefore of opinion that it is more expedient to be satisfied with the affirmation of real authority without delay in this province, than to attempt another operation in Rohileund without leaving means behind us to insure the former.

“I would prefer, therefore, to shut in Rohileund during the next four or five months, which would allow time for the organisation of Oudh. It would then be possible, in all probability, to liberate a considerable number of the British regiments without risk, when the same process might be repeated in Rohileund.

essary to form a movable column—the two bodies together making up one of 9000 men, which I have given as a necessary garrison. This is considerably under the strength of the Lahore garrison at the date of the first occupation of that city, and of which I was commandant.”



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In the meantime, if deemed advisable, the brigade formed at Roorkee might advance to the neighbourhood of Mooradabad, and Rohilcund thus be more thoroughly shut in—the movable columns of Mynpooree, Futtehghur, and Meerut being all employed for the same purpose.

“The Cawnpore district might in such case be slightly reinforced in cavalry and infantry, and more effectually guarded, Etawah being occupied. One other reason conduces to make me look to the side of prudence and caution in these matters. I am not altogether satisfied with Sir Hugh Rose’s situation, and I believe that we should be in a condition to lend him a hand. Such, my lord, are the views which I desire to submit to you. They have come upon me as the results of experience gained within the last few weeks. I cannot but think that, if the course indicated be followed, although there may be an appearance of want of quickness in the reoccupation of an old province, we shall gain much ultimately by the certain progress, which will be made in drawing the greatest possible consequences from the late military success.

“I am sure your lordship will believe that I have stated my views thus frankly without any presumptuous wish to obtrude my opinion. My real desire is to give you the benefit of what experience I may possess to facilitate the work of your Government.”

Lord Canning’s reply, four days later, during which interval the news of the reverse at Azimghur



had been received, clearly indicated his preference in favour of operations being undertaken against Rohilcund, and his reasons for arriving at that conclusion.

“MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I am greatly obliged to you for the full and clear exposition of your views in regard to the further employment of the troops, as conveyed to me in your letter of the 24th.

“There can be no doubt that the two chief objects now before us are the support and extension of our position in Oudh and the recovery of Rohilcund. I feel the full force of the reasons which you have urged in favour of limiting active operations in the field to Oudh for the present, and of making clean work of that province whilst we are about it; and if the political condition of Rohilcund were the same as that of Oudh, I should acquiesce at once in the expediency of devoting our strength to the complete re-establishment of authority in the latter, and of contenting ourselves with watching and checking Rohilcund from without in the manner you have proposed. But there is a wide difference between the internal state of the two provinces, which must not be overlooked.

“You will perhaps remember that my opinion of the paramount importance of dealing first with Oudh was based upon the political necessity of wresting, not the province itself, but its capital, from the rebels. This has been done; and much

as I desire to see the whole of Oudh brought under our rule again, there are considerations connected with Rohilcund, which make the presence of a force within that territory urgently desirable.

“Unlike Oudh, the inhabitants of which have, with insignificant exceptions, been wholly hostile to us, Rohilcund contains a numerous well-affected population. The Mussulmans of the province are for the most part opposed to us. The Hindoos are almost universally friendly. Their numbers are about equal; but the Mussulmans are the more active and warlike, and for long they have been using every device and threat to bring the Hindoos into hostility towards us. The loyalty of the latter is as yet unshaken; but if we do not appear amongst them, and if we attempt no more than to hem in the province, cooping up the two parties together for four or five months, we must be prepared for one of two evil results,—either the loyalty of the Hindoos will give way, whereby disaffection will take deeper root in Rohilcund itself, and perhaps spread beyond it; or they will succumb to their stronger neighbours, and we shall incur the reproach of having withheld effective aid from them throughout their need.

“We should become open to this reproach not merely from our own subjects, but from the chief and people of Rampoor, whose little State, isolated in the centre of our province, has been threatened by one of the Mahomedan leaders for some time past,



and has barely been held against the rebels. This is a reproach that we can ill afford to incur, now that we are supposed to have gathered together our strength, and to be able to command success. We have quite recently been exposed to it in the case of the Chikaree Raja, overborne before any aid could reach him; and if we give further ground for a like imputation in the case of half a province full of our own loyal subjects, contenting ourselves with looking on, whilst they are harassed and spoiled, it is impossible that the good name and authority of the Government should not suffer grievously.

“As I have said, it would be very different if Oudh instead of Rohileund were in question. Lucknow and its communications with the N.W. Provinces once secured, it would matter little if the rest of Oudh were left to itself, until we had leisure to deal with it. Its condition could not become worse, and there is not a man in it who has any title to our protection. By blockading it, and so keeping its mischief within itself, we should do enough for the moment.

“Whether, with the amount of force at our disposal, it is possible to combine the retention of a secure hold upon Lucknow and its communication with these provinces with an effective movement into Rohileund, I will not pretend to say. But if it can be done, I am of opinion that we ought to do it, leaving the unreclaimed parts of Oudh and those of Rohileund for later treatment.

“I do not give implicit confidence to the estimates



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which local officers form of the facilities for success, but it is certain that we shall find in Rohilcund a large part of the people in sympathy with us, and possibly we may have aid from them; whilst the character and resources of the rebellion in that province are undoubtedly less formidable than in Oudh.

"I do not know whether a siege of Bareilly will be necessary—we ought of course to be prepared for it; but if this should cause difficulty, or much delay in moving into Rohilcund, I would prefer to see our troops march over the other parts of the province, putting down opposition and raising up the friendly portion of the population in support of the Government, whilst Bareilly should be left till all else was disposed of.

"I think it in the highest degree improbable that an organised resistance, such as we found at Lucknow, should spring up at Bareilly. There are not the same reasons for it, or the same facilities.

"Since this letter was begun, the account of the reverse at Azimghur has become more serious, and a brigade with 18 guns will now be moved from Lucknow in that direction. This reduces considerably the means of operating in Rohilcund, but I do not know that it need preclude operations. I hope that these may still to some extent be undertaken, and that if it should be necessary to postpone measures against Bareilly, this necessity need not extend to the open country of Rohilcund.—Believe me, my dear Sir Colin, yours very sincerely, CANNING."



CHAPTER XVI.

PROGRESS OF COLUMNS UNDER ROSE, WHITLOCK, AND ROBERTS—NECESSITY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE COLUMNS OPERATING IN BUNDELKUND AND THE HEADQUARTER ARMY—ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW AND FOR THE OPERATIONS IN ROHILKUND—LETTER TO LORD CANNING—SIR J. OUTRAM SUCCEEDED BY MR MONTGOMERY—SIR COLIN VISITS THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT ALLAHABAD—HOPE GRANT MARCHES TO BITTHOWLEE—LETTER FROM SIR JAMES OUTRAM—PLAN OF OPERATIONS IN ROHILKUND—WALPOLE'S CHECK AT RHOODAMOW—LETTER TO LORD CANNING—LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—LORD CANNING'S REPLY—SIR COLIN LEAVES FOR ROHILKUND—JOINS WALPOLE—DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM PEEL—OPERATIONS IN ROHILKUND—ACTION AT BAREILLY—ARRIVAL OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JONES'S FORCE—JONES SENT TO RELIEVE SHAHJEHANPOOR—SIR COLIN CONGRATULATES LORD CANNING ON SUCCESS OF ROHILKUND CAMPAIGN—PUBLICATION OF THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE TO THE ARMY—SIR COLIN HASTENS TO ASSIST JONES—SUFFERING OF TROOPS FROM HEAT—SIR COLIN'S MANNER WITH HIS TROOPS—ANECDOTE—BRIGADIER COKE JOINS THE FORCE—LORD CANNING'S CONGRATULATIONS—SIR COLIN RETURNS TO FUTTEHGUR.

At this stage it will be convenient to recur to the progress of the columns under Sir Hugh Rose, General Whitlock, and General Roberts respectively, which, during the time Sir Colin had been engaged at Lucknow, were occupied in pursuing their operations in Central India.





Having destroyed the fort of Garakote, Rose left Saugor on the 27th February to commence his march upon Jhansi. Making a feint to force the pass of Narut, one of the depressions in the mountain-ridge which separates the territories of Saugor and Shahghur, he made for the pass of Mudhunpore. This, though difficult, was a less formidable passage than that of Narut, which the enemy had supplemented with artificial defences at the cost of much time and labour. On the 3d March, Rose carried the pass of Mudhunpore, defended by some 600 or 700 sepoy of the 52d N.I. and other regiments, as well as by 4000 or 5000 Pathans and Bundeelas, after a short but vigorous resistance. The capture of this strong position was attended with important consequences, for it enabled him to open communications with his 1st brigade, and facilitated his advance to Jhansi by the command thus obtained of the tract of level country which lay between him and that place. Taking several forts on the way, and sweeping the enemy before him, Rose continued his advance to Jhansi. In the meantime, Stuart had successfully stormed the fort of Chandairee, situated about 80 miles S.W. of Jhansi. Pushing his cavalry and artillery in advance as he neared the place—to invest, as far as his limited numbers would permit, the fortress of Jhansi—Rose appeared before it on the 21st March. A careful reconnaissance revealed the formidable nature of the position, into which the Ranee, a woman of great energy, had thrown herself,



with a garrison variously estimated at from 12,000 to 17,000 men, prepared to offer a determined resistance.

