



of the rebel force, a gun, and some elephants, were all that fell into Douglas's hands.

An effort to dislodge Koer Singh's force from Jugdeespoor ended in a serious discomfiture. In the hope of attacking the rebels before they could intrench themselves, some 150 men of the 35th Foot, 50 sailors of the Naval brigade, 150 of Rattray's Sikh police battalion, with two guns, proceeded into the jungle, where they encountered the enemy at daylight of the 23d April. The force appears to have got into difficulties on finding itself surrounded and fired upon. The order for retreat was sounded; a panic, which the officers vainly attempted to check, ensued; and in their flight, in which the guns were abandoned, the greater portion of the Europeans were killed or succumbed to sunstroke. The officer commanding, as also two other officers of the 35th, lost their lives.

The flames of insurrection which had thus been kindled afresh in Behar, necessitated the advance of Sir E. Lugard, in view of the initiation of operations on a serious scale in the district of Shahabad. The oldest and most valuable of the mid-Ganges provinces was threatened, and Calcutta itself was alarmed in consequence. The Bengal Government lost no time in forwarding a European regiment from Calcutta by bullock-train to Sasseram, whilst the detachments of the Shannon's Naval brigade on their way down country were detained at Shergotty. On the 25th April, Douglas crossed the Ganges, followed in the first days of May by Lugard, who, after securing



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Arrah, laid his plans for attacking the stronghold of Jugdeespoor.

In this and the subsequent operations in Behar, Colonel Corfield commanding at Sasseram, and Brigadier Christie in charge of the brigade at Dinapore, were directed to co-operate with Sir E. Lugard. Avoiding the difficulties of the jungle, Lugard skirted it with the view of approaching Jugdeespoor through the open country from the western side. The insurgents, in the belief that the direct route through the jungle, which had been followed by Major Vincent Eyre and on the recent occasion, would be again taken, had expended considerable time and labour on its defences. They discovered their mistake too late; and though they attempted to bar the passage between the two jungles by which Jugdeespoor is approached from the north-west, they were taken by surprise, and were speedily driven from the position, which they had not time to strengthen. They were followed up at once, many being killed in the pursuit, and Jugdeespoor was captured on the 9th May.

Rumours had already been rife of the death of Koer Singh, who, it was reported, had been wounded in one of the recent engagements. Now it was ascertained beyond doubt that he was dead. He had been wounded by a grape-shot in the wrist, and died shortly afterwards at Jugdeespoor. He was a remarkable man—not having been bred to warlike pursuits, for which, however, he possessed no inconsiderable

aptitude. He was advanced in years when he took the field in July of the previous year, and by his physical and mental energy, as well as by the extraordinary influence he exercised over his followers, proved himself to be one of the ablest leaders and most redoubtable foes, with whom the British power was called upon to measure its strength during the course of the revolt.

Lugard now followed up the rebels; and, with the co-operation of Corfield, he succeeded during the remainder of the month in defeating and dispersing their main body. On the 27th May the guns lost by the Arrah detachment were recaptured. These successes, however, were not obtained without great fatigue to the troops, who suffered much from the heat of the jungle. It was a difficult and harassing kind of warfare; for on the approach of our troops the insurgents broke up into small predatory bands, which committed great havoc in the districts through which they roamed. No longer formidable as a military body, they kept the province in a state of anarchy and confusion, giving no rest to the troops, many of whom fell victims to the deadly effects of exposure at this season.

The first week in June brought startling news from Gwalior. The main body of the mutineers who had fled from Calpee and were pursued by the flying column under Colonel Robertson, out-distanced that officer. Preceded by Tantia Topee, who made at once for Gwalior to intrigue with the Maharajah's



troops, they reached Morar, the cantonments of the old Gwalior contingent, situated in the immediate vicinity of Scindiah's capital. Though placed in a position of great embarrassment, the young Maharah remained steadfast to the British cause. With an inferior force he moved out from Gwalior and engaged the enemy at Morar on the 1st June. The successful endeavours of Tantia Topee to tamper with his troops became too evident at the beginning of the action. A large body of them went over to the rebels, leaving no alternative to Scindiah but to seek safety in flight. Attended by a few faithful followers, he struck the Dholpoor road, and made for Agra, which he reached two days later. Gwalior was taken possession of by the mutineers, and a native government avowedly hostile to British authority established.

On the receipt of this intelligence Sir Hugh Rose resumed his command, and made his preparations for an immediate advance upon Gwalior. He recalled his detachments; and organising his force in two brigades—one of which was placed under the command of Brigadier C. S. Stuart, Bombay army, the other under Brigadier R. Napier of the Bengal Engineers—availed himself of such reinforcements as could be spared to him from other quarters. Colonel Smith, commanding the Sipree brigade, was directed to move towards Gwalior without delay; whilst the column under Major Orr, advancing from the south, was to join it on the way. Maxwell and



Riddell were to co-operate with their respective columns in strengthening Rose's base and communications. Pushing his troops forward with as much celerity as their strength would admit of under the terrible heats of June, Rose, on the ninth day after leaving Calpee, reached a point distant a few miles from Morar. On the following day, the 16th, as soon as he had reconnoitred the position, he attacked the insurgents, who were expecting reinforcements from other quarters, and drove them out of the cantonments, following them up with a vigorous pursuit, in which they lost many of their numbers. The next day the Sipree column, under Smith, who had been joined on the march by Major Orr with his men of the Hyderabad contingent, forced the defile of Kotah-ke Serai, about five miles from Gwalior. The enemy made a stout defence. On this occasion the Ranee of Jhansi lost her life when endeavouring to escape. On the 18th, Rose, leaving a guard to hold the Morar cantonments, made a flank movement of some miles, and joined Smith and Orr, who in the meantime had obtained possession of some hills from which they had ousted Tantia Topee. On the following day Rose advanced with the united force and attacked the heights in front of the city, prior to a contemplated assault on the lofty hill-fort, placed on a rock, on the eastern base of which Gwalior is situated, and which forms its citadel. In face of a well-sustained fire of artillery, the assaulting columns carried the heights in gallant style, charging up to



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and capturing the enemy's guns, 27 in number. The struggle, though severe, was not of long duration. The rebels, seeing the ease with which the heights were won, lost heart, and fled panic-stricken across the plain. The cavalry were brought up in pursuit, whilst Rose advanced against the city. By the evening, Scindiah, who in the meantime had joined the force from Agra, found himself once more master of Gwalior. The fort was captured on the 20th by a party of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, in which daring exploit Lieutenant Rose, a gallant young officer, lost his life.

Scindiah being replaced on his throne, then began what Sir Colin described in a subsequent official record as "that hunt of the rebel leaders which was finally brought to a conclusion by the capture of Tantia Topee in April 1859."

Determined to give no breathing-time to the fugitives, Rose organised on the spur of the moment a flying column, composed of a troop of horse-artillery, a troop of the 14th Light Dragoons, a wing of the 3d Light Cavalry, a wing of the cavalry of the Hyderabad contingent, and three troops of Meade's horse—about 600 men, with 6 guns—which he placed under the command of Brigadier Robert Napier.

Shortly after dawn of the day following the capture of Gwalior, Napier reached Sunnowlee, twenty-four miles from that place, and soon afterwards hit upon the enemy at Jowra Alipore. He at once resolved to attack, notwithstanding the odds against



him. Observing a disposition on the part of the foe to withdraw, he executed a movement to his right against nine of their guns, with Captain Lightfoot's troop of horse-artillery, supported by the cavalry detachments. Lightfoot, after discharging two rounds, limbered up, and dashing forward at full speed drove the enemy from his guns. The mutineers, panic-stricken and demoralised, made no attempt at resistance, but dispersed, abandoning the

they had become so justly entitled. Their gallant commander, after issuing a feeling address to the force, repaired to Bombay with the view of recruiting his health, which had been sorely tried during the triumphant march he had accomplished through Central India.

Sir Colin left Futtehghur on the 5th June, having made the necessary arrangements for such troops as he could spare to support Sir Hugh Rose's advance



upon Gwalior, and having satisfied himself that matters were progressing favourably in Rohilecund and the Doab. During the progress of recent events the latter territory had remained undisturbed, save by one or two hostile irruptions of rebels in the month of May. On reaching Allahabad, Sir Colin took up his quarters in the house prepared for him by Lord Canning.

Before leaving Futtehghur, Sir Colin, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Cambridge on the 30th May, summed up the military situation: "I beg leave to repeat that a very difficult and perhaps dangerous task is still before this army, although the brilliant part of the struggle is probably at an end. Every day tends to show this more and more. As soon as the troops are recruited in health after the rains, the most extensive movements will have to take place for the subjugation of the various provinces through which our marches have lately been made. Bundelcund, where Sir H. Rose now is, and Oudh, will require very serious treatment. It will be no easy matter to find the natives required to swell the several columns which will be necessary to carry out the work of reduction and subjugation. The successful marches of Sir H. Rose and General Whitlock would not have been made if it had not been in the power of Sir R. Hamilton, the Governor-General's agent, to play off certain rajahs and chiefs against each other. By such means their communications and supplies were secured. Had I not been



aware that such would be the case, it would not have been in my power to recommend the very extensive combinations, the result of which has been attended with so much success. In Oudh the game is more difficult, because we have no friends or adherents in that province. But I take it that in Oudh, Central India, and Bundelcund, it will not suit our Government hereafter to admit of such a state of things as previously existed, and which has been found to be so dangerous on the first appearance of trouble. Thorough reduction has become a necessity in many quarters in which, before, we were content to exercise political influence. Such, I venture to submit to your Royal Highness, is what we must look for throughout all the wide provinces to which I have alluded. Before leaving this subject, I wish to bring most favourably to the notice of your Royal Highness the manner in which Major-Generals Sir H. Rose, Whitlock, and Roberts have carried out the duties assigned to them. The labours undergone by their respective divisions have been very great; and we have equal reason to be satisfied with the generals and the troops under their command.

“With regard to the future constitution of this army, it is, I regret, out of my power to say anything of consequence to your Royal Highness. The Government of the country is just beginning to move in this matter, and a set of queries has been forwarded to me for my consideration. But to make a fit reply to them, I stand in need of such information



as I can hardly obtain until I reach Allahabad and am released from active field-duty. Meanwhile, I am engaged in making the final arrangements for Rohilcund. After they are completed, I shall make my way with all speed to that place, so as to be near the Governor-General. I promise your Royal Highness to give my best attention to the question of relieving some of the corps which have suffered most; but for the next few months they must remain quiet, if the rebels will but permit them. Rest is what they all want. I confess also to a dread of parting with any of the old soldiers. The young men lately from England invariably throng the hospitals, and cannot take care of themselves."

On the 11th June, Sir Colin again wrote to the Duke of Cambridge: "Since I had the honour of addressing your Royal Highness, I have taken up my quarters at Allahabad, where I have had the pleasure of meeting the Governor-General. He, I am happy to say, has nearly recovered from a severe attack of fever. The seizure of Gwalior by the rebels who fled before Sir H. Rose is a very serious affair, and may be the cause of great trouble hereafter, not in the immediate locality only, but also in the wide Mahratta countries which stretch from thence into the very heart of the Bombay Presidency. As soon as the news reached me, I anticipated the orders of Government, and sent instant orders for the whole force which had been engaged at Calpee to march on Gwalior. A brigade has been organised to co-oper-



ate from Dholpoor on the Chumbul, which is to the north, while another has been ordered to advance from Sipree, which is to the south of Gwalior. Then Sir H. Rose will find himself at the head of a far stronger body of troops than he has yet had under his orders. I hardly expect that the resistance he will meet with at Gwalior will be really serious; but what I am afraid of is, that the rebel leaders will have been so much enriched by the plunder of Gwalior, that they will be supplied with the means of carrying on the war for an almost indefinite period in the manner most annoying to us, by which they wear down our troops, while they constantly elude our grasp. In Behar we have an instance of the same sort. Sir E. Lugard has been most actively employed for the last six weeks in chasing considerable bodies of rebels; but just when he fancies they are utterly broken and dispersed, he hears of them fifty miles off, and of their threatening such cities as Benares and Ghazepoor. In short, we are fairly engaged in the contest over an immense surface, of the extreme likelihood of which I ventured to warn your Royal Highness some months ago, when it was determined to undertake the siege of Lucknow. But it is impossible to multiply the troops sufficiently to meet the calls from all sides, more especially at a time when rest has become an imperative necessity for a large portion of them. Behar, however, on one side, and Gwalior on the other, admit of no temporising, and we are obliged to push the troops



almost beyond the limits of their endurance to meet the urgency of the necessity. . . .

"Before closing this letter, I may mention that Oudh remains in about the same state as when I last wrote. If there be a difference, it is that the rebels have rather closed in on the capital. We must remain on the defensive in that country for some months, till the return of the cool weather. There has been much sickness among the troops during the last month, but I am happy to say there is some improvement in this respect."

Just at this period the mails conveying the replies to the despatches announcing the conquest of Lucknow reached the headquarters of the army. With them also came the Ministerial acknowledgment of Sir Colin's services, and the announcement of the rewards which the Government proposed to confer on him. When Parliament reassembled in February, Lord Derby, the then leader of the Opposition, whilst taking occasion to refer to the services of the army in India, had remarked that it was "due to the survivors in the contest, and to the House of Lords, to take the earliest opportunity of expressing its deep sense of the great exertions, the signal valour, the happy mixture of exemplary prudence and distinguished talent and military skill, which have characterised the victories of the gallant Sir Colin Campbell, who," he added, "it is not too much to say, has vindicated, if indeed he has not raised, the high reputation which he had previously

earned." An early opportunity was subsequently taken by the Government to carry through both Houses a vote of thanks, which was duly notified to all concerned.

In the meantime the Government had changed hands, Lord Palmerston being succeeded by Lord Derby as First Minister of the Crown. Accordingly, it devolved upon the latter statesman to take the Queen's commands regarding the form in which her Majesty considered it became the country to mark its sense of Sir Colin's services.

"DOWNING STREET, *May 3, 1858.*

"SIR,—I have the highest gratification in being honoured with the Queen's commands to signify to you her Majesty's unqualified approval of the distinguished services which you have rendered to her Majesty and to the country as Commander-in-chief of the armies in India. Sanguine as were the hopes which her Majesty had entertained of the results which might be expected from your appointment to that high command, you have more than realised them all : and the judicious manner in which you have formed your plans of operation ; the steadiness, patience, and perseverance with which you have carried them out ; the care which you have at all times taken not unnecessarily to throw away the lives of your troops, not less than the energy and vigour with which, at the right time, you have known how to strike the decisive blow, and the



determination with which it has been struck,—have merited and have received her Majesty's most cordial approval. Your crowning success in the final capture of Lucknow, it is hoped, may be looked upon as having broken down the most formidable remnant of organised military opposition; and her Majesty deems the present a fitting moment for marking her high sense of your eminent and brilliant services by raising you to the dignity of a peer of the United Kingdom, by such title as you may think it proper to assume. Until I receive the intimation of your own wishes on this subject, I shall be unable to give directions for the preparation of your patent, which shall be done as soon as I hear from you. In the meantime, permit me to add to the gracious commands with which I have been honoured, the far less important but very sincere tribute of my own high admiration, my congratulation on your well-merited honours, and the expression of my satisfaction at being the medium of a communication which, I hope, will be as gratifying to yourself as I am sure it will be to the country at large, and especially to the gallant army which has had the honour of serving under your orders. To prevent any delay with respect to fixing the title which you may wish to assume, I may as well remind you that there is already a Lord Campbell in the House of Peers in the person of the Lord Chief-Justice.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

DERBY.

"General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B."



No less flattering were the encomiums passed upon him by the Duke of Cambridge, to whose unfailing support Sir Colin was so much indebted, and to which in almost every one of his letters he referred in terms of profound gratitude. In a letter of the 2d April, written upon the intelligence of the advance upon Lucknow being received in England, his Royal Highness comments upon the combinations which had produced this result, and adds: "It is to you that the whole of this success is owing; and I cannot too highly compliment you on your able conduct of these great operations, which certainly rank amongst the greatest combinations in war in our day. Indeed, my dear friend, but for your talent, ability, and discretion, I know not what would have happened; and England must indeed be proud of possessing so accomplished a commander. As for myself, you are the comfort of my life; and there is nothing that I can say which can sufficiently express my admiration of your character, and of all you have done for the army and for the country."

"HORSE GUARDS, *May 10, 1858.*

"MY DEAR COLIN CAMPBELL, — Your letters of March 26th and 27th have reached me by the last mail, enclosing the interesting despatch of March 22d, which gives a full account of the whole of your proceedings in the capture of Lucknow. It is a most able despatch, giving a clear and most valuable



account of the whole course of events, and doing full justice to all the parties engaged; and I congratulate you on the success of this magnificent operation, which has been planned and executed with that ability, talent, and sound judgment for which the whole of your proceedings have been so conspicuous from the day on which you first assumed the command of the armies of India. Doubtless you have been ably seconded by your subordinates, and have to thank the gallantry and devotedness of the troops for the execution of the operations intrusted to them to carry out; but still the merit of the undertaking rests with you, and to you must be awarded that honour and those rewards which you have so nobly and so gloriously acquired for yourself and your army. . . .

“Sir Hugh Rose seems to me to have conducted his operations against Jhansi with great energy and talent; and his routing so large a force of rebels without giving up the siege of the place, upon which he was at that moment engaged, evinces a great amount of coolness and military talent, which I rejoice to see evinced in that officer, of whose talents I had always formed a high opinion. The taking of Kotah, again, by General Roberts, is an event of much importance to our position in Central India; and I trust that that very distracted portion of our possessions in the East may now be restored to some sort of order and tranquillity. . . .

“We have at length received your official re-



commendations, and I am happy to say that your wishes have been forestalled in almost every instance. Indeed we have gone, if anything, beyond what you have wished. Such promotions and honours as have not already been given shall at once be attended to.

“And now as regards yourself and the honours to be conferred on you. As a matter of course, I shall, and indeed have, recommended that your rank as full general should at once be confirmed; and I am glad to find that the Government have rightly decided to confer a peerage upon you, my dear and valued friend. I congratulate you upon this well-earned honour, and I congratulate the Peerage on being permitted to take up amongst its members so great and distinguished an ornament as yourself. But as to the title, I think, if I were you, I should wish to be called up by the title of ‘Lord Clyde of Lucknow.’ I think it would be a charming title, associated with the part of Scotland from whence you sprung, and with the great operation in the East in which you have been engaged. If, therefore, you have not already replied to Lord Derby’s communication on the subject, I hope you will do so now in the sense stated above. There are a thousand other subjects that crowd themselves on my mind, and which I could wish to write to you about; but they are not so pressing, and so to-day I will not inflict a longer letter upon you. I hear that one of my letters to you was found in the Kaiser Bagh. Is

this true? In that case I fear that several letters must have missed you. I think I wrote by almost every mail.—I remain, my dear friend, your most sincere friend,
GEORGE."

Colin Campbell replied to Lord Derby as follows:—

"ALLAHABAD, *June 16, 1858.*

"MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's letter, in which you announce to me the most gracious commands of her Majesty the Queen for my elevation to the Peerage.

"I beg the great favour of your lordship to place me at the feet of her Majesty, and to tender the expression of my profound devotion to the Queen, and of my gratitude for the extraordinary favour with which her Majesty has been pleased to regard my humble services.

"I trust your lordship will accept my sincere thanks for the very flattering and kind terms in which you have announced her Majesty's most gracious intentions. I wish I could believe that my services to the State were worthy of such high encomium.

"In answer to your lordship's inquiry as to my future title, I would ask to suggest that it should be 'Clyde.'—I have the honour to be, my lord, your most faithful and obedient servant,

"C. CAMPBELL, General."



On the previous day he had addressed the Duke of Cambridge :—

“It is with no ordinary feelings of gratitude and devotion that I have the honour to reply to your Royal Highness’s most kind and flattering letter of the 10th May, written after the Lucknow despatches had been received. The favour of her Majesty is indeed most precious to me. I have been singled out for honour in a manner which never entered my imagination, and I have been distinguished by your Royal Highness’s most friendly regard; while my duties have been lightened by the kindest countenance and protection from the moment her Majesty was graciously pleased to nominate me to the command I have the honour to hold. Few men have been so favoured, and I feel very strongly how much I owe to your Royal Highness.

“Since I wrote, no information of importance has been received from Gwalior. Sir Hugh Rose expected to have completed his concentration by the 19th instant, and I trust that a very few days will then suffice to replace our ally Scindiah in possession of his capital.

“I am sorry to say that the columns, which have been operating during the last six weeks, have suffered much—not more than was to be expected perhaps, but still in a manner to justify all our objections to hot-weather campaigns. With the exception of the force under Sir Hugh Rose, and a movable column in Oudh, which is in constant motion, the



regiments are now for the most part under cover. Sir Hope Grant had a very successful action on the 13th instant at Nawabgunj, to the east of Lucknow, and took six guns. It is hoped that this will quiet the neighbourhood of that city for some time to come. General Whitlock's operations in the neighbourhood of Bandah have been attended with much success. Sir E. Lugard has driven the rebels from the jungle of Jugdeespoor. They are still very troublesome, and cause much alarm. I am happy to say that Lord Canning has no present intention of quitting his Government. . . .

"In accordance with the gracious suggestion of your Royal Highness, I have adopted the title of Clyde. I have thought it, on the whole, advisable not to add the word 'Lucknow,' as the baronetcy of the late Sir Henry Havelock was distinguished in that manner. It might be unbecoming in me to trench, as it were, on the title of that very distinguished officer."

Strange as it may appear, Sir Colin, though conscious that he had performed good service to the State, and extremely grateful for the condescension shown him by his Sovereign and her Ministers, at first shrank from the proffered honour. This was owing to his innate modesty of character, which prompted him to retire within himself when it became a question of his own exaltation. He was, as Sir William Mansfield recorded in a letter written at this time to Sir Hope Grant, "much disposed to run



restive at being put into such strange harness ; but he is now reconciled, and, I think, very much pleased.”¹

The success of Sir Hope Grant, to which Sir Colin alludes in his letter to the Duke of Cambridge, deserves mention ; for it was a spirited affair, and illustrates forcibly the difficulties, which Sir Colin anticipated would arise in Oudh, in consequence of Lord Canning’s preference to postpone the reduction of that province, until Rohilcund had been wrested from the grasp of the rebels. As an immediate result of the defection of Scindiah’s troops, a gathering of rebels took place at Nawabgunj, some eighteen miles from Lucknow on the Fyzabad road. This place is not to be confounded with that of the same name on the Cawnpore road, against which Hope Grant had operated in the month of April, and where a body of British troops were now posted. Grant, collecting a force consisting of the 2d and 3d battalions Rifle brigade, the 5th Punjab Infantry, a detachment of Engineers and Sappers, the 7th Hussars, two squadrons of the 2d Dragoon Guards, Hodson’s horse (commanded by Daly), 150 Wales’s horse, 250 of the mounted police corps, Mackinnon’s troop of horse-artillery, and Gibbon’s and Carleton’s light field-batteries, left Lucknow for Chinhut on the night of the 12th June. At Chinhut he left his baggage and supplies under charge of Colonel Purnell, who commanded a force at that place. Then pushing forward along the road to Nawabgunj, he made for a bridge across

¹ ‘Incidents in the Sepoy War.’



a nullah, so as to occupy the interval between the rebel force and the jungle. The bridge and ford were commanded by a few guns, which were soon silenced by the 9-pounders, thus enabling the passage to be effected. As soon, however, as the column had crossed, a pitched battle ensued, which lasted for three hours, the enemy attacking simultaneously the front, rear, and flanks of Grant's force with great spirit and pertinacity. In their ranks were many Ghazees, who fought with great determination. Even with the ample force at his disposal, Hope Grant had for some time enough to do to hold his own. Bringing up a battery, he caused four of its guns to open fire on a body of the enemy who had brought two guns into the plain in rear of the British column, and with them were causing great annoyance. The discharges of grape at 500 yards' distance told with great effect, and mowed down numbers of these desperadoes, who defiantly hoisted two green standards, and appeared determined to sacrifice their lives at their guns. They were finally dislodged by two companies of the Rifle brigade, and their discomfiture was completed by two squadrons of the 7th Hussars, led by Sir William Russell, sweeping through them and destroying every one of them. The defeat of the enemy was secured. Their force was broken up, and they fled, leaving some 500 or 600 dead on the field, many wounded, and six guns—the trophies of this desperately contested struggle. Hope Grant's loss in fair fight did not exceed 67 killed and



wounded ; but, as usual, the sun proved to be the European soldier's worst enemy, upwards of 30 men having succumbed to sunstroke, whilst many more were compelled to seek relief in hospital.

“To H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

“ALLAHABAD, 24th June 1858.

“The telegraph will have informed your Royal Highness of the success attendant on Sir H. Rose's advance on Gwalior, which is a subject of great congratulation. The result has been what I ventured to predict—the capture of Gwalior being easily effected. Sir H. Rose deserves the greatest credit for the manner in which he has pushed forward his troops and beaten the enemy ; and the subsequent pursuit by Brigadier-General Napier, C.B., in which the enemy lost all his remaining guns, is a brilliant sequel. Brigadier-General Napier is still in pursuit, and it was believed, according to the advices last received, would again come up with the fugitives at Jubulgurh. It is to be hoped he may have such good fortune. I trust that these successes may cause the fear of serious Mahratta danger to cease. In the meantime we are much troubled in the disturbed districts of Behar. The troops under Sir E. Lugard have been put absolutely *hors de combat* in consequence of the fatigues they have undergone. All the senior officers of his force, with the exception of two or three, and, I grieve to say, including himself, have been obliged to leave on



account of ill health ; consequently I have great difficulty in finding officers to conduct the operations. Sir E. Lugard is a most serious loss. The next in seniority — Brigadier Douglas, H.M.'s 79th — will command in the districts referred to.

“I have thought it advisable not to interfere with the recommendations of Generals Sir H. Rose, Roberts, and Whitlock for promotions and rewards as shown in their despatches, on account of the great services rendered in Central India ; and I would humbly solicit your Royal Highness's favourable consideration of them. It is impossible for troops to have endured more, or to have done better, than the columns under these officers.”

“To SIR HUGH ROSE.

“ALLAHABAD, 25th June 1858.

“Your telegram of this morning, containing various queries, will be answered officially. But I may as well say that you can go to Poonah and recruit yourself as you choose. This has been telegraphed to you. I must now congratulate you most heartily on your last very successful struggle for the repossession of Gwalior, and particularly on the recapture of all Scindiah's guns. I am in hopes that this *coup* will effectually prevent the danger of any rising in the Mahratta country, which would have been very serious. Kotah, I believe, was left with many guns and much ammunition. I trust there is no chance of the fugitives seizing it. Brigadier Napier will



take charge of Gwalior and Jhansi when you go. I hope to hear that you have borne the fatigue of your journey back without much difficulty, and that the fine climate of Poonah will effectually set you up for any further exertion you may be called upon to make in the winter."

"TO GENERAL WHITLOCK.

"ALLAHABAD, 25th June 1858.

"I send you a copy in MS. of a general order,¹ which has gone down to Calcutta to be printed.

¹ "ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
CALCUTTA, 26th June.

"The Commander-in-chief congratulates Major-General Sir Hugh Rose very heartily on the successful result of his rapid advance on Gwalior.

"The restoration of the Maharajah Scindiah to his capital by the forces under the command of the Major-General is a happy termination of the brilliant campaign through which the Central India field-force has passed.

"That campaign has been illustrated by many engagements in the open field,—by the relief of Saugor, the capture of Ratgurrh, Shahgurrh, and Chandairee; by the memorable siege of Jhansi, by the fall of Calpee, and lastly, by the occupation of Gwalior.

"H.E. again offers his hearty thanks and congratulations to Major-General Sir Hugh Rose and the gallant troops under his command.

"It must not be forgotten that the advance of the Central India field-force formed part of a large combination, and was rendered possible by the movement of the Bombay army into Rajpootana on the one side, and of Major-General Whitlock of the Madras army on the other, and by the support they respectively gave to Major-General Sir H. Rose as he moved onwards in obedience to his instructions.

"The two Major-Generals have well sustained the honour of their Presidencies.

"The siege of Kotah and the action of Bandah take rank amongst the best achievements of the war.

"The Commander-in-chief offers his best thanks to Major-General



You, of course, have already received the general order which I published when I thought the campaign was over—that is, just before the outbreak at Gwalior occurred. The MS. which I send herewith refers entirely to yourself, Sir H. Rose, General Roberts, and the troops which have moved through Central India, and which have done such good service wherever they appeared. When I left Rohilcund, I was in hopes that on reaching Cawnpore I might be able to cross over to the south of the Jumna, and that possibly I might have had the pleasure of seeing you to congratulate you personally on your success, and to thank you for the care and skill you have shown, as well as for your critical attention to the orders which I thought it necessary to send to you. But I had not time. I was compelled to hurry down here. With respect to your future position in regard to our ultimate proceedings after the rains, I have to propose that you should, if you can do so, take charge of Calpee after the return of the treasure-escort from the banks of the Jumna, so as to release H.M.'s 5th Fusiliers, which is wanted for service in the district of Behar, where very serious disturbances are occurring. I hope you will find it possible to arrange this."