The rest of the 1st brigade having arrived on the 26th, the breaching batteries were opened on that day. By the 30th the fire of the enemy was brought under ; but as it was doubtful whether the breach was practicable, it was decided to carry the city by escalade. Before, however, this was attempted, the enemy made a determined effort to relieve the place. On the 31st March, a force under Tantia Topee crossed the Betwa from Burwa Saugor and advanced against the British camp. Without interrupting the siege operations, Rose advanced to meet his opponent. By 8 A.M. on the 1st April the enemy was routed and in full flight, being rapidly followed up by the British cavalry, who captured eighteen guns and an immense quantity of ammunition. The assault on the place was successfully accomplished on the 3d April. The mutineers, conscious of the part they had taken in the murder and plunder of the Europeans in June of the preceding year, fought with desperation. They were, however, gradually forced back, till a large portion of the city was occupied by Rose's force on the 4th. News then reached Rose that the Ranee had fled. Losing heart through the defection of their leader, the rebels forthwith abandoned the remainder of the city, as well as the fortress, which was entered without another shot having been fired. Jhansi was won ; and, to the credit of the victorious soldiery, the women and children left in the town were treated



by them with such humanity as to call forth the thanks of their gallant commander.

Further to the eastward, General Whitlock was operating simultaneously with his column of Madras troops in Bundelcund. He had frequent encounters with bodies of the enemy varying in number; and finally, on the 19th April, he met and defeated at Bhowraghur a force of 7000 insurgents, led by the Nawab of Bandah. The city of Bandah was evacuated; and Whitlock, having taken possession of it, made arrangements, on the arrival of some reinforcements for which he had applied, to lend a helping hand to Rose in his advance to Calpee.

In the second week of March the Rajpootana field-force, under General Roberts, advanced from Nusseerabad against Kotah. Meeting with no opposition on the way, he reached the Chumbul on the 22d, encamping on the north bank opposite Kotah, the fort and palace of which, together with half the city, were held by the friendly Rajah and his Kerowlie allies. Sending a detachment across the river to maintain the quarter held by these troops against the enemy, as well as to secure the ferry, Roberts followed himself with the 95th and a detachment of field-artillery. On the 29th he opened fire with the heavy guns from the fort upon the enemy's camp. On the 30th, after turning the enemy's position by a skilfully-executed flank movement, Roberts carried it with a rush, capturing fifty guns, with but trifling loss to his own troops.

૧૫૪ આહી, આહૂ, આહો, âhî, âhû, âhô. નાં એખ, ઈલલત ; હરણ. Subs. Blemish, defect, failing, vice ; a deer, an antelope. Pâz. ૨૨૭, Per. آهو

૧૫૪ આહૂ, âhû. નાં ક્રિઆદ, બુલંદ આવાજ ; માશુક ; એક મરજનું નામ છે કે જેને અરબીમાં ضيق النفس કરી કહે છે. Subs. Complaint, a loud voice, a sweetheart, a beloved woman ; the name of a disease known in Arabic by the name of ضيق النفس

૧૫૪ આહૂ, âhû. નાં એખ, ખોડ, આપણ, તુકસાન, ઈજા, દુઃખ. Subs. Blemish, deformity, vice, loss, pain, injury. Pâz. ૨૨૭, Per. آهو

૧૫૪ આહુન, âhun. નાં દુનિયાં, ખેહેશ્ત, સ્વર્ગ ; ગોદો ; ખાડો, ખાણ ; ચોર. Subs. The world, paradise, heaven ; a cavern, grotto, mine ; a robber. Compare Per. آهون

૧૫૪ એ-દીન, ê-dîn. નાં આએ દીન—ધરમ, આએ કાયદો. Subs. This religion—faith, this law.

૧૫૪ ખાહન, khânn. Gloss. નાં ખાજ પક્ષિ ; વાઘ ; મધુર વાચા, મીઠી જખાન ; ફુટવું, ડોકવું. Subs. A hawk, a tiger ; an enchanting speech, a sweet tongue—speech ; pounding, beating.

૧૫૪ ખાહન, khânn. નાં અડિઅલ—હટીલો ઘોડો, કાંઈખી છેડેલું—છેડી નાખેલું. વિં થંભ, હીલવું ચાલવું નહીં. Subs. A refractory or untamed horse ; what is scratched. Adj. At rest, not walking—moving.

૧૫૪ ખાન, khân. નાં ખાણ. વિં ખાલેસ, સ્વચ્છ, નિર્મળ. Subs. A mine, a quarry. Adj. Pure, limpid, pellucid. Pâz. ૧૪૭

moment of his time was taken up in watching, and on occasions directing, Sir E. Lugard in Behar, Sir Hope Grant in Oudh, Sir Hugh Rose in Bundelcund, and General Whitlock, who was moving to the north-east, and on the right of Sir Hugh Rose, and who had just come within the wide circle of operation."

Since the fall of Lucknow, Sir Colin had been busily engaged in superintending the preliminary arrangements for the approaching campaign in Rohilcund, which, owing to the advance of the hot season, it had become necessary to initiate with as little delay as possible. Every exertion was made to provide accommodation for the division destined to occupy the capital, and on the 3d April he was enabled to inform H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge that "the troops were well put up, and perhaps better off than if they were in regular barracks." "I am much engaged," he added in the same letter, "in so establishing defences, that, when necessary, the garrison may be diminished without risk, and some of the troops located out of the town. This requires much consideration, and the engineers are hard at work. It is possible, when sufficient progress has been made to satisfy me, that I shall proceed to Rohilcund and superintend the operations in that country. Sir Hope Grant remains in this difficult command. There are as yet no signs of pacification in Oudh, and all his vigilance and energy will be required to assist the civil authority in the re-establishment of government and order."



On the previous day he had addressed Lord Canning: "I have received your letter of the 28th March, and have directed my best attention towards the execution of your lordship's plans. . . . It seems tolerably clear that measures of precaution for the assurance of supply to the force left at Lucknow must not on any account be overlooked; otherwise the force left at Lucknow, although too large and powerful to be shut in, as was the case of the garrison last year, would be liable to be mobbed, to have the influx of food from the country intercepted, and in other ways to be so inconvenienced, that a report would quickly get about in the province, and from thence to India at large, that the British were again beleaguered. Under these circumstances, I would propose that one of the two brigades put down as disposable after providing the garrison, should be left in Oudh. The other one, being made complete with cavalry and artillery, may march *via* Sundeela to Shahjehanpoor. H.M.'s 75th and 78th, ordered to Meerut to occupy quarters, may be placed at the disposal of General Penny.¹ This will give him a European brigade (64th, 75th, 78th), besides his native troops. He might, when so reinforced, cross the Ganges. H.M.'s 60th has by this time joined Coke's brigade at Roorkee, which may be moved forwards. In addition to this, when these different bodies are operating in Rohilcund, the neces-

¹ Commanding at Meerut.



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sity for keeping Futtehghur as strong as it is at present will cease, and one regiment between that place and Mynpooree will be sufficient. H.M.'s 82d will then join General Walpole at Shahjehanpoor. I propose to send General Walpole's force hence, although he can be ill spared, on account of the ability he has evinced throughout. Such are the arrangements which I propose. If your lordship thinks that they suffice to carry out your views, will you kindly let me know by telegraph? and the instructions for the plan of campaign shall be at once communicated to the officer commanding. So much arrangement is required here to make things safe, that I think it expedient for me to remain some time longer. When it is in my power to do so, I shall be only too happy to avail myself of your lordship's kind invitation to Allahabad. Now that Sir Hugh Rose's operation seems to be assuming a determined character with regard to this part of the world, and that Sir E. Lugard's march on Azimghur will doubtless put all matters right in that quarter, it appears to me that I should proceed in person to Rohilcund, to gather up the troops there so soon as a proper combination of marches has established the communication of the various columns. This will probably be effected in the course of three weeks. In the meantime, I could remain here to keep everything right and press forward the arrangements for the future security of the province."