Amongst other congratulatory letters which had

Roberts, to Major-General Whitlock, and the various corps under their command. He is happy in welcoming them to the Presidency of Bengal."



reached Sir Colin on his arrival at Allahabad, was one from Lord Ellenborough, written shortly before that Minister's resignation of the Presidency of the Board of Control. It expatiated in warm terms on the triumphant results of Colin Campbell's operations, and dwelt forcibly on the care he had manifested in economising the life of his troops. To this communication Sir Colin replied on the 20th June:—

“I ought to have answered your very kind note sooner; but in truth, the moment I got back from Rohilcund to the Trunk Road, I found a vast quantity of business ready for me, and the unlucky outbreak at Gwalior suddenly came on my hands. That matter is now happily settled. Since I got your note, I have been grieved at the intelligence that your lordship has thought it necessary to go out of office. This will be a great loss to the country, and to me individually. I have to thank you for your very flattering remarks on my proposed elevation to the Peerage, which is a position quite beyond anything I could ever have expected, and a reward which far exceeds the value of any service I can have rendered. I am to be Lord Clyde. With respect to the reliefs your lordship speaks of, my attention has been turned towards the subject; but as yet I have been unable to settle anything positive. I confess the loss of sound, old, seasoned regiments will be very inconvenient; and from the state of this country, it is too clear to me that our European troops here ought



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rather to be increased in number than diminished. The inroads made on their efficiency by the late hot-weather campaign we have been compelled to make, have been very considerable indeed. The Indian papers go on buzzing and talking a great deal of trash; and I see the 'Times' correspondent has got up a story about the facility with which we might have taken Lucknow at the time of the relief of the garrison, quite forgetting that we had no provisions, and that we should have been besieged there, besides leaving Cawnpore at the mercy of the Calpee troops, which could have driven General Windham over the Ganges, and come up to assist in besieging me in Lucknow with their 40 guns. Another great complaint is, that the garrison of Lucknow was allowed to escape. In fact, I did all I possibly could do to prevent them—for I sent a very large force of cavalry and horse-artillery, with three good battalions of infantry, the night before, with orders to go to the Moosa Bagh, for the very purpose of cutting off the fugitives; but unluckily, from difficulties of the ground, and perhaps from some misconception on the part of the commanding officer, these troops never appeared, and were quite useless. On looking back, in place of complaining that more has not been done, it would rather seem wonderful that European troops could have made the exertions we have seen, and should have in a few months actually seized and occupied every stronghold of the enemy in Central India and the N.W. Provinces, besides holding



Lucknow with a strong garrison. The troubles in Behar are very annoying. There are two regiments of Sikhs in movement towards this district, who will reach it in about three weeks. I hope by degrees the wandering parties of rebels who are devastating these parts will be dispersed by these Sikhs—who are the only troops we have capable of marching at this season—and that by the return of the cool weather there will remain nothing to accomplish except the conquest of Oudh, which country must be penetrated and traversed in every direction by several strong columns competent to hold and occupy, as well as to pass through the province. Steps are now in progress to endeavour to break up the confederacy of the chieftains in Oudh; and I trust, if they are once satisfied, that their cases will receive every fair and just consideration, that we may persuade some of the influential leaders to make submission. Lugard's division, which has been acting in Behar, has completely broken down. General, officers, and men are all come to a stand-still, and several obliged to invalid, including among the latter Lugard himself."

Thus it will be seen that Sir Colin's anticipations of the result of the policy adopted by Lord Canning after the fall of Lucknow, had, as regards the military situation, been literally verified. To quote his own words from the minute above referred to:¹ "Independent of the insurrection of Oudh, we had, in consequence of the dispersion of the rebels from

¹ *Vide ante*, p. 190.



Lucknow and from Calpee, three campaigns on our hands at once, not one of which could be trifled with. Gwalior, the territory of our fast and almost only ally, could not wait a moment. From Behar, our oldest and most valuable provinces were threatened; Calcutta itself was much alarmed in consequence. There was a guerilla war in Goruckpoor. In Bundelcund our two or three garrisons only were safe; and the majority of chiefs in that wild province were in arms against us. The Governor-General was residing at Allahabad, and could hear from his own house the sound of the guns in occasional skirmishes, just across the Ganges, on the borders of Oudh. So hard were our resources pressed, that, when I joined him in the middle of June from Futtebghur, there was but a slender garrison of 300 British soldiers in the fort of Allahabad, at that time the centre of Government, as well as of the grand circle of military operations. . . .

With the capture of Gwalior and the occupation of Rohileund, "two great causes of anxiety had been removed, which had so weighed on me in January 1858, when the Governor-General decided on the siege of Lucknow in preference to other operations, which might, in my judgment, have saved Scindiah's catastrophe, as well as the harassing war in Behar. In the meantime, the hot-weather campaign proceeded in every direction; and if certain points had been won and occupied at vast intervals from one another, the insurrection was still general

and violent, although its aim and purpose were rapidly disappearing, and its original cause was entirely lost sight of. Sir Hugh Rose's march through Central India, Sir E. Lugard's through Oudh into Behar, General Walpole's through that province into Rohilcund, Sir Hope Grant's in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, General Whitlock's from Saugor to Bandah in Bundelcund, had all been entirely successful as marches, but nothing more. The whole population was armed and hostile, and closed round the rear of each column like the sea in a ship's wake. It was the constant hunting, the never-ceasing marching and combination of different columns, the working of them all at the same time in spite of weather, sickness, and fatigue in all seasons, which finally reduced the country. Still, the most harassing part of the campaign was in store for us; although, owing to the aspect now assumed by the contest, there was no longer the possibility of achieving those exploits by which great credit is won by individual commanders in the public eye."

The district of Goruckpoor, subsequently to the siege of Lucknow, had remained in a disturbed condition, causing anxiety to the British authorities, and giving constant employment to the small force under Colonel Rowcroft.

Owing to the paucity of troops in this district, little else than demonstrations to overawe the rebels could at this time be effected. The setting in of the rains, however, and the rising of the Ghogra, would,



it was hoped, operate in some measure to damp the ardour of the insurgents ; whilst the retrograde movement of the Goorkhas exercised, in a slight degree, a tranquillising influence upon them. These troops had remained at Goruckpoor some time, resuming their march in the third week of May ; and finally, after much delay and difficulty, owing to the enormous amount of carriage which accompanied them, they crossed the river Gunduk and re-entered Nepaul in the first days of June. An attempt made at this period by the Begum of Oudh to shake Jung Baha-door in his fidelity to the British Government failed, though there was little reason to doubt that the Nepaulese chieftain returned to his country disappointed with the result of the campaign, as far as he was concerned.

In Behar matters had not improved, notwithstanding the energy displayed by Sir E. Lugard in intersecting the jungle with roads, and pressing the rebels. Though they were for the moment dispersed, their chiefs stuck to the jungle, where, in a short space of time, they rallied round them formidable bands, which, under the energetic leadership of Ummer Singh, the brother of Koer Singh, carried fire and sword into the districts through which they roamed. The pursuit of these marauders was carried on without intermission, in spite of all difficulties, till at length Lugard, succumbing to sickness and fatigue, resigned the command, and was succeeded in the third week of June by Brigadier Douglas, on



whom devolved the difficult and embarrassing duty of protecting the disturbed districts of Behar, extending, on either side of the Ganges, from Dinapore to Ghazeepeer, and through which the Great Trunk Road runs. The strength of the rebels was broken; but until the province could be occupied in sufficient force, the task of hunting these predatory bands, and keeping open the great line of communication which traversed it, entailed an amount of fatigue and exposure on the part of the troops, which could only be justified by the necessities of the moment.

In acknowledging Sir Colin's letter from Bareilly giving an account of that action, the Duke of Cambridge, in a letter of July 8th, expresses his anxiety regarding the future. "Not as regards the enemy," he remarks, "for they are humbled, and will doubtless be subdued, however much of trouble they may yet give you, but as regards the health of our gallant and noble troops, which are beginning to suffer severely from the effects of climate, the sun, and perpetual hard work. You know that from the first I have been looking forward with much uneasiness to this period, and always dreaded your not getting into summer quarters before the heat of summer set in. How right you were in this respect in advising strongly not to attempt too much at the same time, and how constantly you objected to undertaking a fresh operation when a former one had not been in your opinion sufficiently completed! . . . I look with confidence to your resisting effectually any

further attempts to oblige you to keep the troops longer in the field, and that you will insist on housing the men as far as possible, and in the best possible manner, at each station at which they may be posted at the present moment. As regards yourself, my dear excellent friend, I must again remind you that we cannot spare so valuable a Commander-in-chief as you are, and I have a great mind to be very angry with you for exposing yourself so constantly and so unnecessarily, as I am afraid you have been during the recent operations. It is really too bad of you to disregard my injunctions in this respect, and I must remind you of the strong expressions of her Majesty's anxiety in reference to this subject."

The following letters of the 9th and 24th July from Sir Colin to the Duke of Cambridge, set forth the condition of affairs during that month:—

"ALLAHABAD, 9th July 1858.

"I have the honour to address your Royal Highness on the disposition of the forces in this country, and what may be in store for the troops in the ensuing cold season. I am happy to be able to say that nearly all the regiments in the service of her Majesty and the Honourable Company are now enjoying rest after their long campaigns. The temporary barracks which were constructed at the old stations are for the most part occupied, and the troops in Rohilcund are nearly housed. The mov-



able columns in Oudh remain of necessity under canvas; but measures have been taken to secure dry flooring for the tents. The brigades so situated are very healthy—indeed far more so than those still located in the city of Lucknow. I must not disguise from your Royal Highness that, although it has been in my power to canton the troops for the season, we have matter for much serious consideration in the state of the country. Your Royal Highness will have remarked in my previous letters, that in the provinces of Oudh and Bundelcund the mere march of troops is unattended by any real and substantial results. We beat the enemy in the open field with the utmost ease—we take his guns; he appears utterly routed. A fortnight afterwards we again hear of the reassemblage of rebels at another point—perhaps at three or four points—while our movable columns have marched away to meet danger in another quarter. At present the people of Oudh are more tranquil than they have been for a long time. Of the provinces which have been the scene of war during the last six months, the only one which can be said to be occupied really in a military manner is Rohilcund. The consequence is, that authority there is quite restored, and we have no fears of seeing it again disturbed. The area of that province is small, and the people are well disposed. But two brigades were necessary for its military occupation. Oudh, on the other hand, is very extensive, and its population is most hostile. What can be done in



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Rohileund by two brigades will assuredly require at least six in Oudh, independent of the garrison of Lucknow. I am now very earnestly engaged in seeing if means can be found for two or three brigades to operate in Oudh in the month of October. More I cannot hope to make available. With the affairs of Bundelcund I am not so well acquainted ; but they are to a certain degree in the same condition as those of Oudh, though not so bad, in consequence of the presence of numerous friendly rajahs, who not only facilitate the progress of the troops and provide them with supplies, but actually on occasions turn out to fight. But in Bundelcund, Rajpootana, and Central India generally, we have not troops enough to insure the collection of the revenue and a ready allegiance to our rule. I conceive it will be necessary to strengthen the hands of the commanders who are engaged in the restoration of the civil authority. From Benares, right down the line of the Ganges, it has become necessary to reinforce every post. The old provinces lying contiguous to that river give much alarm to the magistrates, and a spirited partisan war has been carried on for the last two months in Behar, on both sides of the Ganges, which, of all struggles, is the most difficult to cope with. The enemy eludes the grasp of the troops, moves in very small bodies, and keeps whole districts in great alarm. The people who show their duty to us are treated with the utmost barbarity and cruelty, and there is nothing left to us



but to form continuous chains of posts, which demand very considerable numbers of men.

“Such is the picture I have deemed it my duty to lay before your Royal Highness. There is nothing in it which we have not a right to expect; but there is sufficient to enable us to see that the troops will be again very busily employed as soon as it is prudent to put them in movement. That will be, I hope, in the first week in October.”

“ALLAHABAD, 24th July 1858.

“I have not much to report since I had the honour of addressing your Royal Highness. The partisan war in Behar still continues, and I am engaged in adding to the troops already employed in that province. A system of posts is in the course of completion, which will, I trust, eventually have the effect of bridling the whole country. Brigadier Douglas, C.B., who has been intrusted with the charge of the disturbed districts, displays much activity and judgment, and has received my entire approval for the dispositions he has as yet been able to make towards carrying out his instructions. But to reduce to quiet, from a state of chronic insurrection, such a wide province, over the whole expanse of which very numerous small bodies of desperate disbanded soldiery are moving, must be an affair of time.

“These roving mutineers declare themselves that they are desperate, and that they have no choice but



to pursue the course of plundering in which they are now engaged. One lately-taken prisoner gave expression to such sentiments. He said, 'We must cling together; for when we go to our homes, we are hunted down and hanged. We have no choice.' The unhappy man only spoke the truth. A very grave question is contained in the moral of this anecdote. We may be able to coerce Behar without the evil spreading, and I hope we shall; but, on the other hand, there is very great danger that such a result may be beyond our power, unless some measures be taken towards a general amnesty, under which the disbanded sepoys may be allowed to seek their homes without fear of molestation. This is, of course, the business of Government, and does not belong to me. But it appears to me, that if these wretched criminals be not reassured, guilty though they be, it will be impossible to predict any term to the general struggle, which has already assumed formidable proportions in a very wide province, and may be extended indefinitely—viz., wherever the mutineers may be driven to carry fire and sword with them. It therefore seems to be not merely a question of clemency and mercy, but of policy, as regards the cessation of this war. Now, if it were desirable, we cannot look for extermination of the entire remnant of the sepoy army. According to the terms on which we are now with that remnant, they look for nothing else than extermination, and we propose nothing else. What, then, can be the sequel



but a most protracted contest, in which vast sections of the population will take part against us under the disbanded sepoys? I may tell your Royal Highness that the mind of the Governor-General is much preoccupied with this most puzzling question, and the many practical difficulties with which it is surrounded."



CHAPTER XVIII.

ORGANISATION OF POLICE—SIR COLIN WAITS TO COMMENCE OPERATIONS ON A LARGE SCALE—HOPE GRANT RELIEVES MAUN SINGH—SIR COLIN'S REPORT TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—COMMANDS IN CENTRAL INDIA—PURSUIT OF TANTIA TOPEE—MAUN SINGH—BUNDELKUND—DEMAND FOR MORE TROOPS—GENERAL ORDER REGARDING INTERIOR ECONOMY OF REGIMENTS—SIR F. CURRIE ANNOUNCES GRANT OF ANNUITY TO ACCOMPANY PEERAGE—LORD DERBY UNABLE TO ALTER TITLE—CONGRATULATIONS FROM SIR J. LAWRENCE—LETTER TO SIR JAMES OUTRAM—REPLY—CONGRATULATIONS FROM SIR PATRICK GRANT—REINFORCEMENTS—NOTIFICATION OF APPROACHING CAMPAIGN TO THE COMMISSARY-GENERAL—SUMMARY OF MEASURES—MOVEMENTS OF COLUMNS—BEHAR—LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—PLAN OF CAMPAIGN—PROCLAMATION ANNOUNCING GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BY THE CROWN—DISCRETIONARY POWER VESTED IN LORD CLYDE—LORD CLYDE JOINS HIS CAMP—DISPOSITION OF TROOPS—LALL MADHO SUMMONED.

FOR some time past Sir Colin had been directing his attention to the organisation of native levies of horse and foot, which he intended should, to a certain extent, supply the deficiency caused by the disappearance of the native army during the course of the revolt. In Oudh, under the superintendence of Captain Bruce, the former head of the intelligence department, a body of native military police was



in process of formation ; and during the month of July, that indefatigable officer had reported that he had 5000 men ready for employment. These levies, after attaining a sufficient amount of elementary instruction, were destined to assist the regular troops in the final subjugation of the province. As the columns advanced through the country, defeating the enemy in the field and ejecting him from his strongholds, these auxiliaries were to occupy the positions which had been won, and were to support the civil authority in the maintenance of order. Being satisfied of the "military safety" of the troops engaged in Oudh, Goruckpoor, and Behar, Central India, the Doab, and Rohileund, Sir Colin made up his mind not to endanger the health of the regiments employed in Oudh and Behar until he was enabled "to move them on a general plan and with one common object." His design, therefore, was to wait until his preparations were complete ; and then, in his own words, "to break on the rebels simultaneously in each province, to leave them no loopholes for escape, and to prevent their travelling from one district to another, and so prolonging a miserable guerilla war. "I resisted," he adds, in the memorandum already quoted from, "much importunity from the civil servants, being confident that my resolution was right, in consequence of my experience of the inutility of isolated marches, as regarded the subjugation of the country and the reduction of rebellion. Through evil report, therefore, and good



report, this leading plan was steadily adhered to; while to meet particular contingencies which, in my judgment, did not admit of delay, certain detachments, both in Oudh and Behar, were put in motion."

The main cause of anxiety regarding the latter province arose from the necessity of keeping open the communication with Calcutta.

In Oudh, the position of Maun Singh, an influential *talookdar* or landowner, had become so serious as to render it imperative to intervene in his behalf. His allegiance for a long time had been more than doubtful; but seeing the tide beginning to turn in our favour, he had, in the month of June, declared for the British. The rebels, jealous of his intimate relations with our Government, had besieged him in his fort of Shahgunj, near Fyzabad. He had repulsed them on several occasions; but being hard pressed and short of provisions, he had appealed for assistance. To extricate him from his difficulty had become a point of honour and policy with the British Government, as he was a man of great territorial possessions, and exerted much influence in his part of the province. Sir Colin determined to relieve him, notwithstanding the rains were not yet over, and, at the same time, took the opportunity of beginning the occupation of Oudh, in accordance with the plan he intended carrying out on a large scale, as soon as he found himself in a position to take the field during the ensuing cold season. On the 22d July, Hope Grant left Nawabgunj, twenty



miles N.E. of Lucknow, with the force which had garrisoned that post since its occupation in May. Some heavy guns accompanied it, and he had discretionary power to advance according to the state of the weather. The movement produced the intended effect. The rebels decamped on Grant approaching Fyzabad, and broke up into several bodies, two of which united again in the vicinity of Sultanpoor. Grant took undisputed possession of Fyzabad on the 29th, and, as a consequence, Maun Singh was relieved from his beleaguerment. On the 8th August, Sir Colin informed the Duke of Cambridge of the result of Hope Grant's advance: "The movement I had the honour to report to your Royal Highness as about to be made upon Fyzabad by Sir Hope Grant, in my letter of the 24th ultimo, has come off very successfully. Fyzabad is now occupied, a body of about 20,000 rebels having broken upon his approach from before Shahgunj, the stronghold of Rajah Maun Singh, who had been besieged for some time. The rebel force marched away in two parties—viz., one across the Ghogra at Fyzabad, the other towards Sultanpoor on the Goomtee. Sir H. Grant has been ordered to pursue the parties to Sultanpoor. That place will now be occupied by our troops. In due time the Goomtee will be bridged at that point, and the Ghogra at Fyzabad. But your Royal Highness will perceive that, although we have had no fighting, the most important strategical movement has been made since the siege of Lucknow towards the



reduction of Oudh. It is a great satisfaction to me that the troops have not suffered during their movement, the weather having been remarkably fine since the march began. Before committing Sir Hope Grant to this movement, I had already taken measures to support him from various points. The 88th Regiment was added to the force in Oudh from Cawnpore, and the 79th was brought down from Futteghur to that place, and the 8th Regiment from Agra to Futteghur. A regiment of native infantry was sent from Allahabad to Azimghur, to reinforce H.M.'s 34th at that place. I should not have been able to recommend the occupation of Fyzabad to Government, had it not been for the very rapid organisation of the military police, which has taken place at Lucknow to the number of 5000 men, under that very able officer Major Bruce of the Bombay army. He deserves the very greatest credit for what he has done. His new police was able to take the place of the battalions which moved to Fyzabad. Your Royal Highness will understand that Sir H. Grant's movement involved the pushing forward of every regiment in his division, with the exception of two corps which remained in Lucknow for the safety of that place. At the south-east corner of Oudh, immediately opposite to Allahabad, Brigadier Berkeley,¹ H.M.'s 32d, has been employed

¹ The late Colonel C. A. F. Berkeley, C.B., who for some time had officiated as chief of the staff to Sir James Outram. He died on the 25th September 1858.



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.



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under the command of Brigadier-General R. Napier, with its headquarters at Gwalior.

The main body of the rebels who, after the capture of Gwalior, had been defeated by Napier at Jowra Alipore, crossed the Chumbul into Rajpootana. They were led by Tantia Topee, the Rao Sahib, and the Nawab of Bandah. Whilst Tantia Topee discharged the duties of commander-in-chief, the Rao Sahib, the adopted son of the nephew of Bajee Rao, the last of the Peishwas—whose dynasty Nana Sahib affected to represent—assumed the office of political agent to the Nana. Numerous were the flying columns organised to co-operate in their pursuit.

One, under General Roberts, set out from Nusseerabad the last week in June, and made for Jyepoor, the capital of the State of that name, on which it was known the rebels had a design. By the rapidity of his movements, Roberts anticipated them at that point, whereupon Tantia Topee turned south and moved upon Tonk. Thither Roberts followed him, notwithstanding the heat, which told with great severity upon the Europeans, many of whom succumbed to sunstroke. Sending forward a light column under Colonel Holmes in advance of the main body, Roberts followed up the chase, though the difficulty, in the absence of any reliable information regarding the direction the rebels had taken, was very great. Leaving Tonk with Holmes at his heels, Tantia Topee found it impossible to cross the Chumbul, swollen by the rains, and carry out his



design of making for the Mahratta country south of the Nerbudda. He therefore moved upon Boondée ; but finding the gates of that town shut against him, he turned south and took a westerly direction by the Keena Pass, in the direction of the Aravelli range of hills. Roberts, on receiving this information, moved westward, for the purpose of covering Ajmeer, and halted till the country, which had been saturated with the rains, had become less impracticable. In the meantime, Brigadier Parke of the 72d Highlanders, commanding at Neemuch, had taken the field, with orders to head back the rebels and cover Oodeypoor. On the 5th August, Roberts was again in movement towards Neemuch, and on the 7th hit on the rebel force at Sanganeer, a town situated on the left bank of the Koturia, a small river in the province of Meywar. On the following day he brought them to action, and easily defeated them ; but from the exhaustion of his infantry after a forced march, and in the absence of his horse-artillery and the greater portion of his cavalry with Holmes's column, he was unable to follow up his victory. Holmes, who, in his pursuit of the rebels, had been describing the arc of a circle, whilst Roberts had moved along the chord, joined his general the next day, after a thirty-mile march, with the horses of his detachment tired out by their previous exertions. Roberts followed up the enemy with dogged perseverance, and making forced marches, eventually came up with and defeated him at Katoria, ten miles

north of Nathdwarra, capturing the few guns he had with him, and dispersing his force across the plain. Tantia Topee, whose course southward had been barred by the movement of Parke's brigade, now fled in a north-easterly direction. Roberts, who had been joined by Parke at Poonah, left the pursuit to the latter, who, with some fresh horses obtained from Neemuch for the detachment of the 8th Hussars with him, reached the left bank of the Chumbul only to find the rebels, who had crossed the river, which was rising rapidly, vanishing in the distance. Parke returned to Neemuch to refit. Tantia Topee now made for Jhalra Patun, the capital of the Maharajah of Jullawar, on which town he levied a large contribution, the troops of the native ruler fraternising with him. Here, also, he refitted himself with a fresh park of artillery obtained from the native arsenal. To cover Indore now became a paramount necessity, so as to prevent the possibility of the flames of rebellion being rekindled in the disaffected territories of Holkar, the Mahratta chieftain. Accordingly, a column under Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart of the 92d Highlanders was despatched from Mhow on the 22d August, in a northerly direction, followed by another column under Lieutenant-Colonel Hope, which left Indore the first week in September. On the junction of these two columns at Nulkheira, Major-General Michel¹—who, on the removal of General Roberts to the civil and military command of the

¹ Now General the Right Honourable Sir John Michel, G.C.B.



province of Gujerat, had been appointed to the division embracing Malwa and Rajpootana — assumed the command.

On leaving Jhalra Patun, Tantia Topce made for Rajgurh, at which point General Michel hit upon him. On the 15th September, Michel snatched an easy victory over the enemy, capturing 30 guns, without a single casualty in his own force. In the meantime Parke had reappeared with his column from Neemuch, and by covering Indore and Bhopal, materially assisted Michel in his efforts to come up with his slippery foe, whose movements were being watched towards the north by Smith's brigade from Sipree, and in a north-easterly direction by a column under Colonel Liddell. For some time the heaviness of the rains contributed to delay Michel's operations. After threading the jungles on both banks of the Betwa, and plundering the town of Essagurh, where they replenished themselves with some guns, the remnants of the Gwalior Contingent made an attempt on the fort of Chandairee, held by a garrison of Scindiah's troops, who repulsed them. Whilst a detachment of the rebels proceeded in the direction of Jhansi, the main body took an opposite course, and on the 9th October were encountered by Michel at Mungrowlee, and defeated with the loss of six guns.

Crossing the Betwa, the rebels, who were joined at Lulluthpore by the party which had been detached from Chandairee, penetrated the Jaclone jungles, followed by Michel. Precautions had already been

taken to place Brigadier Smith in a position to bar Tantia Topee's movements to the westward. Hitting on the rebels on the night of the 18th, Michel brought them to action on the following morning at Sindwaho, thirty miles east of the Betwa. After a short engagement they were beaten and dispersed, losing four guns and some four hundred killed. Checked by Colonel Liddell's party in his endeavour to cross the Betwa in a north-westerly direction, and finding himself hemmed in on all sides by the British columns, Tantia Topee determined to make a dash for the southward and cross the Nerbudda. On hearing from Brigadier Smith that he had hit upon the rebels on their march to the south, Michel, who had followed them up in a north-westerly direction, but had kept more to the westward for the purpose of covering the country to the south, now pressed the foe in hot pursuit. On the 25th, Tantia Topee was again surprised on his march by the Mhow column at Khorae, near Multhone, the result being that the right wing of his force, which bore the brunt of the British attack, was thoroughly beaten and finally dispersed, the leaders effecting their escape with the loss of one-half of their followers. Tantia Topee then made for the Nerbudda, but was met at Bagrode by a regiment of Beatson's Horse on its march to join Michel. After losing a number of his followers in the gallant attack which Colonel Becher, in spite of the rawness of his levies and the great superiority of the rebels in number, did not hesitate to deliver,



Tantia Topee pressed onwards to the Nerbudda, which he crossed about forty miles above Hoshungabad. This movement, which caused much alarm for the safety of the Nizam's territories and the Deccan, necessitated fresh precautions on the part of the Madras and Bombay Governments. The military authorities were placed on the alert, and arrangements made to guard against the irruption of the rebels into the countries south of the Nerbudda. After crossing this river, Tantia Topee made his way by Futtypoor to Mooltae, as if Nagpoor were his object; but on finding that his progress in that direction was barred by a force sent from thence, he turned westward and proceeded to Meil Ghât, where the presence of a British cavalry force rendered hopeless any intention he might have had of escaping through the range of hills which separated him from the Deccan. Crossing an arm of the Taptee, Tantia Topee took a north-westerly course by Kurgoon, and again made for the Nerbudda. In the meantime he had been followed by Michel, who, sending forward Parke to Hoshungabad, joined the latter at that place on the 19th November. From Hoshungabad Parke moved to Charwah, followed by Michel. For the purpose of watching the fords above Akbarpoor, where the Trunk Road crosses the river, detachments had been sent from Mhow. One of these, under Major Sutherland, which had been sent down the road to keep it clear, took post at Jeelwana. Informed of the proximity of the rebels, who had

plundered some carts proceeding up the road the previous day, Major Sutherland, with a small detachment of Europeans and sepoy, started in pursuit of them on the 24th November. He found that Tantia Topee, with two guns, had crossed the Great Trunk Road, making for Rajgurbh. Coming up with the enemy, he drove him from the position he had taken up across the road, and captured his two guns, the last Tantia Topee ever possessed. Freed from these impediments to their progress, the rebels made for the Nerbudda, followed by Major Sutherland, who, on reaching its left bank, found them across the river, which, owing to its breadth and the numbers opposed to him, he found it impossible to pass. General Michel, who had proceeded to Mhow, sent Parke to continue the pursuit. This he pressed with remarkable vigour. With a flying column, his infantry being mounted, Parke overtook the rebels, after an astonishing march of two hundred and forty miles in nine days, at Chota Oodeypoor, fifty miles east of Baroda, on the 1st December. The British attack produced the usual result. Tantia Topee was defeated, and fled with his followers into the Banskwara jungles, in the province of Meywar. The close of the year found this nimble and ubiquitous rebel leader still at large.¹

¹ The pursuit of Tantia Topee forms a memorable episode in the history of the Indian Mutiny. The length of the marches, made frequently under a burning sun and over ground saturated with rain, tried the endurance of our troops to the uttermost. The amount of ground covered by the pursuing columns was enormous. The writer



Meanwhile the troops of the Gwalior division, far from enjoying the rest they had earned, were obliged again to take the field, and were actively employed in the suppression of rebellion in various parts of Scindiah's dominions. A Rajpoot chief named Man Singh having, early in August, seized the fort of Paorie, not far from Sipree, Brigadier Smith moved from that station to dislodge him. Finding, on his arrival at Paorie, that his force was insufficient for the purpose, he applied to Gwalior for assistance. Thereupon General Napier proceeded to join him with some reinforcements and a few pieces of heavy artillery. The vertical fire poured into the fort, in combination with the breaching-batteries, produced the desired effect. After a bombardment of twenty-four hours, Man Singh and his followers evacuated the place, and made off in a southerly direction. Paorie being secured, a hastily-organised column, under the command of Colonel Robertson, started in pursuit of the rebels. Breaking up into several bodies, they made good their escape. General Napier, however, having organised a fresh column, Colonel Robertson again set out in quest of them, and came up with them on the 5th September.

of the "Pursuit of Tantia Topee," a most interesting article contributed to the August number of 'Blackwood's Magazine' for 1860, and to which I am indebted for the brief summary of the operations given in the text, computes the distance performed between the 20th June 1858 and the 1st March 1859, as more than 3000 miles. General Michel marched 1700, Parke 2000 miles. Captain Clowe's troop, 8th Hussars, was with Parke all the time, and had marched 400 miles under General Roberts before joining him.