On the 8th April, Walpole's force—consisting of



Tombs's and Remmington's troops of Bengal Horse-Artillery, a heavy field-battery, the 23d company Royal Engineers, a detachment Bengal Sappers and Miners, the headquarters Bengal Sappers and Punjab Pioneers, the 9th Lancers, the 2d Punjab Cavalry, the 42d, 79th, and 93d Highlanders, and the 4th Punjab Rifles—the cavalry under the command of Brigadier Hagart, the infantry under that of Adrian Hope,—moved out to the Moosa Bagh previous to their departure for Rohilcund. Their route was directed *via* Sundeela, Rhoodamow, Sandee, and Allehgunj, on the Ramgunga river. The object in taking this line was to turn the enemy's position on the Ramgunga, and secure, if possible, the bridge of boats across that stream for the use of the siege-train, which was intended to join Walpole's column from Futtehghur. In the city and its immediate vicinity, order was sufficiently re-established by the presence of the garrison, seconded by a native police in process of organisation, to admit of Sir James Outram's removal from the civil commissionership in Oudh, whence he was summoned to undertake the higher functions of a seat in the Governor-General's Council at Calcutta. His place was filled by Mr Montgomery,¹ who had hitherto been discharging the duties of judicial commissioner of the Punjab. As the senior civil authority at Lahore, in

¹ Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab—now a member of the Indian Council.



the absence of Sir John Lawrence at Rawal Pindee, to whom there was not time to refer, he had boldly accepted the responsibility of sanctioning the disarmament of all the native troops at Meean Meer, by which admirable stroke of policy the capital of the Punjab was preserved in tranquillity from the earliest stage of the revolt.

Matters were now far enough advanced to justify Sir Colin proceeding to Allahabad for the purpose of conferring personally with the Governor-General. Before setting out, however, he instructed Hope Grant to march with a portion of his division to Baree, twenty-nine miles from Lucknow in a northerly direction, in order to disperse a force which the Moulvie of Fyzabad was reported to have collected. From thence he was directed to move eastward towards the Ghogra in search of the Begum of Lucknow, who was believed to have established herself with a large force at Bitthowlee, a fort situated at the confluence of the Chouka and Ghogra rivers. Finally, he was to proceed to Ramnuggur, with a view of covering the return march of Jung Bahadoor's Goorkhas, for the safety of whom the British officer in charge had expressed much alarm. The number of the sick was large, and the amount of their carriage enormous. Sir Colin disclaimed all responsibility for their movement, which had not emanated from him; and he expressed to the Governor-General his inability, in consequence of



the recent arrangements, to spare any of his troops to assist them.

On the 8th April, Sir Colin, accompanied by Bruce of the intelligence department, left Lucknow by *dák* for Allahabad. He remained but a short time in conference with the Governor-General; for, with his characteristic energy, he returned to Lucknow on the 11th, by which time Walpole had begun his march to Rohilcund. On the 14th, the force under Hope Grant marched for Baree and Bitthowlee; and having satisfied himself that all the arrangements for the efficient maintenance of the garrison of Lucknow were complete, Sir Colin despatched the headquarter camp, in anticipation of his own departure to Cawnpore, on the next day, joining it himself, in company with the chief of the staff, three days later at that station.

A siege-train, consisting of 28 heavy guns and mortars, under Lieutenant Tod Browne of the Artillery, had left Cawnpore for Futtehghur on the 15th, escorted by a squadron of Punjab Cavalry, the 78th Highlanders, and the 2d Punjab Infantry.

In the meantime, the despatches detailing the operations which had resulted in the conquest of Lucknow, had been published in the orders of the Governor-General. These had met the eye of Sir James Outram, when Lord Canning's guest at Allahabad, on his way down country, and produced the following letter, alike honourable to the writer and its recipient:—



"BENARES, 10th April 1858.

"MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I cannot give expression to the feelings of gratification and gratitude with which I read your Excellency's Lucknow despatch, which I first saw at Allahabad. My gratification is, however, if possible, exceeded by my gratitude for the high honour you did me of intrusting to me so important a share of the operations, and for the ample force and admirable troops you placed under my command, which insured my successfully carrying out your orders.

"I am deeply sensible of the great obligations conferred on me by your Excellency, first in affording me the opportunity, and then providing me with the means, of performing what you have made such honourable mention of in the despatch. The having been so noticed by you, I regard as the greatest honour I have attained throughout my military life; and as it is too likely that Lucknow was my last opportunity of seeing service, your having so generously made use of my services on that occasion would cause me to be the more sensible, if possible, of what I now owe to your Excellency.

"I was strongly tempted to await your arrival at Allahabad, on hearing you were coming yesterday, in order personally to tender my grateful thanks to your Excellency, but I was obliged to abandon the idea, for several reasons: I occupied at Government House the only room (I suspected) suitable for your accommodation; the *dāk* arrangements were so in-



sufficient that, had I given up my *gharry* yesterday, I might not have got another for three or four days ; and I feared that my waiting might appear as if I wished to push myself into the counsels which you will have with the Governor-General.—I beg to subscribe myself, my dear Sir Colin, your Excellency's most deeply obliged and grateful and devoted follower,

J. OUTRAM."

The plan adopted by Sir Colin for the invasion of Rohilkund was based upon the advance of two columns from separate points, one in a north-westerly direction from Lucknow, the other in a south-easterly direction from Roorkee. These columns, after sweeping the country during their onward movement, were destined to converge upon Bareilly, the capital of the province, which thus became the objective point of this strategical combination.

Thanks to the activity of the energetic ruler of the Punjab, an admirable force—composed of the 60th Rifles, the 1st Sikh Infantry, Coke's Rifles, the 17th Punjab Infantry, the Moultan Horse, a light field-battery, and two 18-pounders—had been collected at Roorkee, and placed under the command of Brigadier-General John Jones,¹—the infantry brigade being under that of Brigadier Coke, who, as commandant of the 1st Punjab Rifles, had gained Sir Colin Campbell's entire confidence in service against the Afreedies and in Yoosufzai, in 1850 and 1852.

¹ The late Major-General Sir John Jones, K.C.B.



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Jones began his operations on the 17th April. Crossing the Ganges, his force encountered on the same day a body of the enemy posted in the jungle a few miles from the town of Nagul. The rebels, on receiving the British attack, gave way, and were utterly routed, losing five guns and all their camp equipage. Following up this success, Jones advanced to Nugeena, where, a few days later, he came upon another body of the Bijour insurgents, whom he again defeated, capturing all their guns—ten in number—besides inflicting a severe loss upon them in killed and wounded. During the short time the force had been on the left bank of the Ganges, it had succeeded in taking 23 guns. In the last week in April, Jones reached Mooradabad, which had been evacuated by the insurgents. Here several of the rebel leaders were captured; and confidence was restored to the inhabitants by an end being put to the pillage and fighting which had occurred in consequence of a visit made by Feroze Shah, one of the Delhi princes, for the purpose of demanding supplies and money. At this place Jones halted until Walpole had progressed sufficiently to enable him to time his arrival at Bareilly simultaneously with that of the Lucknow column.

Walpole, in the meantime, had been prosecuting his march. About fifty miles from Lucknow the column came across one of the numerous forts enclosed by a mud-wall which are frequently to be met with in the province of Oudh. Into this place,



known as Rhoodamow or Rooyah, a body of insurgents, insignificant in number, had thrown themselves. Here the column received a momentary check, during which Adrian Hope, the accomplished leader of the Highland brigade, fell while reconnoitring close up to the ditch with a detachment of the 42d Highlanders and the 4th Punjab Infantry. From the loopholed wall, which concealed the enemy, was poured a well-directed fire, to which no effectual reply could be given, and which obliged the troops to fall back after incurring numerous casualties, including amongst them Lieutenant Bramley of the 42d Highlanders, endeared to his regiment by every quality that can adorn a soldier, as also Lieutenant Willoughby of the 4th Punjab Infantry, an excellent and spirited officer. The heavy guns were then brought up to breach the wall, and in the course of the night the fort was evacuated with scarcely any loss to its defenders.

On this occasion a daring deed of gallantry was performed by Quartermaster-sergeant John Simpson, of the 42d Highlanders.¹ Having heard, when the troops had fallen back, that one of his officers had been left behind in the ditch, this brave man ran forward and rescued, in the face of a withering fire, first Lieutenant Douglas, and afterwards a private soldier, both of whom had been dangerously wounded. On the same occasion, Private Davis of the 42d Highlanders brought in the body of Lieutenant

¹ Now Quartermaster of the 87th Brigade Depot at Perth.

Bramley, performing this duty of danger and affection under the very walls of the fort. Right worthily did the grant of the Victoria Cross commemorate these noble deeds. But not even this display of gallantry could mitigate the gloom which fell on the column when the news of Adrian Hope's death became known. This feeling extended itself to the army at large. No one was more deeply moved than Sir Colin himself. Referring to this incident in his despatch, he remarked: "The death of this most distinguished and gallant officer causes the deepest grief to the Commander-in-chief. Still young in years, he had risen to high command; and by his undaunted courage, combined as it was with extreme kindness and charm of manner, he had secured the confidence of his brigade in no ordinary degree."¹

From Rhoodamow, Walpole made his way to Alleh-gunj, having defeated at Sirsa a large body of the enemy. Pursuing them with his artillery and cavalry, he captured their guns and camp, and

¹ The youngest son of General Sir John Hope, 4th Earl of Hope-toun, who had won renown under Moore and Wellington in the Peninsula, Adrian Hope had, during his brief though brilliant career, seen much service. With the 60th Rifles he had taken part in a campaign against the Kaffirs, and accompanied the late Sir William Eyre as Major of Brigade to the Crimea. On his promotion during the Crimean campaign, he was appointed to the 93d Highlanders, and was borne on the strength of that regiment when he met his premature death. It is a melancholy satisfaction to the compiler of this memoir to be able to pay a tribute, however slight, to the memory of this accomplished soldier; for he had known him as a schoolfellow, and from early days had learned to appreciate the high qualities, which gave promise of a brilliant future.



pressed them with such vigour as to save from destruction the bridge of boats, whereby he was enabled to cross with his heavy guns to the right bank of the Ramgunga.