Taken by surprise, the rebels fled panic-stricken, and lost many of their numbers in their endeavours to escape.

In Bundelcund, the occupation of Bandah, followed by the fall of Calpee, had secured important results. The operations of General Whitlock against Kirwee had produced the surrender, in the first week in June, of the Mahratta chieftains Narain Rao and Madhoo Rao, who gave up their guns, a vast amount of ammunition, much treasure, and many valuable jewels. Calpee had been garrisoned by a force under Brigadier Macduff, which furnished a small movable column. Jalaon had been occupied, and though the province remained in a very unsettled condition, symptoms of a return to tranquillity were not wanting. Until a complete system of police had been established, it was not to be expected that the embers of insurrection would be finally extinguished. Still, however, as the autumn advanced, considerable progress had been made. By the end of October the reports from the military commanders confirmed the announcement by the civil authority of the gradual restoration of order in the province, of which the reopening of the trade of the Jumna afforded satisfactory evidence.

In a letter to the Duke of Cambridge of the 30th August, Sir Colin sums up the progress of affairs to that date, and impresses on his Royal Highness the necessity for strengthening his hands with additional European troops, wherewith to complete the subju-



gation of the provinces still in rebellion : "The forces in Behar have been swelled by the arrival of various regiments, till they have attained the number of about 7000 men. This has not been done without alienating troops from other quarters where they are much wanted, but it is an imperative necessity to give Behar the preference. The troops have been kept in a state of constant activity in that province, and the rebels have had but little rest. We are dealing with a popular insurrection, which is animated by the despair of the mutinous sepoys; consequently we must make up our minds to a certain duration of time, which, whatever the efforts of the troops, cannot but elapse before a country in such a state can be reduced to order and tranquillity. I believe, however, that great progress has been made, and that the manner in which the troops are now disposed and worked is the right one. The rebels, who carry nothing, not even clothes, surpass our troops in marching, but the perseverance of the latter must conquer in the end; and we hear nearly every day of a skirmish in some part or other, in which the rebels are invariably beaten, almost without loss to ourselves. In Oudh the operations for the eastern section of the province, including the whole line indicated by Fyzabad, Sultanpoor, Pertabgurrh, have been silently prosecuted with very great success. These operations have taken place almost without the knowledge of the public, which of late have often been surprised to find the very things



accomplished for which it was clamouring. I think, I may say, that the state of affairs in Oudh is very favourable. The labour will have to be continued for many months; but I am sure of a successful issue without much bloodshed, if the course which has lately been pursued is steadily adhered to—viz., of an increasing pressure and constant advance, but without hazarding a forward movement until we are able to afford a real and efficient support. Bundelcund, in particular, has never been really subdued, and it is now going through a course to which the feudal chiefs have naturally a great objection. To put it right, the same number of troops is requisite as that now employed in Behar or Oudh. Still, we are gaining ground even there perceptibly, and the country is more in our power than it was at the date immediately subsequent to the victories of Sir Hugh Rose. In a political point of view, Bundelcund is in no respect so important as Behar and Oudh. This will be easily understood by any one turning his attention to the independent condition in which the Indian Government has always been content to leave the feudal chiefs of that province. I would earnestly venture to suggest to your Royal Highness that the course involving the best economy, and which will eventually most conduce to lighten the demands on your Royal Highness, is to throw as many troops as possible into India at present. I have a confident hope that, if it should be in our power to deal properly during the coming cold season



with Oudh and Bundelcund, the Government of India will be able to dispense with many regiments in the month of May next. Should my anticipations be right, the return of such corps through Central India to the port of Bombay, and from thence by the Suez route to England, will be the great practical announcement to the world that the Indian Mutiny is fairly at an end. It is with the greatest diffidence that I put these thoughts before your Royal Highness, as I am so painfully aware of the immense difficulties encountered by your Royal Highness in your anxious desire to support the Government of India, and that they may interfere in some measure with the plans laid down for the relief of certain corps; but that relief would, after all, only be postponed for a few months."

In anticipation of the winter campaign, and in his anxiety to maintain the efficiency of the troops which had been so much engaged in field-service, Sir Colin, ever mindful of the good effects of the regimental system, of which he was a master, drew the attention of the divisional and brigade commanders to the necessity of enforcing the rules and regulations affecting the interior economy of the European corps and detachments placed under their orders. Accordingly, a general order was issued, in which no detail was omitted that could in any way further the object in view. The examination of the regimental books, the completion of the soldiers' accounts, the inspection of the arms and ammuni-



tion, and the musketry instruction of the officer and soldier, were, together with many other things, all insisted upon. In like manner, provision was to be made for the occupation of the soldiers when off parade. The schools were to be re-established, and every encouragement held out to all ranks to study the Hindostani language. Attention was invited to the consideration of the diet and the comforts of the soldier. His amusements were to be catered for. The completion of his equipment was to be supplemented, in case of necessity, by such local aid as was obtainable; and whilst every exertion was to be used in securing the efficiency of the soldier, the greatest stress was laid on the maintenance of discipline, for which the example of the officer, in the rigid and punctual discharge of his duty, constituted the best guarantee.

To accompany the peerage which was about to be bestowed upon Sir Colin by the Crown, a grant of an annuity of £2000, derivable from the revenues of India, was made by the East India Company. It was one of the last acts of that body prior to the passing of the Act of Parliament, under the provisions of which the control of Indian affairs passed from it to the Crown. The news of it was conveyed to him in a letter from his old friend Sir Frederic Currie, with whom Sir Colin had been associated at Lahore in 1847-48, and who, since his return to England, had occupied a seat in the Court of Directors, of which he was now chairman.



“EAST INDIA HOUSE, *July 17, 1858.*

“MY DEAR SIR COLIN,—I regret exceedingly that I have time to-day for only a very few lines to you. Till this India Bill shall have finally passed, which it will most likely do on Monday night, I shall not have one moment's freedom from interruption and bother. I congratulate you most heartily on the success which has crowned all your operations, and on the recognition of your services which the Queen is bestowing upon you. Well have you deserved it at the hands of your country. It has been a most pleasing duty to me to propose to the Court of Directors and the Proprietors the grant of an annuity of £2000 to you, which has passed both Courts, and has received the sanction of the Board of Commissioners. I am not sure if an official intimation of this has been sent to you by this mail or not. We are doing all in our power to send more troops to India, but the War Office have them not to give. Two regiments are under orders from the Ionian Islands, to go overland as soon as vessels, which were ordered some time ago from Bombay, may be ready for them. We hope to have these regiments, one at Bombay, the other at Madras, early in October. The 6th Dragoons are to embark on the 30th of this month for Bombay in a fine screw-steamer, and a battery of artillery is also under despatch for the same Presidency. Drafts and recruits we are sending as fast as we can get them. About 7000 for H.M.'s regiments have started since



the 15th of last month, and 2000 more are about to embark. We shall get off what we promised before the close of the year—viz., at the rate of 2000 per month. This is a bad business at Jeddah.¹ We know no particulars. I fear it will have a very bad effect in India, where the tale will be told with the usual exaggeration, and it will be believed that all Christians in Arabia and Egypt have been destroyed!

“I am called away, and obliged to break off suddenly. Lady Currie would send you her kindest regards if she knew I was writing. We often talk of you and old days at Lahore.—Believe me, my dear Sir Colin, yours very sincerely, F. CURRIE.”

On the receipt of Sir Colin's letter acknowledging the proposed bestowal of the peerage, Lord Derby had taken steps to complete the measures for the issue of the patent. The title by which Sir Colin was to sit in the House of Lords was “Baron Clyde of Clydesdale.” When this intimation reached him, it was brought to his notice that Clydesdale was one of the titles borne by the Duke of Hamilton. He therefore communicated to Lord Derby his apprehension lest “he might have unwittingly touched on what might be disagreeable to his Grace; and suggested to his lordship that the title of ‘Lucknow’

¹ The port of Mecca, situated on the Red Sea, where, in the month of June, a fanatical outbreak of the Mohammedan population culminated in a savage attack on the French consul and his family, his wife being murdered, and he and his daughter seriously wounded.



should be substituted for that of 'Clyde.'” This drew from Lord Derby the following reply, the patent for the peerage having in the interval been completed and notified in the 'Gazette :’—

“It would have given me great pleasure to comply with your lordship’s wish to substitute the title of ‘Lucknow for that of Clyde,’ which you had announced to me your wish to adopt; but unfortunately, your subsequent instructions arrived too late to supersede, except at considerable inconvenience and expense, those which had been previously received. The fact is, that the public having been apprised of the fact, that a peerage had been offered to and accepted by your lordship, were naturally impatient to see it officially announced; and as much time had been necessarily lost in awaiting your lordship’s choice of title, the moment I received it I gave directions for inserting the notification in the ‘Gazette;’ and when I received your lordship’s second letter, I found that the change desired could hardly be made. I may perhaps be allowed to add that your lordship’s original choice of the title of Clyde, to which, on my own responsibility, I was obliged to add ‘of Clydesdale,’ as an ‘of’ was, I found, essential, has met with very general approval; and whatever might have been the title by which your lordship had chosen to sit in the House of Lords, it is hardly necessary for me to say that, wherever the name of ‘Lucknow’ is heard, it will be inseparably connected with the brilliant

achievement of its final relief, and the perfect success with which Sir Colin Campbell completed the work of rescue, which had been so nobly commenced by Sir Henry Havelock.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's obedient servant, DERBY."

Lord Clyde—for we must drop the old familiar appellation—was very reluctant to make use of his new title. In his communications with his intimate friends—indeed, in the many letters he subsequently wrote to General Eyre or the writer of these pages—not one is to be found with the signature of "Clyde." They generally bear his initials, "C. C.," or "C. Campbell"—the way in which he had hitherto signed himself. In all these matters he observed the same simplicity which had been a marked feature of his character in the days of his comparative obscurity.

Many congratulations were received by Lord Clyde on the attainment of his new honours. On his hearing of the intention to bestow the peerage upon him, he had informed Sir John Lawrence of it, which drew from his old friend the following reply: "I am very happy to hear from yourself of her Majesty's gracious intentions towards you, and I heartily wish that you may live long to enjoy your honour, which you have so well won. Doubtless you do not care much for such things; still, as a mark of the appreciation of your services, they will be acceptable. I have not myself heard authoritatively that any such favours are intended for me. If they come, I

shall receive them with pleasure ; otherwise, I am too much of a philosopher to vex myself. I have lived long enough and seen sufficient to teach me that the best reward any man can have is a feeling that he has done his duty to the best of his ability."

Having occasion to communicate with Sir James Outram upon a matter which had formed the subject of discussion in the Council at Calcutta, and regarding which Lord Clyde conceived a hasty judgment had been formed by some of his colleagues, he addressed himself to Sir James Outram, who had taken an opposite view. This letter reveals the spirit in which Lord Clyde endeavoured to work in unison with the civil authorities in the re-establishment of government in the revolted provinces, as also his readiness to assume the defensive, when he was of opinion that an inclination existed to put undue pressure on the troops in the execution of the harassing duty they were called upon to perform.

"ALLAHABAD, 14th September 1858.

"MY DEAR SIR JAMES,—I have been long intending to write to you, but owing to the numerous calls on me, have been prevented from time to time. We are doing very tolerably well, and are making preparation for what will, I hope, prove the early completion of the work in Oudh. It appears to me that there are visible signs of a break-up among the sepoys ; and I trust that when that becomes more pronounced, the settlement of the country will pro-



ceed without very great difficulties. I have been lately amused, rather than otherwise, with the Council minutes with respect to —, in which — and — have fallen into mistakes in consequence of not having adopted your sage advice. The case is a very obvious one, and I am surprised they should have adopted the statement of a letter written in great anger, without having first, by a reference to me, ascertained its correctness. An answer has gone which, I am afraid, they will not like, although it is couched in most courteous terms. But a man, when he is attacked, must defend himself; and if gentlemen for whom I have the highest respect find fault without previous due inquiry, they compel me, very much against my will, to take my ground. I wish they would believe there is but one common cause, and that no military arrangements are made except for that one common cause—viz, the re-establishment of civil government throughout India. I do not admit the possibility of rival interests between civilians and military men—the only object before me being, as, I am sure, it is of my colleagues in the Council, so to dispose of all the resources of the State as may most tend to the advancement of the public service in all its branches. You and I, my dear Sir James, have had the happiness to serve in arms together. We know what can and what ought to be executed from officers and soldiers, and we also know where the limit of their exertions begins. You will serve me very much with your col-



leagues if you will point out, from time to time, that what may sometimes appear slowness to them is an imperative necessity, which cannot be affected by sudden or hasty measures ; and that officers who are, to the best of their ability, combating with all their might the difficulties of duty in the field, require all the encouragement which can be given them. A cold expression in high quarters is sure to be carried and exaggerated. The press is bad enough ; but if it gets abroad that their labours are undervalued or sneered at by the rulers of the land, you may rest assured the troops will at length really fail in the execution of their duty. It is about the only thing which upsets a British officer in the discharge of it."

Nothing could be more satisfactory to Lord Clyde's feelings than the prompt and hearty reply of his distinguished colleague and *quondam* lieutenant—a reply which set the subject of discussion at rest.

" CALCUTTA, 20th September 1858.

" MY DEAR LORD CLYDE,—I was much gratified by the receipt yesterday of your letter dated the 14th instant, and by finding that you approve of the course I pursued in the Council in the matter of —, the objection to which, I felt very sure, a reference to your lordship would prove was founded in error.

" This is the only occasion that I recollect, during the five months I have been in Council, on



which any measure emanating from your lordship has been called in question ; and in no instance, that I am aware of, out of the many propositions, recommendations, &c., constantly coming before Council under your support, has there been one which I have not found myself bound conscientiously to confirm.

“No one can be more sensible than myself of the great demands that have been made on the endurance and physical powers of officers and men of the British army in India during the past year, but especially during the hot season, when more was exacted from them, I do believe, than British troops ever were exposed to, except in the Crimea—certainly more than Europeans were ever heretofore exposed to in India. And I attribute the comparatively little loss our army has suffered, under such exposure, to your lordship’s most judicious arrangements, whereby every portion of that vast army has had to bear its proportion of the burden ; and much as they have had to bear beyond the usual burden, still, the share apportioned to all has been rendered bearable by the extreme care you have ever taken to ease the load, as far as the exigencies of the service would admit.

“It will be a marvel to future ages that British troops could have endured as they have done, under a tropical sun, all that they have gone through in India since your lordship assumed their control, without either destruction from the climate or deterioration in discipline. And that their exemption from



those evils, which otherwise must have followed on such hardships and exposure, if not carefully guarded against—results which must have lost our Indian empire—is entirely due to your lordship, future history must affirm, while at the same time giving credit for the complete success of every operation—of the many and complicated operations involved in the vast combination of military movements which characterised the campaign of the past year—conducted either by your lordship in person or under your direction and orders,—to be crowned, I confidently hope and trust, in the coming campaign, by the utter annihilation of all the hostile bands still at large, and the complete re-establishment of civil government throughout India.

“I believe that my colleagues in the Council are as strongly impressed as myself with the value of what has been done by your lordship, and with the confidence that what remains to be done will be effectually accomplished by you. I cannot doubt, therefore, that they will be as eager and proud as I am myself, cordially to support your measures to the utmost of their power.

“Permit me on this occasion, my dear lord, to offer the humble but hearty congratulations of one whose greatest pride was to serve under you, on the last tokens you have received of the approbation of her Majesty, our country, and our late rulers, to be followed, I trust, by further evidence of the appreciation of your great services on the completion of the



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FROM SIR PATRICK GRANT.

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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



a Scotchman, but a Highlander, and that I am, through my mother, of the old Duntroon family, half your clansman.—Believe me, my dear Lord Clyde, with unfeigned admiration and respect, yours very sincerely,
PAT. GRANT."

During the session of the English Parliament, protracted discussions had taken place upon the Bill which had been introduced for the abolition of the East India Company, and the transfer of its possessions to the direct government of the Crown. In the second week in July it passed the Commons, and after a more rapid passage through the House of Lords, received the Royal assent and became law on the 2d August.

In the meantime, a great effort was being made by the military authorities at home to meet the demands for reinforcements in India, the requisitions from Bombay having been especially urgent, in consequence of the events that had taken place in Central India subsequent to the seizure of Gwalior by the rebels. To such an extent had the resources of the country already been strained, that of infantry only fourteen old regiments remained in the country, the presence of which was indispensable as a nucleus whereon to form the newly-created second battalions, and such militia regiments as had been embodied. By filling up the colonial garrisons with these second battalions or with militia regiments, specially invited to volunteer for that duty, and by calling on the militia to



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volunteer for the line, the Commander-in-chief in England hoped, as he informed Lord Clyde, to "scrape together something like 8000 or 10,000 additional troops, some of them cavalry, in case that horses can be procured;" and he added, in the same letter, "We should have to give up for this year, I fear, the hope of getting home the four infantry regiments intended to be relieved. If to this force you add the 8000 drafts, partly embarked and to be embarked for their several regiments, we shall make out an additional force for you of about 17,000 men, which really ought to be ample to meet all your requirements of another cold-weather campaign, which now, it would appear, is inevitable. But, my dear friend, I need hardly assure you that this cannot be done without a very great effort, and without denuding ourselves both at home and in the colonies to an extent which I can neither consider prudent nor judicious, and which can only be justified by the very greatest emergency. I hope, therefore, that it may clearly be understood that this is only a temporary reinforcement, called for by the grave circumstances of the case, and that the very moment any of these corps can be dispensed with, some of the regiments longest in India may be sent home, as originally intended, for it will be utterly impossible to carry on the duties of the army permanently, if all the corps are out of the country. No man in the army will know and feel this more keenly than yourself, who, from your great experience as a com-



manding officer, are fully aware of the importance to discipline and general organisation for regiments being brought home and retained on the home service for a certain period."

By the third week in September, the measures which Lord Clyde had been directing towards the subjugation of Oudh had made considerable progress. Great care was observed in maintaining in secrecy the projected plans of operation. In a private letter addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay,¹ the Commissary-General, he writes: "The accompanying memo. will show you the points from whence it is hoped we may be able to gather the troops for operations in Oudh, together with the probable numbers we hope to collect, and the manner and direction in which it is proposed to employ them. On a perusal of this memo. I think you will find that the amount of carriage which Mansfield has stated his belief to be required, has not been over-estimated. No one has seen the enclosure except Mansfield, myself, and the military secretary, Sterling, who copied the original draft of the memo. I beg you to keep its contents a secret, as far as regards the particular corps and detachments it is proposed to employ. The memo. has not yet been submitted to Government. Major Fitzgerald and the other officers of the commissariat attached to the troops in the field were most efficient. Never were

¹ The late Major-General Ramsay, for many years the able Commissary-General of the Bengal army.



troops better cared for or provided with better supplies. Major Fitzgerald¹ is a very superior person. The troops enumerated in the enclosure are not likely to be kept together as a whole for any time after they take the field. Each brigade, a little army in itself as to completeness in all arms, will most probably be employed independently. The whole force will require a good head, and each brigade an officer of some experience in the duties of the department."

The operations for the subjugation of Oudh were to be directed from two points simultaneously: 1st, from the frontier of Rohilcund, with the object of driving the rebels in a N.E. direction towards the Ghogra, and the reoccupation of Seetapoor; 2d, from the S.E. against the Baiswarra district, situated between the Ganges and the Goomtee, in which territory two powerful chiefs, Lall Madho of Amethee, and Beni Madho of Roy Bareilly and Shunkerpoor, exercised considerable influence—the latter having collected a large gathering of followers around him. The previous occupation of Fyzabad, Sultanpoor, Pertabghur, and Soraon, greatly facilitated the advance to be made from the line indicated by those posts.

Sir Thomas Seaton had been directed to organise two

¹ Major Fitzgerald, since deceased, was in principal commissariat charge of the army at Lucknow, and upon other occasions with Lord Clyde, and always received his unqualified approbation for the efficient way in which the duties of the department were conducted under circumstances of much difficulty.



columns,—one at Shahjehanpoor, to be placed under the command of Brigadier Troup,¹ hitherto commanding at Bareilly; the other and smaller one at Futtehghur, to be placed under the command of Colonel Hale of the 82d Foot. Brigadier Troup was to march on the 18th October—his object being to disperse the various bodies of rebels which had so long been infesting the Rohilkund frontier under the leadership of Khan Ali Khan, Khan Bahadoor Khan, and other insurgent chiefs. This accomplished, he was to reduce the country in the direction of the Ghogra and to the N.W. of Seetapoor. The forts were to be dismantled, and the country made safe to the Ghogra and the N.W. Establishing himself at Seetapoor, he was to act against such rebel chiefs as might hold out to the east and south of that station, within a radius of fifteen or twenty miles. Colonel Hale was instructed to move from Futtehghur to Sandee, reduce the country around, making free use of vertical fire against the forts, and to place himself in communication with Sir Thomas Seaton and Brigadier Troup. His force eventually was to fall under the command of Brigadier Barker,² who at an earlier date had moved from Lucknow to Sundeela, and had prosecuted some operations in that neighbourhood with great success.

Sir Thomas Seaton was authorised to use his dis-

¹ The late General Colin Troup, C.B., of the Bengal army.

² The late Colonel Sir George Barker, K.C.B., of the Royal Artillery.



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cretion, according to the condition in which he found matters. In the event of Shahabad and Palee being still held by the rebels, he was to march on Shahabad with a small column, drive them thence, and, making a circuitous sweep, re-enter Shahjehanpoor. Should these places be evacuated, and Powaen still threatened, he was to proceed thither, expel the insurgents, and follow them up in close pursuit. If Powaen were clear, he was to remain at Shahjehanpoor, with its garrison as a column of reserve.

On the occupation of Sultanpoor at the end of August, which was a consequence of Hope Grant's advance upon Fyzabad, Brigadier Pinckney, commanding the Soraon field-force, had been directed to march on Pertabghur, and communicate from thence with Hope Grant at Sultanpoor. On his departure, Brigadier Wetherall¹ took command at Soraon.

Colonel Kelly,² commanding the Azimghur district, was instructed to leave a portion of his force at Azimghur, forming the remainder into a movable column, with which he was to advance across the Oudh frontier as far as Akbarpoor, and drive the rebels from that town. Tandah, on the Ghogra, was to be reoccupied. Colonel Kelly was enjoined to be careful in preventing, if possible, the rebels working round his right flank—the object being to drive them to the north and westward and secure Azimghur from an irruption of them. Colonel

¹ The late Major-General Sir E. Wetherall, K.C.S.I., C.B.

² Lieutenant-General Sir R. D. Kelly, K.C.B.



Kelly's movement was fixed for the 18th October. To aid him in his advance from Azimghur, Hope Grant was directed to make a flank march from Sultanpoor to Dhostpoor, with the object of clearing the country on the right bank of the Ghogra and in the direction of Azimghur. He was then to return to Sultanpoor, for the purpose of joining in the operations in the Baiswarra country.

The lines of road between Cawnpore and Lucknow, Lucknow and Fyzabad, Fyzabad, Sultanpoor, and Allahabad, were all held in strength.

In consequence of the uneasiness prevailing in the southern part of Oudh, Futtehpoor, on the railway in the southern Doab, was placed under the orders of Brigadier the Honourable Percy Herbert,¹ commanding at Cawnpore. On the other side of Cawnpore his command was to extend to Meerunke-Serai. A small column was formed at Futtehpoor, as a demonstration to cross the Ganges at Dalamow; whilst a force from Lucknow established itself at Jubrowlee and Poorwah, after withstanding several attacks made by the enemy. From these two posts the very heart of Baiswarra was threatened; whilst it was also menaced from the south and west simultaneously with the attack about to be made from the east.

In the meantime the Begum's advisers had organised a general attack on the British position in the west of Oudh. Nawabgunj Barabunkee and Der-

¹ The late Major-General the Right Hon. Sir P. Herbert, K.C.B.



iabad were threatened, and their garrisons were compelled to attack the enemy. Sundeela was surrounded, and Sir Thomas Seaton had to act from Shahjehanpoor. Brigadier Barker, whose headquarters were at Sundeela, was reinforced, and took the forts of Medowlee and Birwah—the latter place having offered a stout resistance. He was then instructed to move on Rooyah, the stronghold of Nurput Singh, which had again been rendered defensible after its dismantlement by Brigadier-General Walpole on his advance to Rohilcund. Colonel Eveleigh, of the 20th, stationed on the road between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and who had orders to drive the enemy from Bangermow, for the purpose of securing Brigadier Barker's left flank, successfully accomplished his object. Colonel Hale moved from Futtehghur on the 15th October, crossing both the Ganges and Ramgunga by bridges of boats, and in combination with Brigadier Barker advanced against Rooyah, which fell without resistance on the 28th October. The troops and police of the united force were then echeloned between Sundeela, Rooyah, and Sandee—the immediate effect of which operation was to reopen the navigation of the Ganges, which had been closed since the outbreak of the mutiny.

Brigadier Troup, carrying out his instructions, marched on Pusgaw, and after two successful affairs with Khan Ali Khan, drove him across the Ghogra. Colonel Kelly, aided by Hope Grant's movement, successfully accomplished his march, and



halted on the 30th October. During the latter's absence, Brigadier Horsford, who had been left at Sultanpoor, had an affair with the enemy, in which he captured their horse-artillery guns. Hope Grant returned to Sultanpoor on the 23d October, when he received orders to move up the right bank of the Goomtee to Jugdeespoor; then turning sharp to his left, to move southward by Jayes, and place himself between Purseedapoor and Amethee, with the object of dispersing any rebels he might come across. Brigadier Wetherall, leaving a small portion of his force at Soraon, was directed to move on the 25th to Dehaigne; and from thence to proceed, according to his judgment, either to Bhowanee-gunj or to Chourass, from whence he was to open communication with Brigadier Pinckney at Pertabghur. All officers in command of columns were instructed to give out that "every village which resisted or fired a single shot would be burned and plundered; whereas villages where no resistance was made would be protected from even the slightest damage."

On the cessation of the rains, active operations had been successfully prosecuted in Behar. The enemy, who had infested the entire tract of country from the Ganges to the Trunk Road, with the exception of the posts held by British garrisons, had been driven from spot to spot. As soon as Brigadier Douglas and Lieutenant-Colonel Turner could close in upon them, they were finally routed out of the



jungles near Jugdeespoor, to which they had so long and so tenaciously adhered. After losing many of their numbers in the pursuit which followed, the greater portion of the insurgents were driven away from the Sone to the westward, finding a refuge in the Kymor range of hills, where they were followed up and dispersed. The immediate result of the termination of the contest in South Behar was the liberation of an important body of troops, which became available for service in Goruckpoor.

In a letter to the Duke of Cambridge of the 2d October, Lord Clyde transmitted a memorandum detailing the arrangements then in progress for the forthcoming campaign in Oudh. "Your Royal Highness will observe," he writes, "that it is intended to operate in three quarters about the same time, it being necessary, if it can be done, to shut out the possibility of the more powerful rebels transporting themselves from one part of the province to another, after they shall have been compelled to abandon their estates. We are informed by the civil authorities, of almost countless guns being still in possession of the insurgents. For example, Mr Carnegy, Deputy Commissioner, now at Pertabghur, has reported officially that there are in Southern Oudh 60,000 men in arms, exclusive of the disbanded sepoys, and 300 guns scattered about in the numerous forts. I confess to being sceptical about the number of the guns, considering the vast numbers which have fallen into our hands during the last six



months. However, it is a fact that all the more considerable forts are more or less armed with ordnance, and the whole country is always ready to turn out and fight after a fashion in favour of the feudal holders. The most difficult part of the job of reduction is the fact that the larger forts are in the midst of very dense bamboo jungle, which must be regularly cut down in many places before a sight even can be obtained of the stronghold it conceals. These powerful jungles have been always grown and preserved with much care by the powerful *talookdars*, or great feudal landholders, as a special means of defence. Great progress has been made in the organisation of the Oudh police; and I am sanguine that, by Christmas, all the provinces south of the Ghogra will be so far reduced as to render to all subsequent operations a civil rather than a military character. That once accomplished, the country north of the Ghogra will be very easily settled. Owing to the malaria of those districts, it is not safe to enter them before the end of January. In Behar we are doing very well; and, I think, we may consider the campaigns there are very nearly at an end. In Bundelcund also, there is visible and marked improvement. General Michel has had a most successful hunt after Tantia Topee, the latter worthy having shown a marvellous activity. The country sympathises with him, which accounts for the singular manner in which, after he has dropped one train of guns, he succeeds in obtaining another. Fortunately

he does not know how to defend them; but he is a great annoyance and source of alarm to the southern part of Central India, and it is to be hoped he will not be at large much longer."

The combinations detailed above had been executed with remarkable precision. By the end of October the several columns had reached the positions they were intended to assume, and everything was in readiness for the grand sweeping movement through Oudh, by which its pacification was to be effected.