Immediately on his arrival at Cawnpore, Sir Colin reviewed the situation in Oudh in a letter to the Governor-General. Writing on the 17th, he remarks: "I left Lucknow this morning, having stayed there till the last moment. I confess to having uncomfortable misgivings as to the state of things. It is evident that the most influential *talookdars* [landed proprietors], with Maun Singh at their head, although he continues to remain unseen, are determined to hold out for terms. If they act vigorously and press on General Grant from two or three quarters at the same time, he will have a very difficult task. They have it in their power to show that we only hold the ground we stand upon. The case, I suppose, is of course one of combination among the rebel leaders. There is circumstantial evidence of this, I think, in the very improper letter written by Maun Singh, the large gatherings at Bitthowlee and along the Ghogra, the move of Koer Singh on Azimghur, and the very suspicious proceedings of Beni Madho Singh between Roy Bareilly and Lucknow. General Grant has therefore been ordered not to extend his movement to Bitthowlee, which would commit him to an operation beyond the Chouka, and interpose that river between him and Lucknow. He has been told to clear the country between the

Chouka and the city, and then to come leisurely back, leaving his movable column at one march from Lucknow. I trust he may not be followed, which is not, however, impossible, as the very appearance of such a move will work immensely in favour of the rebels. But his return to Lucknow is indispensable, seeing what is going on in other parts of the province. General Walpole, I am sorry to say, received a check in his attack on the fort of Rooyah on the 14th inst., losing many valuable officers and men—amongst the former, to my great grief, the gallant and distinguished Brigadier the Honourable A. Hope. He was an officer eminently fitted for a separate command, and as such his loss is irreparable. A check is always serious; but at this particular juncture, unless General Walpole has been able to carry the fort since handsomely, the consequences may be very serious—not as regards his column, but the general feeling in Oudh, and the increased boldness of the insurgent chiefs. I have been obliged to be very liberal of cavalry to Generals Grant and Lugard, the consequence being that the force proceeding to Rohilcund is ill provided in that arm. This is a matter of more than regret, as Rohilcund swarms with the enemy's sowars. If your lordship thinks you can spare the Madras cavalry corps now at Allahabad, to be divided between Futtehpore and Cawnpore, that would release a corresponding number of sowars and be a great assistance."

Prior to his departure from Lucknow, Sir Colin



forwarded to the Duke of Cambridge the correspondence which has been given above, relative to the conduct of the operations he was about to superintend, accompanying it with a request that it might be "considered as most confidential." "I am led," he observes, "to make this request to your Royal Highness in consequence of the very friendly footing of my acquaintance with Lord Canning, and the sincere regard I entertain for him. Your Royal Highness will observe that we have differed in opinion on the mode of employing the troops after the fall of Lucknow. Lord Canning has desired that the sphere of our operations shall be still further extended; whereas I am strongly of opinion that, on the grounds of military prudence as well as policy, we should not overtax the means at our command, but settle one province before we commit ourselves to a campaign in another. At this moment we have war all around us in this province of Oudh, and the country is not ours ten miles from the city. Columns march through it from time to time, but little or no effect ensues. The columns past, the people again reassemble, and the march has to be repeated. Just now Sir Hope Grant is out with a column towards the Ghogra; Sir E. Lugard has marched along the Goomtee to Jaunpoor, on his way to Azimghur; and General Walpole is moving eastward towards Rohilcund. But these marches will not reduce the country. It must be held; and until it be held, there will always be



uneasiness at Lucknow. I do not think that the contest can come to an end on such terms, and there is much fatigue in store for the troops. The same reasons which caused me to recommend the settlement of Rohilcund before entering Oudh, now decide me in thinking that, as Oudh has been entered and Lucknow reduced, we ought on every account to make a complete job of it before employing the troops on other duties. I fear there will be much disappointment hereafter, when new campaigns have to take place on the same ground, and it is seen how very little hold we have of the country. In the meantime, I have exerted myself to the best of my ability to carry out the Governor-General's wishes; and I shall go to Rohilcund with a division and a small siege-train, while another brigade of all arms will move down from Roorkee towards Bareilly, its capital. The amount of force is not satisfactory for the duty proposed, but it is all that can be spared. Sir H. Rose, having taken Jhansi, will advance shortly on Calpee, where alarm is said to prevail, besides much desertion from the ranks of the insurgents. In conclusion, I would beg to assure your Royal Highness that, although the Governor-General and I may not agree in opinion on the points above mentioned, there is not the slightest diminution of the cordial feeling existing between us, and that I shall carry out his lordship's views with the same earnestness as if they were my own."

Lord Canning was prompt in his reply to Sir



Colin's letter of the 17th. The following day he wrote: "This check at Rhoodamow is very unfortunate, and the loss most deplorable. I deeply lament the death of Brigadier Adrian Hope, who, I know, deserved all that you say of him. . . . Your account of the state of affairs in Oudh is not reassuring. We shall, of course, have to leave alone everything beyond the Ghogra; but I hope that a good deal may still be done towards getting hold of the country west and south of Lucknow. There will be need of a stronger guard than I had reckoned for on the Goruckpoor frontier if this state of things continues, especially as the Pearl's brigade ought to be relieved as soon as may be. I hoped to be able to keep that district quiet mainly by police; but if the Gonda Rajah, and especially Maun Singh, are actively hostile, police will not suffice. Moreover, the battalion of police which is destined to go there is otherwise engaged. About 700 under Captain Berry are above Cawnpore (at Akbarpoor, I think), and 300 at Jaunpoor. The latter are filling the place of Jung Bahadoor's men, who have moved homewards; but as I see that Sir E. Lugard has put three companies of the 34th at Jaunpoor, I hope the police may be pushed on to Goruckpoor without risk. Do you think that the 700 can be spared from wherever they are?

"In a letter which I have just received from Sir Robert Hamilton, he recurs to the question of the disposal of Sir H. Rose's force [after the anticipated

fall of Calpee], and urges that the Hyderabad troops, who are two months distant from home, and very eager to return there, should be allowed to do so. I gather, too, from his letter, that by the time that one of the European regiments can return from Calpee to Jhansi, accommodation for it will be ready at the latter place. I will tell him to make sure that this shall be so.

"I had thought, until I received your last letter, of proposing to you to remain lower down than Rohilcund, and to place the conduct of operations there in General Penny's or other hands. But I see you are anxious to go forward, and I believe you are right."

In the meantime, the siege-train with its escort had advanced by the usual stages to Futtehghur. The headquarter camp marched from Cawnpore to that place on the 18th April, Sir Colin remaining behind that day and rejoining it on the 19th. He was escorted by a squadron 5th Punjab Cavalry, a squadron 17th Irregular Cavalry, and the headquarters of the 80th Foot, about 300 strong. On arriving within a march of Futtehghur, Sir Colin rode straight in, leaving his camp to follow the next morning, the 25th, on which day the artillery park and siege-train crossed the Ganges by the bridge of boats, commanded by the fort of Futtehghur, and proceeded a few miles onwards. The 82d Regiment, which had been garrisoning that post, accompanied the siege-train, being relieved by the wing of the



80th which had escorted the headquarter camp from Cawnpore. On the 27th, Sir Colin and his staff joined Walpole's column, encamped at Inigree, six miles in advance of Allehgunj. The advance to Bareilly began on the following morning.

This day brought sorrow to Sir Colin and to the whole army. It will be remembered that Captain Sir William Peel, whose gallant bearing and actions were inseparably connected with the operations of the last six months, had been wounded in the attack on the Martiniere at the final conquest of Lucknow. Thence he had been removed to Cawnpore. He was on the way to recovery, was gradually regaining the use of his wounded limb—he had been shot in the thigh—and was already contemplating his departure for Calcutta, when he was attacked with smallpox. His constitution, debilitated by the effects of his wound and by climate, was unequal to the additional strain of this insidious disease, and on the 27th April his noble spirit passed away. Endeared to the officers and men of his own service, he had equally won, by the effect of his example, the admiration and respect of all ranks of the army, to whose success he had so largely contributed, so that in truth his loss may be said to have been regarded as a national calamity. Sir Colin accepted it in this light; and the death of this distinguished officer, whose services he had ever been delighted to recognise, fell upon him as a heavy blow. No less affected was Lord Canning. "You



will have been shocked and deeply pained," he wrote to Sir Colin on hearing the fatal news, "by poor Captain Peel's death. It is the saddest loss we have had, and the blow to his mother, who lived for him, will be terrible."

The route of the force about to operate in Rohilcund lay by the new road which crosses the Ramgunga at Bajpoorea Ghat, and passing through the town of Jellalabad, leads to Shahjehanpoor, a large town, and formerly a civil station, which the enemy was known to hold in force. His pickets, which had been felt on the 29th, retired before the advance of the column; and on the following day positive intelligence reached the British camp that the insurgents had evacuated Shahjehanpoor, and had retired in the direction of Mohumdee. Shahjehanpoor was found to be wellnigh deserted, and every house in the cantonment except one had been destroyed. Arrangements were forthwith made for establishing a small garrison in the place. The town being long and straggling, and the difficulty of preventing its reoccupation, should the insurgents return in force, being considerable, the jail was selected as the most defensible position. Leaving two 9-pounder bullock-draught field-guns and two 24-pounders, De Kantzow's irregular horse, and 500 of the 82d Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hale of that regiment, to hold the jail and its enclosure, the column resumed its advance on the 2d May. Still continuing along the Bareilly road, Futteh-



who, with an air of great confidence, had come out from the city and taken up a position on the left or near bank of the Nerkuttea Nullah, having that stream in his rear. Sir Colin advanced to attack him in two lines. The first consisted of the Highland brigade, supported by the 4th Punjab Infantry and Belooch battalion, with a heavy field-battery in the centre—the flanks being protected by horse-artillery and cavalry. The second line was destined for the protection of the baggage and siege-train—a necessary precaution against the numerous horsemen, whom the insurgents were known to have at their disposal.

The advance was covered by a line of cavalry skirmishers—those of the 2d Punjab Cavalry being on the left of the road, those of the Lahore Light Horse on the right. The 78th Highlanders followed in support along the road, flanked on either side by two troops of the 9th Lancers, as well as by Tombs's and the half of Remmington's troops of horse-artillery. Next came the 42d and 93d Highlanders, with the heavy batteries marching on the road between them, and flanked and supported by the Moultan horse, Punjab cavalry, the two squadrons of Carabineers, the remainder of the 9th Lancers and the 4th Punjab Infantry, the 79th Highlanders, the 64th Regiment, and the wing of the Belooch battalion. Then followed the siege-train and baggage, guarded by the wing of the 82d Regiment, the 2d and the 22d Punjab Infantry. The tail of the column was



closed by the rear-guard, consisting of half of Remmington's troop of horse-artillery, detachments of the 5th Punjab Cavalry and the 17th Irregular Cavalry. The strength of the British column amounted to 7637 men and 19 guns, exclusive of the siege-train.

About 7 A.M., as the column was making for the bridge over the Nurkuttea Nullah, the enemy opened fire from his guns, which had been advantageously posted on some sandhills situated on either side of the road, so as to command the approach to the bridge. The cavalry, with Tombs's and Remmington's troops, thereupon trotted out from the flanks, and the artillery unlimbering replied to the enemy's fire with such precision, that in a short time he was driven from his position and fled across the stream, abandoning such of his guns as were on the near side of the bridge. In the meantime the infantry, together with the heavy field-battery, pushed rapidly forward in line along the centre. On the line approaching the nullah, the left portion of it halted on its bank in position, whilst the right crossed the bridge and continued its advance some three-quarters of a mile in the direction of the town; but it moved forward very leisurely, as the numerous dense groves of trees concealed from view the enemy's position in the cantonments and towards the town. The heavy guns were brought over the bridge, and as they successively took up their ground, opened fire on the enemy's second line, which he had formed in the suburbs.



Considerable bodies of insurgent cavalry hovered on the left flank of the British, and watched the opportunity to fall on the baggage. The advance was now checked to admit of the siege-train and baggage closing on the Nerkuttea Nullah.

In the meantime a reconnoissance was pushed round the south-west side of the cantonment. The fort was found abandoned, but the greater portion of the cantonment still remained in possession of the enemy.

About 11 A.M. a fierce onslaught, described by Sir Colin in his official despatch as "the most determined effort he had seen made during this war," to turn and break through the left, was executed by a body of Ghazees or Mussulman fanatics. The 4th Punjab Rifles, so frequently distinguished during the past twelve months, had just taken possession of the Irregular Cavalry lines, and were still in broken order, when the Ghazees, to the number of 130 or thereabouts, availed themselves of the opportunity and rushed forward. Brandishing their swords, with heads low, and uttering the wild cry of their faith, they fell with great impetuosity upon the Sikhs, and drove them back upon the 42d Highlanders. This regiment, which had been formed in support of the Punjabees by Sir Colin's directions, as soon as his practised eye had discerned the hostile movement, was barely ready to receive the attack, when the Ghazees were upon them. Cheered by the presence of their chief, who encouraged them to be steady¹ and trust

¹ According to the testimony of one present on this occasion, Sir



to the bayonet, the 42d received the charge, but not before some of these fanatics had swept round the flank of the regiment and had fallen upon its rear. A hand-to-hand struggle ensued, short but sanguinary, for in a few moments every Ghazee was killed in the very ranks of the Highlanders. Their commanding officer, Colonel Cameron,¹ had a narrow escape. Three of the Ghazees, in the suddenness of their onslaught, pulled him off his horse. He would inevitably have lost his life but for the gallant intervention of Colour-sergeant Gardiner, who rushed forward and drove his bayonet through the bodies of two of them. General Walpole also narrowly escaped with his life, which he owed to the promptitude with which the Black Watch handled its steel. This conflict ended, the 42d, supported by the 4th Punjab Rifles and a part of the 79th Highlanders, advanced for a mile and a half through the lines into the cantonments, where they took up their position for the rest of the day.

Simultaneously with the rush of the Ghazees, an attempt was made by a large body of cavalry to cut in on the baggage and camp-followers. This contingency had been anticipated by Sir Colin, who, on the advance of the troops from the river-bank, had left Tombs's troop of horse-artillery, the two squadrons of Carabineers, the Moulteni horse, and the Colin's exhortation was, "Keep steady, men : it is among the young soldiers I see unsteadiness ; the old soldiers are all right," or words to that effect.

¹ Colonel Alexander Cameron died at Bareilly in August 1858.

infantry of the rear-guard, to meet any such attack. The fire of Tombs's guns told with immediate effect on the enemy's horsemen, whose rout was soon completed by the cavalry. The cavalry lines were at once retaken, that end of the cantonment being forthwith abandoned by the rebels. Shortly afterwards, the villages and groves in the direction of the civil lines were seized and occupied by the 79th and 93d Highlanders, supported by the Belooch battalion. Prudence forbade pursuit of the enemy into the dense gardens and suburbs in the direction of the town. The fort was occupied by a detachment of the 42d Highlanders.

The action had lasted six hours ; and as the troops had been under arms since 2 A.M., it was necessary to place them under such shade as was to be found on the ground which they occupied. The sun's rays were oppressive, and a hot wind intensified the heat. So severe was it, that several fatal cases of sunstroke occurred ; and the troops likewise suffered much from thirst and fatigue. The baggage being jammed up near the Nerkuttea Nullah, ground for the camp was taken up on the Bareilly side of the stream. Hospital-tents alone were pitched, the troops bivouacking in convenient positions on the field of battle. No reliable information as to the direction in which the enemy had retreated could be obtained, but it was afterwards ascertained that the largest portion of the rebels had fallen back on Pilleebheet.

The trophies of the day consisted of seven guns,



captured during the action. Several more were found abandoned in the town when the column finally entered it. The casualties, owing to the prudence with which the troops had been handled on ground admirably adapted to the defensive tactics of the enemy, were not heavy. The total losses amounted to 18 killed and 40 wounded. Of the 18 deaths, eight were attributable to heat-apoplexy, or sunstroke.

Early on the morning of the 6th, the column made a general advance into the cantonment. During the movement the sound of artillery was heard from the opposite side of the town. These guns belonged to the force which Brigadier-General John Jones had conducted from Mooradabad. This officer had executed the instructions he had received to the letter, and having defeated on the way an insurgent body, from whom he had captured several guns, was now engaged with another portion of them who were opposing his advance upon Bareilly. These he attacked with great spirit, taking four more guns. He next occupied a building in the heart of the town, and opened a communication with Sir Colin during the afternoon. A reconnaissance was made by a troop of Lancers and a squadron of the 2d Punjab Cavalry towards the Pilleebheet road, in which direction, and that of Bissowlee, it was ascertained that the rebels had made off. They came on a large body of fugitives, and cut up between 200 and 300 of them, after a long pursuit.

On the 7th, the town was entirely occupied, a few fanatic Mussulmans, who had taken possession of a house from which they were shelled, exhibiting, as they sold their lives dearly, the last signs of opposition.