Here it may be as well to preface, for the assistance of the reader, that the plan of campaign about to be initiated in Oudh, divided itself into two parts. During the first, Lord Clyde's object was to sweep the Baiswarra district, situated between the Ganges and the Goomtee, and to drive the rebels beyond the Ghogra; during the second, to draw tighter the cordon by which they were being hemmed in, and force them back across the Raptée upon the frontier of Nepaul.

The headquarters set out from Allahabad for Soraon on the 31st October, Lord Clyde deferring his own departure until after the 1st November, on which day the proclamation announcing the direct government of the British possessions in India by the Crown, was made public at Allahabad and the other seats of Government. On that day a copy of this document was transmitted to Lord Clyde by Lord Canning, together with a letter stating his views



and wishes on certain points, regarding which it was deemed possible that doubts might arise in the application of the provisions of the proclamation, especially with reference to the treatment of the rebel leaders, and the distinction it was desirable should be drawn between different degrees of guilt. Great latitude was allowed to the Commander-in-chief in all cases where the circumstances admitted of leniency being extended; but in the event of undue hesitation being manifested by individuals to accept such terms as he might offer, he was empowered to enforce submission by arms. "If," Lord Canning added in his concluding remarks, "any case should arise for which this letter does not provide, the decision to which your Excellency's experience and judgment may lead you, will be accepted by me with complete confidence, and will receive my fullest support."

On the eve of his departure for the field, Lord Clyde replied to Sir Patrick Grant's letter to him of the 11th September:—

"ALLAHABAD, *November 1, 1858.*

"MY DEAR GRANT,—Your note of the 11th September reached me a few days ago. For the hearty congratulations contained in it I thank you heartily. I have indeed been highly honoured,—an honour won for me by the British soldier, whose indomitable perseverance has carried the nation through a very ticklish crisis—now, I trust, over.



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"I enclose you a sketch of what we have been doing since July ; and you will see from that, that the circle is gradually closing around the Baiswarra district, in which the powerful chiefs Beni Madho and Lall Madho reside and have their strongholds, and from which district we received between 35,000 and 40,000 recruits for our regular army in the olden time—at least so the Commissioner, Mr Montgomery, informs me ; while the memo. will show you the progress being made to the north.

"The proclamation of her Majesty is to be read to the multitude of Allahabad this afternoon, and I go out during the night to join the troops at Pertabghur. Other advantages have been obtained since that memo. was written, or rather since the marginal notes were added to it ; but I have not time, with the preparations I have to make for leaving to-night, to relate them.

"I enclose a little sketch of Oudh, which will help to elucidate and make clear the memo. I send you enclosed. I send you also a distribution return, the examination of which will interest you when you have an idle moment. I send you also a memo. showing the number of troops collected for operations in the field, with the exception of the force under Colonel Kelly of H.M.'s 34th, who moved forward from Azimghur, and with the assistance of a strong detachment from Hope Grant, cleared the country in his front, and is now holding Tandah and Akbar-



poor, and is in communication with Brigadier Fischer at Fyzabad.

“Roughly and hastily written as the enclosures may be found, they will help to let you know what we have been doing. I will send the package to dear Balfour¹ for perusal, as I have not time to write to him, and he will forward it to you afterwards.

“With the exception of Mansfield, and two staff officers who copy the orders and instructions sent to the troops, there is not another officer at headquarters aware of the nature of any orders or instructions affecting the movement of troops until their publication to those to whom they have reference.—Believe me, my dear Grant, ever most sincerely yours,

“C. CAMPBELL.

“It is a great honour this title they have been pleased to confer upon me, and I warmly and gratefully appreciate the gracious kindness of her Majesty; but to you I must be known by my old name, which it would have been very grateful to me to have retained, with the rank I have been so fortunate as to obtain in the profession, without other rank or distinction. I have neither wife nor child: my means had made me independent of the income of my profession; besides which, I deem myself rich, because I have no wants. I should therefore have been very grateful to have been left without other rank than my professional one. C. C.”

¹ *Vide ante*, vol. i. p. 410.



On the morning of the 2d November, Lord Clyde rode out 35 miles from Allahabad, and joined his camp, which was pitched alongside that of Brigadier Pinckney at the Beylah cantonment near Pertabhur, one mile short of the Sye Nuddee. He occupied a small tent, not only as an example to his staff in the matter of baggage, the amount of which was of necessity limited, but because rapidity of movement was essential when moving from one column to superintend the conduct of another, and in enabling him to make long marches when the occasion demanded it.

The several columns in the Baiswarra district were at this time disposed as follows:—

Brigadier Wetherall, having with him the E troop Royal Horse-Artillery, a heavy field-battery R.A., the 1st Punjab Cavalry, the 79th Highlanders, the Belooch battalion, and a wing of the 9th Punjab Infantry, had advanced from Soraon, and moving through Chourass and Lalgunj, had carried by storm the fort of Rampoor Kussia on the river Sye, with a loss to himself of about 80 men killed and wounded.

Brigadier Pinckney's column, consisting of a company of Royal Engineers, the Delhi Pioneers, a light field-battery Royal Artillery, a heavy battery Bengal artillery, one squadron Carabineers, one regiment Oudh police cavalry, one squadron 6th Madras Cavalry, 250 sabres (Pathan horse), wing 5th Fusiliers, the 54th Foot, the 1st Sikh Infantry, and a



regiment of Oudh police infantry, held Pertabghur, having a post at Loolee on the Sultanpoor road, distant nine miles from Pertabghur.

Hope Grant's column, comprising two guns Q battery Royal Artillery, F troop R.H.A., heavy field-battery R.A., C company Madras Sappers, the 7th Hussars, one regiment of Hodson's Horse, the 32d Light Infantry, the second battalion Rifle Brigade, the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and the 5th Punjab Infantry, after its movement to Jugdeespoor and Jayes, had taken post at Uttehur, eight miles west of the fort of Amethee. From Uttehur it communicated by patrols with Wetherall's column at Rampoor Kussia.

Lord Clyde's first act on reaching the camp was to summon Lall Madho to make his submission, by means of a letter enclosing the Queen's proclamation. The Rajah was informed that "it was the earnest desire of the Commander-in-chief to save the further effusion of blood, and to give the greatest effect possible to the gracious intentions of the Queen, who had promised mercy and forgiveness to all men except those stained with the blackest crimes." In case this invitation were not acceded to, the Commander-in-chief would be compelled to close his forces round Amethee, when the Rajah would be liable to the fate which an endeavour was now being made, by order of the Queen, to avert from him, his family, and his followers. As Lall Madho had afforded protection to British fugitives at the out-



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break of the rebellion, and had thereby established a claim to the consideration of Government, he was allowed till the 6th to make up his mind. If by that time he had not given token of his allegiance to the Queen, he was to understand that the Commander-in-chief would cross the Sye and act against him. The Commander-in-chief, moreover, gave his additional guarantee to the promises made by Major Barrow, the Deputy Commissioner appointed to act with headquarters, that the Rajah's proprietary rights would be recognised.



CHAPTER XIX.

DISCONTENT OF LOCAL EUROPEANS ON TRANSFER TO THE CROWN
—CORRESPONDENCE THEREON—LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CAM-
BRIDGE—SURRENDER OF LALL MADHO—AMETHEE—ADVANCE
TO SHUNKERPOOR—ITS EVACUATION—HOPE GRANT MARCHES TO
FYZABAD—LORD CLYDE, JOINED BY BRIGADIER EVELEGH, FOL-
LOWS BENI MADHO—BENI MADHO ROUTED AT DOUNDEA-KHERA
—CLEARANCE OF BAISWARRA—SETTLEMENT OF COUNTRY—
LORD CLYDE MARCHES TO LUCKNOW—SUBSIDIARY OPERATIONS
—BYRAM GHÂT—FYZABAD—LETTER TO LORD CANNING—HEALTH
OF TROOPS—HOPE GRANT'S AND ROWCROFT'S OPERATIONS—
BARAITCH—BURGIDIAH—ROUT OF ENEMY—ACCIDENT TO LORD
CLYDE—ANECDOTE—MUSJIDIAH—ACTION AT BANKEE—REBELS
DRIVEN ACROSS THE RAPTEE—TOOLSEPOOR—DEFEAT OF BALA
RAO—COMPLETION OF LORD CLYDE'S OPERATIONS—RESULTS—
COLUMN LEFT TO WATCH REBELS—LORD CLYDE MARCHES BACK
TO LUCKNOW.

DURING the interval of grace accorded to Lall Madho, a matter affecting the interests and conduct of the European soldiers transferred by the provisions of the Act of Parliament from the service of the East India Company to that of the Crown, was brought to the notice of Lord Clyde. On hearing her Majesty's proclamation read, the soldiers of the 4th European Light Cavalry (one of the newly-raised regiments), serving at Lucknow, declared that they considered

themselves not bound to serve the Queen until they should be re-enlisted for that purpose, and should receive fresh bounty.

Lord Clyde lost no time in conveying his views in a private communication to the head of the Government. Writing to Lord Canning on the 4th, he remarks: "This is a very ticklish question, as the idea will probably run through all the European regiments. Enlistment is a personal matter, and I suspect that the men consider the law on their side, although the Acts may have been so framed as to leave a loophole for such a contingency as that which has actually occurred, but was certainly never anticipated. Anyhow, it is very important that the men should know how they stand. I am surprised that the point should have escaped attention at home. I am not aware that allusion has ever been made to it. There would be great awkwardness, if not indeed calamity, if any serious misunderstanding should arise. It appears to me that this can only be obviated by a general order from the Governor-General, promising an immediate reference to England, and that the question will be referred to the law officers of the Crown, supposing there be any doubt on it. I would earnestly recommend that a telegraphic message be sent to Mr Ritchie¹ for his opinion and advice, in case of the law not being sufficiently clear to the comprehension of the private soldier. If it be not quite clear, the men should, I think, be liberally dealt with, and

¹ The late Hon. William Ritchie, Advocate-General at Calcutta.



we must be prepared for many discharges. I am sorry to say that I cannot get in camp a copy of an attestation belonging to one of the Company's soldiers. Hence the reason for my not being able to give a more decided opinion." The same feeling manifested itself a few days later in the 1st Madras Fusiliers, with Hope Grant's column, some of the old soldiers of which regiments claimed their discharge.

In an official communication from the chief of the staff reporting this matter to the Government of India, the form of attestation was discussed, and great stress laid upon the "fact unknown except to military men, that in the old regiments of the Crown a man cannot be transferred from one to another without his free consent, he having enlisted to serve in a particular regiment," and that, notwithstanding the conditions of servitude are similar throughout the service, when volunteers are called for from one regiment to fill up the complement of another, they receive a bounty in consideration. Attention was requested "to the practical circumstances of a soldier's enlistment, and of the manner in which the soldier would view any attempt to deprive him of what he considers a right," and the difficulty pointed out "of making him understand any legal argument by which the very principle of his military existence might, in his opinion, be set aside." The Commander-in-chief earnestly suggested that "this very important matter should be so arranged as not to



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alarm the men with regard to the point to which allusion had been made." It was proposed that the Company's European forces should be immediately re-enlisted, "in order to prevent the possibility of a feeling of irritation arising in the army, of a very inconvenient and perhaps dangerous tendency;" and the letter closed with an assurance to the Governor-General that, in "uttering this warning and recommendation, he would not hazard even a suggestion in the matter, were it not for his intimate acquaintance with British soldiers, and the manner in which they feel the rights they possess in common with other Englishmen."

To these views the Government of India took exception. The Governor-General considered that the recent enactment was so clear and explicit as to admit of no doubt of its meaning, and was satisfied that the soldiers of the East India Company, whatever be the sense given to their attestation oath, were not at liberty to refuse to serve her Majesty, and that the Government of India had no power to grant them their discharge." This view was supported by the opinion of the Advocate-General and by that of the Judge-Advocate-General—the latter officer, however, recommending the desirability of referring the matter to the Home authorities as being "one that might yet assume a more serious shape if the soldiers now seeking their discharge fail to be convinced that their claim to it is untenable." As an additional objection to the course proposed, it was

pointed out that the discharge of European soldiers in any numbers at such a time would not fail to attract the attention of the native soldiery—that an impression might be created that “the Government could not retain its English troops, and that differences existed between the State and the army.” Such an impression, in all probability exaggerated and distorted, would be most unfortunate, and calculated, more than anything else, “to revive the designs of our enemies, and to inspire dangerous thoughts into the minds of those who have hitherto served us faithfully.” Whilst the Governor-General entertained “the sincerest deference and respect for the Commander-in-chief’s opinion and authority upon a matter so thoroughly within his Excellency’s cognisance and experience as the position and feelings of the English soldier, “he considered that the law could not be questioned; that if the soldier’s rights as an Englishman had been invaded by an Act of the Legislature, the course of a loyal and dutiful subject was not to resist the law, but respectfully to represent his case to those in authority over him.” Any such representation would be transmitted to the Home Government. The circumstances would be reported forthwith to the Secretary of State, his lordship relying in the meantime “on the assistance of the Commander-in-chief in convincing the officers and soldiers of the local army of India that it is their bounden duty to pay implicit obedience to the paramount authority of the Queen and of Parlia-



ment, and in requiring every officer of her Majesty's service to enforce this obedience."¹

To the Governor-General's ruling Lord Clyde deferred with his accustomed loyalty, notwithstanding the opinion he had at the outset formed of the necessity for dealing with the claimants in the most liberal manner remained unshaken. Subsequent events proved the soundness of his judgment. He kindly but firmly gave the applicants to understand that the Act of Parliament could not and must not be trifled with, and that they should not attempt to set their private judgment against an Act of Parliament, more particularly when it had been explained by persons competent to do so—viz., the lawyers of the Crown. No further claims for discharge were put forward, and the question for the moment was confined to discussions in the local Indian papers.

In reporting these occurrences to the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Clyde remarked: "Your Royal Highness knows the English soldier well—how he hangs his military existence on his attestation, and how tenacious he is of the terms of the bond of his enlistment. The matter for consideration appears to be, how a court-martial could act, in a case of a soldier being tried, who should put forward on his defence that he was no longer bound by his attestation. The officers composing the court-martial are both judges and

¹ The passages in inverted commas are extracted from the papers "in connection with the discontent among the local European troops," presented to Parliament in March 1860.

jury. They would probably think themselves called upon to examine the terms of the attestation; and it is not impossible that they might judge differently from the lawyers as to the powers of an *ex post facto* Act of Parliament. I do not pretend to give an opinion against that of the lawyers or that of the Government; I merely consider the point as one on which the soldiers may say that a new rule affecting the bond of a first enlistment has been passed, and which seems, according to them, at variance with that careful attention to the consent of the individual, which inspires all our acts of enlistment and the practice of the country—the latter being most familiar to the private soldier. He may say—and I rather suspect he does—that it is very strange that a man cannot be transferred from one regiment to another without his consent, whereas his oath of attestation can be set aside when it involves a change of service altogether. I will take care to speak to them in such a manner as to preserve good temper; and when I see my way a little more clearly than I do at present, I will address your Royal Highness again officially on the results obtained."