On the same day information reached Sir Colin that the small detachment which he had left behind at Shahjehanpoor to form a post, as an evidence of British authority, was, as he had anticipated, exposed to annoyance from the strong body of insurgents who, on the evacuation of that place, had retired with the Fyzabad Moulvie and the local Nawab to Mohumdee. Within twenty-four hours after the headquarter column had turned its back upon Shahjehanpoor, Colonel Hale ascertained that a large body of rebels were approaching the town. He had barely time to complete his preparations for defence, before he found himself confronted by a mass of enemies computed at 8000 strong with 12 guns, happily of insignificant calibre. Adhering strictly to his instructions to act on the defensive, he resisted the temptation to try his fortune in the open, and for eight days and nights gallantly held his own against the formidable numbers of his foe, who closely invested his position, and seized the opportunity to levy requisitions, and rob and maltreat many of the inhabitants. Sir Colin forthwith organised a column to proceed to Colonel Hale's assistance. It was placed under the orders of Brigadier-General John Jones, and consisted of a light field-battery of



artillery, a detachment of heavy guns and sappers, a squadron of the Carabineers, Cureton's Moulton horse, the 60th Rifles, 79th Highlanders, a wing of the 82d Foot, and the 22d Punjab Infantry. Leaving Bareilly on the 8th, Jones reached the outskirts of Shahjehanpore on the 11th. The enemy came out to meet him, was encountered in fair fight, and was defeated, losing one gun. The insurgent force consisted principally of cavalry well mounted, so that little or no opportunity offered of destroying any great number of them. Jones, pressing forward, entered the town and relieved the little garrison, whose gallant defence elicited the marked approbation of Sir Colin, never backward in giving credit where it was due. Modesty in an officer he, with his quick and generally just appreciation of character, was forward to recognise. He therefore took the opportunity of conveying to the Governor-General in an official form his acknowledgment that "Lieutenant-Colonel Hale had hardly done justice to himself in his report of this defence, which was conducted by him with prudence and skill, and consequently with trifling loss."

In a letter written to one of his oldest and most attached friends on the 8th May, Sir Colin dilates on the events in which he had been the principal actor. "The siege" (of Lucknow), he remarks, "had been no sooner concluded than other operations had to be undertaken in different parts for the sup-

pression of insurrection. The task of the reconquest of the province of Rohileund has been allotted to me. The discomfiture of the rebel force, and the capture of its capital, Bareilly, I effected on the 6th instant; but there remains much to be done and much harassing work for the troops before the insurrection can be suppressed, and the numerous bodies of the enemy within the province dispersed or expelled from it. Other provinces of the empire are in a similar state, requiring troops. Altogether we soldiers have much to command our serious attention in the kind of war in which we are engaged.

“The sun burns very fiercely at this season in these regions. The thermometer (Fahrenheit) stands at this hour, 1 P.M., in my tent at 112°. We lose more men by sunstroke, in carrying on operations at this season, than by the fire of the enemy. Can you wonder that many just now long to find themselves again in the more moderate climate of their own country, and in the opportunity of being near to those they hold in affection? and that those who have been in the field since the commencement of this war would be glad of a little rest under the cover of a house, to escape the heat to which they are now exposed? But they cannot be spared.

“In the kind of life I have been speaking of, with the business of this great army to attend to, you will, I think, find a little excuse for the delay which has taken place in replying to your note.”



Together with the despatch reporting his operations in Rohileund, Sir Colin addressed the following note to the Governor-General :—

“BAREILLY, 10th May 1858.

“DEAR LORD CANNING,—I congratulate your lordship very heartily on the success of the Rohileund campaign. The combinations, which had been projected for this purpose some time before, came off very happily and punctually, and have been, I am pleased to think, the cause of much economy of life, as the enemy was obliged to divide his forces, and so play our game. I hope to hear that the relief of Shahjehanpoor will have been effected to-morrow. I have had a strong inclination to send a brigade to take post at Seetapoor in Oudh, on account of the commanding position of that place; but after weighing the information received from day to day, the necessity of keeping some reserve in hand, and the fact that a brigade sent to that point would be shut off from all support after the first fall of rain, I have thought it prudent to abandon the project. I am obliged to send back to the Punjab the Sikh corps, which have been fighting ever since May of last year. I hope to receive in their places new corps from Sir John Lawrence; but in the meantime, till the arrival of the reliefs two months hence, I shall be crippled in native infantry. I have seen a good deal of Mr Alexander, and am doing what I can to assist his



views. Efforts are being made to secure cover for the troops, but we can hardly expect complete success in this respect before the rains. I hope soon to be on the Great Trunk Road once more, and again in telegraphic communication with your lordship."

On the same day he wrote to the Duke of Cambridge :—

"I have the honour to forward to your Royal Highness a copy of my despatch to the Governor-General announcing the capture and occupation of Bareilly. This result of the combined marches of various columns, which, as your Royal Highness is aware, have been proceeding for some weeks, has been accomplished with comparatively small loss in the field; and the troops, though unavoidably suffering from the effects of the sun at this season, have borne up wonderfully against their fatigues. Rohileund will now be occupied by a military force as far as our means may admit of; and it is not likely that the insurgents will again assemble in large numbers in this particular province. According to my last news from Oudh, affairs remain pretty much the same in that quarter as when I left Lucknow. Sir Hope Grant is employed in moving leisurely through the country on Roy Bareilly, where, I suppose, he now is. But owing to the interruption of the post, I have no very recent information respecting him. Sir Hugh Rose should



by this time be very close to Calpee, if he be not already laying siege to it. General Whitlock remains at Bandah, and represents the state of the country to be such in his neighbourhood that he cannot leave it to co-operate with Sir H. Rose, as he was directed to do, if he thought it prudent. Thus, excepting the final reoccupation of Rohilcund, which is a source of great satisfaction to Government, the situation of affairs remains about the same as when I last had the honour to address your Royal Highness. I beg to tender my very grateful thanks to your Royal Highness for your two letters of the 24th March and 2d April. I can never be sufficiently thankful for so much kindness and support."

On the same day on which these letters were despatched, the dispersion of the Rohilcund force began. The two Punjab infantry regiments, the 2d and 4th—than which no two corps had performed better service during the last eventful twelve months—set out on their return to the Punjab. The headquarters of the Carabineers accompanied them as far as Meerut.

On the 11th, Brigadier John Coke, taking with him Hammond's light field-battery, a heavy field-battery, 100 pioneers, a squadron of the 17th Irregular Cavalry, a wing of the 42d Highlanders, the 1st Punjab Infantry, and the 1st Sikh Infantry, marched in the direction of Pilleebheet. A force, composed of Remington's troop of horse-



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artillery, a heavy field-battery, the 2d Punjab Cavalry, a wing of the 42d Highlanders, the 78th and 93d Highlanders, together with the 17th Punjabi Infantry, was selected to form the garrison of Bareilly.

Having thus brought the campaign in Rohileund to a satisfactory conclusion—so far as the occupation of Bareilly and the dispersion of the main body of the insurgents were concerned—and having thereby secured the re-establishment of British authority, which was vested in the person of Mr Alexander, the Civil Commissioner, Sir Colin committed the charge of the troops in the province to General Walpole. He next proceeded to carry out his intention of regaining the Great Trunk Road, so as to be once more in direct communication with the headquarters of Government and with the separate columns, which, though operating in various and distant parts of the country, looked to the Commander-in-chief for their instructions.

Before doing so, however, Sir Colin seized the occasion to convey to the army, in the following general order, the gracious message which the Queen had sent to the troops in the letter her Majesty wrote to him on receiving the intelligence of the relief of Lucknow :—

“The Commander-in-chief has received the most gracious commands of her Majesty the Queen to communicate to the army an expression of the deep interest felt by the Queen in the exertions of



her troops, and the successful progress of the campaign.

“Sir Colin Campbell has delayed giving execution to the Royal command, until he was able to announce to the army that the last stronghold of rebellion had fallen before the persevering attempts of the troops of her Majesty and the Honourable East India Company.

“It is impossible for the Commander-in-chief to express adequately the high honour done to him in having been chosen by the Queen to convey her Majesty’s most gracious acknowledgments to the army, in the ranks of which he has passed his life. The Commander-in-chief ventures to quote the very words of the Queen” (*vide ante*, p. 137).

On the 15th, Sir Colin, taking with him the remainder of the Rohileund column, including Tombs’s troop of horse-artillery, a portion of the siege-artillery, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, three squadrons of Punjab cavalry, the greater portion of the 64th Regiment, the wing of the Belooch battalion, and the artillery park, marched towards Shahjehanpoor, which place he reached on the 18th. At Til-hur, on the way, the remainder of the 9th Lancers joined the column. The rebel force, which Brigadier-General Jones had encountered, having been augmented by a large portion of those who had evacuated Bareilly, had become so formidable in cavalry as to prevent his following them up, as had been originally intended. On the 15th, Jones had been

attacked in so vigorous a manner by a large body of the enemy, led by the Moulvie of Fyzabad and Fer-ozeshah, the Delhi prince, that he found himself reduced to the defensive. For this reason Sir Colin hastened to his assistance, obtaining shelter from the terrific heat for his jaded men under such *topes* or groves of trees as were to be met with on the way. Notwithstanding all his precautions, the sun told with distressing effect upon the troops. During Jones's march to Shahjehanpoor, the 60th Rifles, which had borne its full share of fighting and exposure at Delhi, and was regarded as an acclimatised and hardy regiment, suffered very severely from sunstroke. Imagination fails to realise the painful consequences of a march made under such circumstances. All honour, then, to these noble soldiers, who, sustained by the example of their veteran leader, bore up with cheerfulness and alacrity against a foe far more formidable than the enemy, whom they were straining every nerve to encounter in fair fight.

Though as much exposed as the private soldier—for on such occasions he on principle shared the fatigues and privations of his troops—Sir Colin enjoyed excellent health. The manner in which he bore the heat and the bodily exertion of riding for so many hours continuously on the march, was a marvel to the members of his staff. On these occasions he invariably had a kind word to say or a remark to make to the soldiers as he rode with the column.



Often he would crack a joke with them. One instance out of many. Riding through the camp one day, he met a Highlander with a parrot on his shoulder. "Well, my man," said Sir Colin, with a smile on his face, "are you trying to teach your bird Gaelic?" At all times and under all circumstances he was accessible to any one, European or native, seeking an interview with him. Frequently he would astonish a stickler for decorum, when, regardless of appearances, he would transact his business in his shirt-sleeves, or carry on the conversation with a visitor through the walls of his tent whilst taking his bath.

Sympathy and encouragement he was ever ready to offer on more serious occasions. On this return march, a member of his personal staff,¹ a Highlander, and acting in the capacity of body-surgeon to Sir Colin, believed himself to be at the point of death, in consequence of an overdose of belladonna administered by the native apothecary. In this frame of mind he sent for his chief to take leave of him. Sir Colin finding his friend, to whom he was warmly attached, in a very agitated state, caused by the peculiar effects of the poison, endeavoured to cheer

¹ W. A. Mackinnon, C.B. He has since served with distinction in New Zealand, as well as with the expedition to Ashantee, and is now Deputy Surgeon-General. Though belonging to the non-combatant branch of the service, this officer had manifested in the Crimea such combative proclivities as to draw from Sir Colin the remark, "Why, sir, did they not make a soldier of you? There was a good soldier spoiled the day they made you a doctor."

him, adding, "Don't be alarmed. You have gone through greater danger than this, and do not be frightened if you see the grave now open to receive you." Mackinnon recovered, and a few days afterwards was by his chief's side as some of the Highlanders were marching past. On his remarking what a fine body of men they were, Colin Campbell replied, "Yes, they are,"—adding significantly, "I can always trust them." The feeling was quite reciprocal.

The British force was encamped in the cantonment of Shahjehanpore. The ground on the far side of the Kanaut Nuddee, and all the fords by which it could be crossed, were watched, and the town was occupied by a strong detachment of infantry. On the day of Sir Colin's arrival a strong picket with guns was posted in the village of Lohidpore, on the left bank of the Kanaut. A bridge was completed across the nullah in rear of the Lohidpore picket before nightfall. About 3 P.M. the enemy made a demonstration, bringing out some guns and displaying large bodies of cavalry in front of the village of Lohidpore, as well as higher up the nullah opposite the British left. The pickets were reinforced; and as the enemy advanced, the British guns opened at long range. A desultory cannonade ensued on both sides until evening fell.

On the morning of the 22d, Brigadier Coke's force, which had proceeded to Pilleebheet, returned *via* Bareilly, and joined the headquarter column.



In the meantime the Governor-General acknowledged the receipt of Sir Colin's report of his recent operations. "I was delighted," wrote Lord Canning on the 20th, "to get your very satisfactory report of the complete success in Rohilcund. You have indeed good right to be pleased with the way in which all your combinations came off; and, so far as I hear, there are no signs that the good result of them will be marred by any after-clap, excepting that of Shahjehanpoor. The only thing I regret is, that we have not been able to lay hands upon any of that constellation of scoundrels who were collected at Bareilly."

Orders having been given to Brigadier-General John Jones to attack the enemy at daybreak next morning, Sir Colin, accompanied by his staff and a small escort, left Shahjehanpoor at midnight of the 23d, rested during the day of the 24th at Jellalabad, having accomplished a double march of 22 miles, and starting at night for Futtehghur, reached that place at 7 A.M. of the 25th, after a second double march—the most trying, from its heat, that any one with the force had ever experienced.

Jones carried out his instructions, and advanced upon the insurgents' position at Mohumdee, which fell into his hands; but the rebels beat too hasty a retreat across the Goomtee to admit of his cavalry capturing their guns. On his force returning to Shahjehanpoor, Jones detached a column under Colonel Taylor to drive the rebels out of Shahabad.



CHAPTER XVII.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL HALTS AT FUTTEHGHUR—SIR H. ROSE'S OPERATIONS IN BUNDELCUND, KOONOH, CALPEE—GENERAL ORDER—SIR COLIN'S REASONS TO LORD CANNING FOR COMING TO FUTTEHGHUR—PREPARATIONS AT ALLAHABAD FOR ACCOMMODATION OF HEADQUARTER STAFF—SIR E. LUGARD'S OPERATIONS AGAINST KOER SINGH—MUTINEERS SEIZE GWALIOR—FLIGHT OF SCINDIAH—SIR H. ROSE TAKES GWALIOR—NAPIER PURSUES REBELS—SIR COLIN SUMS UP THE SITUATION IN LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—LORD DERBY ANNOUNCES BESTOWAL OF PEERAGE—LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—SIR COLIN REPLIES—HOPE GRANT AT NAWABGUNJ—LETTERS TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, SIR H. ROSE, AND GENERAL WHITLOCK—LETTER TO LORD ELLENBOROUGH—ANTICIPATIONS OF LORD CANNING'S POLICY VERIFIED—CONDITION OF GORUCKPOOR AND BEHAR—LETTER FROM DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—SIR COLIN REVIEWS THE SITUATION IN TWO LETTERS TO H.R.H.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL remained at Futtehghur till the 5th June. Having regained the Great Trunk Road and the telegraph, he was once more in direct communication with the head of the Government at Allahabad, and in a position to exercise a more active supervision over the separate columns operating in Oudh and Behar, as well as over those engaged in Bundelcund, now that they had reached the line of the Jumna.



In the last-mentioned territory important events had taken place during the progress of the campaign in Rohilcund. Jhansi, it will be recollected, had fallen early in April. At that place Sir Hugh Rose was detained till the 25th of that month, engaged in consolidating his conquest and making arrangements for the further progress of his column. His plans being laid, he was in movement the latter end of April. On the 7th May, having gathered up some detachments and reinforcements, he reached Koonch, a town where the rebels occupied a strongly-intrenched position, with the object of covering Calpee. Turning their defences by a flank movement to the N.W., and directing his attack from that quarter, Rose drove the enemy's infantry out of the woods they occupied, and stormed the town. Finding their retreat menaced, the rebels retired on Calpee. The pursuit, in the course of which eight guns and a quantity of ammunition and tents were captured, continued for eight miles, when the cavalry and horse-artillery pulled up from sheer exhaustion. The heat was intense, and the troops had suffered much from the effects of the sun. Even Rose himself was prostrated for a while, but rallied on the prompt application of restoratives, and was soon in the saddle again, completing the discomfiture of the enemy. From Koonch he continued his advance, and struck the Jumna at Goolowlee, six miles below Calpee. In combination with Rose's advance, Colonel Riddell had been directed to move with his own

column from Etawah in the Doab towards Calpee, whilst Colonel Maxwell closed with his detachment from Akbarpooor on the same point. General Whitlock at Bandah guarded the territory to the southwards. Rose thus hoped to hem in the rebels, and minimise, as far as possible, their chances of escape. On the 22d, a portion of Maxwell's force having previously been ordered by Rose to cross the Jumna and join his main body, whilst the remainder assisted in the bombardment of Calpee from the left bank, the enemy moved out in great force, and made a determined attack on the British camp at Goolowlee. Finding his right flank hard pressed, Rose brought up the camel corps (part of Maxwell's detachment), which, charging with the bayonet, effected the complete rout of the enemy. On the following day the British force advanced and took possession of the town and fort of Calpee, which the rebels abandoned without further resistance. Panic-stricken, they fled in the direction of Jalaon, pursued by the cavalry, horse-artillery, and camel corps, which overtook them, capturing all their guns (eight) and ammunition, and killing many of their numbers. The pursuit, however, was checked in consequence of the heat, which was overpowering. Fifteen guns were taken in the fort, as well as several standards belonging to the Gwalior and Kotah contingents. A large quantity of powder, as well as many other ordnance stores, were captured; and the existence of four cannon-foundries, and of the appliances for the



manufacture of wheel and gun carriages, proved that Calpee was nothing less than an arsenal, which the rebels, disheartened and disorganised, had thus precipitately abandoned. Rose's first care was to organise a flying column, under Colonel Robertson,¹ wherewith to follow up the fugitives, who continued their retreat in the direction of Gwalior. Then, anxious to give his jaded troops rest, and in the belief that their labours were for a time suspended by the defeat and dispersion of the rebel forces in Bundelcund, he issued a complimentary order to his troops, and made his arrangements for proceeding to Bombay on sick certificate. In the more genial climate of that Presidency, he looked forward to obtaining the repose which the exposure and the anxiety he had undergone in the late harassing campaign induced him to seek.

Taking advantage of the more favourable aspect of affairs consequent on the termination of the Rohilcund campaign and the fall of Calpee, Sir Colin Campbell issued the following general order, in which he reviewed the events which had occurred since he took the field in the autumn of the previous year :—

“ In the month of October 1857 the garrison of Lucknow was still shut up, the road from Calcutta to Cawnpore was unsafe, the communications with the north-west were entirely closed, and the civil and military functionaries had disappeared altogether

¹ The late Colonel Robertson, commanding 25th Bombay Native Infantry.



from wide and numerous provinces. Under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor-General, a large plan was designed, by which the resources of the three Presidencies, after the arrival of reinforcements from England, should be made available for combined action. Thus, while the army of Bengal, gathering strength from day to day, has recovered the Gangetic Doab, restored the communications with the north-west of the empire, relieved the old garrison of Lucknow, afterwards taking that city, reoccupying Rohileund, and finally insuring in a great measure the tranquillity of the old provinces, the three columns put in movement from Bombay and Madras have rendered like great and efficient services in their long and difficult marches on the Jumna, through Central India, and Rajpootana. These columns, under Major-Generals Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Whitlock, and Roberts, have admirably performed their share in the general combination, arranged under the orders of his lordship the Governor-General. This combination was spread over a surface ranging from the boundaries of Bombay and Madras to the extreme north-west of India. By their patient endurance of fatigue, their unfailing obedience, and their steadfast gallantry, the troops have enabled the generals to fulfil their instructions. In no war has it ever happened that troops should always contend against immense numerical odds, as has been invariably the case in every encounter during the struggle of the last year, and in no war



has constant success without a check been more conspicuously achieved. It has not occurred that one column here, another there, has won more honour than the other portions of the army: the various corps have all done like hard work—have struggled through the difficulties of a hot-weather campaign, and have compensated for paucity of numbers in the vast area of operations by continuous and unexampled marching, notwithstanding the season. It is probable that much yet remains for the army to perform; but now that the Commander-in-chief is able to give the greater part of it rest for a time, he chooses this moment to congratulate the generals and troops on the great results which have attended their labours. He can fairly say that they have accomplished in a few months what was believed by the ill-wishers of England to be either beyond her strength or to be the work of many years.”

On the 26th May, Sir Colin wrote to Lord Canning: “I arrived at Futtehghur yesterday, having left Brigadier-General Jones the task of following up the rebels from Shahjehanpoor. I felt that if I began the business myself, it would be necessary for me to remain with the force to the conclusion, and that I might be detained in consequence for ten days or so. The inconvenience which would have ensued would have been considerable, as the various columns which are in movement in other parts, stand in need of constant direction by telegraph. . . . The result



of affairs at Calpee is about what I anticipated. The rebel cavalry before General Jones is very alert, and, I am afraid, cannot fail to elude his grasp. It is beautifully mounted on horses plundered from Arab merchants and our own officials. However, I am sure that everything that man can do will be effected by Brigadier-General Jones and Brigadier Coke towards breaking it up. I assume that they were at Mohumdee yesterday, but I have not as yet received a report from that place. It is a matter of much regret to me that Colonel Clark, the Commissioner, was obliged to retire before the Moulvie and Nurput Singh from Sandee a few days ago. The truth is, the placing him there was premature, and was, I venture to think, in opposition to your lordship's views, as lately expressed in your instructions for the functionaries of Rohileund. I fear that the unresisted march of our columns renders the Chief Commissioner too sanguine, and that he forgets that, until we are in a position to garrison the country, the attempt is vain to re-establish authority by the presence of isolated officers. I am happy to say that General Grant is acting with great prudence and discretion at Lucknow; and I think your lordship may rest assured that no mischief will arise in that quarter, although we must be prepared for many false alarms, until your lordship is prepared to undertake the thorough reduction of the country. When Brigadier-General Jones has completed his operations, H.M.'s 79th will come here, to be in



reserve for service either in Oudh or Rohilcund. The trip to Rohilcund has thrown all official work sadly in arrear; but if cover of any kind can be found at Allahabad for the headquarter establishment—I mean the clerks of the different offices—the whole shall move at once and endeavour to reach that place before the rains commence. In order to arrive more speedily at Allahabad, Mansfield will proceed by carriage-*dak*.”

On the same day that the foregoing was written, Lord Canning acknowledged by a letter a telegram Sir Colin had sent him on the subject alluded to in the concluding paragraph. “I will let you know in the course of the day by telegraph precisely how the matter stands; the post leaves too early in the morning to allow of my obtaining full details to put into this letter. But I have this morning examined the house which is in preparation for yourself and personal staff, and can report well of its progress. Six of the rooms are carpeted and punkahed, and as many more are painted. Most of the rooms are large, but three or four are very dark. Furniture is still wanting, but has been long since ordered from Benares. Upon the whole, without saying that it is a pleasant residence (the gallows are unluckily in sight of the door), I believe you would think it fairly good quarters.

“I wish to say, however, that even if the answer to your inquiry respecting cover for the departments should be satisfactory, I beg that you will have no



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scruple in abandoning all thoughts of coming, if you feel that your presence in the neighbourhood of the Rohileund garrisons is necessary. In that case I shall still probably ask you to meet me at Cawnpore on some day before the rains set in, where I would also ask the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to join us. I received a triumphant message from Sir H. Rose yesterday proclaiming the capture of Calpee. . . . I am still uneasy about Hyderabad, and have ordered the Simoom to the Cape upon the chance of Sir George Grey [the Governor of that colony] being able to give a regiment. It is not a good chance; for I have just heard from England—since I wrote to you on this subject, I think—that the young battalions upon which he was reckoning when he made the offer of more troops have not been sent to him.

“Sir E. Lugard's work at Jugdeespoor trains on, and I cannot help him with any native force, which he most wants, from any quarter.”

The hopes of an early settlement of the disturbances at Azimghur were destined to disappointment. Unable, on the arrival of his forces at Sultanpoor, to cross the Goomtee, in consequence of the destruction of the bridge and the absence of any boats, Lugard was compelled to take the more circuitous route by the right bank to Jaunpoor. On reaching Tigra, a few miles to the north-west of Jaunpoor, on the 11th April, he ascertained that a rebel force under Golaum Hussein, which had been threatening Jaunpoor, was in his vicinity. Lugard had halted his troops to rest



them after a long march in great heat, when he heard in the evening that the rebels were moving off. He pushed on after them, and catching them up, dispersed them, capturing two guns. He then continued his advance through Jaunpoor, and appeared before Azimghur on the 15th. Prior to his arrival, a small force, consisting of the headquarters and right wing of the 13th Light Infantry and a detachment of the Queen's Bays, together with four guns which had been sent from Benares on the 2d April under Lord Mark Kerr, had, after a somewhat critical encounter with the enemy, on its approach to Azimghur, afforded opportune succour to the small British garrison threatened in its intrenched position at that place. Lugard at once attacked the rebel force, which had taken up a position covering the bridge of boats over the Tons. After a vigorous opposition, the enemy was forced back; but so well had Koer Singh provided for his retirement, that as the British crossed from their side of the Tons, his main body were observed evacuating Azimghur. Its retreat was conducted in a very orderly manner—so much so, that, when Lugard's cavalry and horse-artillery, after a lengthened pursuit, caught up the enemy, they found they had an unbroken and organised body to deal with. Beyond securing three guns and a good deal of ammunition and baggage, little effect had been produced upon the foe. Having suffered a sensible loss, the pursuing force halted and sent back to Azimghur for reinforcements. Remain-



ing at Azimghur with his main body to watch the proceedings of the rebels north of that place, and to direct the pursuit of Koer Singh, Lugard despatched on the following day Brigadier Douglas,¹ in command of a force including, amongst other troops, a wing of the 37th Foot, the 84th Foot, and a proportionate amount of artillery, to reinforce the pursuing column. On the 17th, Douglas attacked Koer Singh near Azimutghur and drove him from his position. The rebels retreated to Nagra, and thence to Secunderpoor, closely pursued. Douglas, on reaching Secunderpoor, ascertained the enemy's intention to cross the Ghogra. He therefore followed him up with unremitting energy, and eventually, on the 20th, came up with him and defeated him, dispersing his main body and capturing a brass 9-pounder gun, some ammunition-waggons, elephants, &c. To accomplish this, Douglas had marched nearly 120 miles in five days, the heat being intense, and the troops without the protection of their tents. Koer Singh now made for the Ganges. Cleverly evading two regiments of Madras cavalry posted at Bulliah to intercept him, he made for Sheopoor Ghat, where boats which he had had collected were in readiness for him. By the time Douglas reached that place, this wily chieftain had succeeded in transporting the greater portion of his force in safety to the right bank of the Ganges, whence he withdrew to his native jungles of Jugdeespoor. Some 200 men, the tail-end

¹ Now General Sir John Douglas, G.C.B.