On the day following the delivery of the summons to Lall Madho, a reply was received by the hands of a *vakeel*, expressive of the Rajah's desire to submit, but that he was apprehensive lest the sepoys who were with him would murder him if he attempted to do so. Thereupon an ultimatum was conveyed to him, to the effect that if he did not surrender on the



following day, a hostile advance would be made against Amethee. Lall Madho not having put in an appearance on the 6th November, the head-quarter column, dropping a detachment to hold Pertabghur, crossed the Sye on the morning of the 8th, and encamped a mile beyond Loolee, the detachment which had been holding that post joining headquarters. By a preconcerted arrangement the columns under Hope Grant and Wetherall had, simultaneously with the advance of that of the headquarters, invested the fort on the north and south faces, and had established themselves at a distance of about three miles respectively from the Commander-in-chief's column. They had orders to patrol well to their flanks, and to place themselves in communication with headquarters. The three columns were visible from the fort. Lall Madho, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, surrendered himself to the Commander-in-chief on the morning of the 10th, and agreed to give up his fort,—which, after preparations had been made to seize it on the following morning, was found to have been evacuated.

Oudh being a flat country, with no conformation of ground suitable for defensive purposes, and presenting no natural impediments beyond its rivers, its landholders, who in some respects held the position of feudal lords, had constructed fortified dwellings, in which they were enabled, as the occasion demanded, to “resist their neighbours or oppose the



authority of the king." These forts, large numbers of which were to be found in the province, constituted the principal military feature of the country. They formed no part of a general system of defence, but were simply strongholds or places of security to which their owners could retire in case of necessity. The general arrangements for defence appear to have been dictated by this requirement. To counteract the facilities of approach from the plain, "the proprietors of these forts had surrounded them, to a greater or less extent, with a dense jungle or thick growth of bamboos, thorny shrubs, trees, &c., the footpaths through which can only be passed in single file. By these means, and at small expense, an impediment was created, not only to the advance of an enemy, but, where the jungle was extensive, to such close investment as might prevent their escape when disinclined to persist in their defence." The ground-plan of these forts is almost invariably a rectilinear figure of four sides. It rarely presents any re-entering angles, and is so frequently a square with solid towers at the angles, that a square may be assumed to represent their general trace. Such places, so difficult of access, and so well suited for defensive posts, not likely to be exposed to vertical fire, "could not be carried by immediate assault. The surrounding jungle rendered a sufficient reconnaissance difficult, and often impracticable; the general direction of the faces could rarely be ascertained; their fire could sometimes only be replied to by

observing the smoke of the guns ; and, when mortars were available, the direction of the fire would be dependent on the information obtained with respect to the position in the fort of some object visible through the trees."

At Amethee and some of the larger forts, an important addition had been made to the defences by enclosing an area of about 200 acres, only partially covered by jungle, so as to form an intrenched camp sufficient for the accommodation of several thousand men, combining the advantage of free access to the country with that of retreat into the jungle.

Amethee, one of the forts, whose condition was found to be most perfect, possessed three separate lines of defence. The outer line presented a ditch varying from 20 to 40 feet in breadth, and from 19 to 30 feet in depth. In most places, when the fort was entered, there was not above 2 or 3 feet depth of water in it, except near the principal entrance, which adjoins the *jheel*, or lake, covering a part of the north-eastern portion of the fort. During the rains, it was said that the ditch contained 15 or 20 feet of water. The rampart was not continuous ; and although the edge of the counterscarp might generally be seen from some part of the works within the ditch, the bottom of the ditch was almost entirely unseen, and without flank defences. On the inner side of the lake there was an irregular line of earthen rampart rising from the water ; in other



places earthen towers, of small elevation, afforded positions for guns; whilst round the greater part of the fort, trenches had been formed immediately within the ditch to afford convenient positions for musketry. The country was flat, and on the east and north-east open. It was also open on a part of the south side; but the remainder was covered with jungle more or less thick—so thick on the west and south-west side, that the officers employed in sketching it reported the impossibility of following the ditch in that part. Within this enclosure, containing about 250 acres, is another of about 5 acres, formed by an earthen rampart and ditch, and presenting on every side, at some former period, a steep escarp and a good relief. The innermost enclosure was formed by the dwelling-house and its courtyards, and was only partially surrounded by a ditch. Its exterior wall, on the side towards the jungle, was of no great strength. As the roofs of the buildings of the inner enclosure were not bomb-proof, and no stores of gunpowder were found inside them, it was presumed that the garrison had no intention of defending them. Outside of them, however, three stores of gunpowder were found, and two mines completely prepared, with the hose laid; one under the causeway at the principal entrance—the other about 100 feet from it, along the west side of the lake.¹

¹ The remarks on the forts of Oudh, and the description of Ameth-
thee, are abridged from the interesting report of Colonel (now General)



Leaving a strong post at Amethee to destroy the fort, and establishing as a temporary arrangement a military district, consisting of Sultanpoor, Amethee, and Pertabghur, which was placed under the command of Brigadier Pinckney, Lord Clyde moved without delay to Shunkerpoor, the stronghold of Beni Madho, whose standard, it was ascertained, the sépoys who had escaped from Rampoor Kussia and Amethee had joined. The advance was made in three parallel columns—the right under Hope Grant, the headquarter column in the centre, with Brigadier Wetherall's column on the left. The route lay through Purseedapoor, situated on the river Sye, and on the road to Roy Bareilly. On the 15th November, Hope Grant was ordered to march in the direction of Roy Bareilly, and when opposite Shunkerpoor to make a detour to his left and establish himself on the northern face of the fort; whilst the headquarters and Wetherall's columns, moving by the direct route to Shunkerpoor, took up their position on its southern and eastern faces respectively. Brigadier Eveleigh, who with his column had left Poorwah on the 8th November, had dispersed a body of rebels on that day, and on the following morning had stormed the fort of Simree. He had been instructed to move on Shunkerpoor from the north-west, for the purpose of completing the investment of that place; but having received the order too late, and finding a difficulty

Sir Henry Harness, K.C.B., R.E., who accompanied the headquarter column in the capacity of chief engineer.



in making his way by the cross-roads, he was not quite in time to fulfil his orders—consequently a loophole of escape was afforded to Beni Madho and his followers.

The circumference of the outer ditch of Shunkerpoor measured nearly eight miles, but was incomplete. Within the enclosure were four separate strongholds, the intervening space between them being covered with a dense jungle of thorns, here and there pierced by a narrow footpath. The principal one was the property of Beni Madho, who, on seeing that a cordon was being drawn around him, had previously attempted to break it by an unsuccessful attack of the posts established at Poorwah and Jubrowlee. On the works of the fort of Shunkerpoor, comprising an area of 5 acres, much care had been recently expended. Of the remaining three, the property of other *talookdars*, the one which belonged to Nurput Singh was the only one in a defensible state. As was the case with all the forts in Oudh, none of the dwelling-houses possessed bomb-proof cover; and “the large quantities of powder found distributed in the rooms of the fort of Shunkerpoor permitted the assumption that a few shells thrown into the fort would have produced an explosion.”

On the arrival of the headquarter column before Shunkerpoor, connection with Hope Grant on the right was resumed by means of patrols, and a picket was established about a mile and a half on the left to watch the southern face of the fort, care being



taken to keep the troops out of sight, so as to give no excuse for a conflict before the offer of terms had been made. Beni Madho, on being summoned, refused to lay down his arms, and at midnight of the 15th-16th, the rebel garrison, about 10,000 in number, evacuated the fort, taking with them nine or ten guns. Making a wide circuit to the westward, in order to avoid the pickets on Hope Grant's extreme right, they made for the jungle about three miles north-west of Roy Bareilly, with the ultimate intention of escaping across the Goomtee and the Ghogra. At 2 A.M. intelligence of the flight reached Lord Clyde, who forthwith directed Hope Grant to march at daybreak on Roy Bareilly. When the fort was occupied at daybreak, only one or two guns were found in it, the rest having been taken away or buried. On the same morning (the 16th), Brigadier Wetherall's brigade, now transferred to Colonel Taylor, 79th Highlanders, was directed to move by forced marches to Fyzabad, in order to continue the operations across the Ghogra as soon as the Baiswarra district had been cleared of rebels. Leaving a small force at Shunkerpoor to destroy the fort and cut down the jungle, the Commander-in-chief advanced on the night of the 18th with the headquarter column, now commanded by Colonel Jones, 6th Dragoon Guards, to Roy Bareilly. In the meantime, Hope Grant's column had been ordered to move towards Jugdeespoor and the Goomtee. On reaching Jugdeespoor, Hope Grant proceeded with a regi-



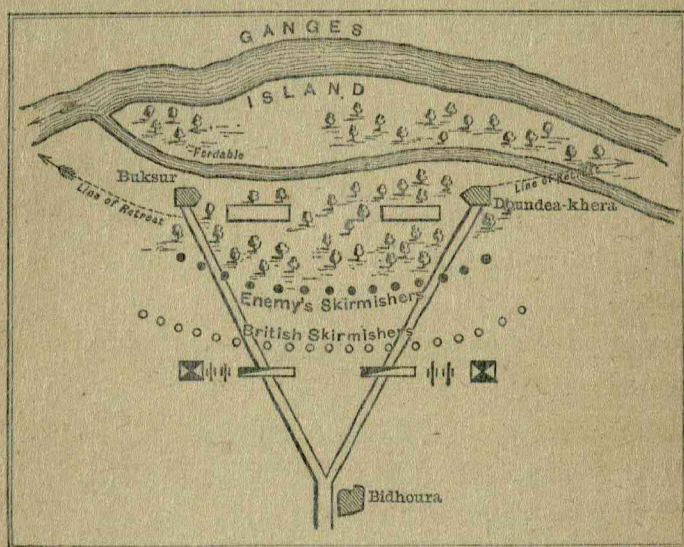
ment of Hodson's Horse to Fyzabad, where a bridge of boats was being constructed, in order to assume command of the forces about to operate in the trans-Ghogra country. On Brigadier Horsford¹ devolved the command of the column left at Jugdeespoor by Sir Hope Grant. Horsford had instructions to reduce the country on the right bank of the Goomtee between Jugdeespoor and Lucknow, and to destroy all such forts as he might come across on his leisurely advance towards the capital. On reaching Roy Bareilly, Lord Clyde sent forward a patrol to Peroo, with orders to feel for Brigadier Eveleigh's column, which had been instructed to advance to that point. It could not be found. During the night of the 19th, however, a letter was received from Brigadier Eveleigh, to the effect that he had been attacked at Bera on the 17th by a large body of the rebels, whom he had defeated, and that their course was in a westerly direction. He had therefore halted near Hajeeipoor, and awaited instructions. It was clear that Beni Madho had been headed by Hope Grant's movement towards Jugdeespoor. As it was ascertained that the rebels had taken the direction of Simree, Brigadier Eveleigh, who in the meantime had disencumbered himself of his sick, wounded, heavy guns and other impediments, which were consigned to a party of cavalry despatched from headquarters, was directed to make a night-march towards Simree, and harass the rebels in pursuit. Leaving a force to hold

¹ General Sir A. H. Horsford, G.C.B.

Roy Bareilly and guard the siege-train of the head-quarter column, as well as Evelegh's guns, which had reached that place, Lord Clyde marched at midnight of the 20th to Buchraon, twenty-two miles distant on the Lucknow road. From that point he was in readiness to act as circumstances might dictate. There information reached him that Beni Madho had taken up a position with his followers at Doundea-khera, a naturally strong position on the Ganges, with his force so disposed as to leave no doubt of his intention to try conclusions with his adversaries. Evelegh was at Nuggur, six miles distant, watching the rebels; and as he was weak in infantry, Lord Clyde determined to effect a junction with him and attack Beni Madho. This he accomplished on the 23d, having marched sixty miles since leaving Roy Bareilly. Near Simree the march was made through jungle, over a road sunk 10 or 12 feet deep, and so narrow that a cart breaking down would have blocked it up completely. Beni Madho was still in position, having his flanks *appuied* on two villages—the right on Buksur, the left on Doundea-khera—his rear resting on the Ganges, and his front covered by a thick thorny jungle, which was held by his skirmishers.

The tents having been struck, and the baggage packed and placed under a strong escort, Lord Clyde was in readiness to advance against the rebel position on the morning of the 24th. The force was in motion at 7 A.M., and before passing Nuggur was

divided into two separate columns, having an interval of half a mile between them. The right, led by Brigadier Evelegh, was directed against Doundea-khera; the left, under the command of Colonel Jones, marched on Buksur. The columns marched in contiguous order, with the cavalry placed on either flank; and though, after leaving the village of Bidhoura, the



roads which they respectively took diverged from each other, a perfect communication was established between them by a line of skirmishers thrown out from each of them. On reaching Bidhoura, a summons was sent to Beni Madho, giving him a last chance of surrender; but after an interval of an hour and a half without any reply, the advance was



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resumed. As the rebel position was neared, a short halt was made to enable it to be reconnoitred.

The enemy opened fire first, and our guns and skirmishers at once came into action. The brisk advance of the latter through the jungle was sufficient to break the rebel line. Such of the enemy as held it were forced into the smaller channel of the river, whilst those in occupation of the two villages on either flank were driven headlong out of them. It was not necessary to employ the main body of the column. The enemy suffered severely, but the greater portion of them escaped to their flanks up and down the river—not, however, without being roughly handled by the cavalry, which, especially on the right, pressed the pursuit with vigour till after dark. The rebels left between three and four hundred dead bodies on the ground, and abandoned all their guns, seven in number, which were captured. The column halted on the 25th, it being uncertain on what point the enemy, who had retreated in two directions, would concentrate. On the 26th, a small force under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Royal Artillery, was detached in pursuit towards the Sye river. On its being ascertained that Beni Madho was making for the Goomtee, Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael was detached from Roy Bareilly on the 1st December with 4 guns light field-battery, a regiment of Oudh police cavalry, H.M.'s 32d Light Infantry, and the 19th Punjab Infantry, for the purpose of following him up and driving him across the Ghogra. This he



accomplished on the 5th December, the flight of the fugitives having been quickened by the action of Horsford's column, which came across them as they approached the Goomtee and drove them in confusion over that river. In the meantime, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon had taken post at Roy Bareilly, the garrison of that place being strengthened by the arrival of a wing of the 54th Regiment from Shunkerpoor.

Lord Clyde having effected the clearance of the Baiswarra district, marched with the column to Lucknow, which he reached on the 28th November, detaching on the way Brigadier Eveleigh to pick up two guns of Bengal horse-artillery and the headquarters of H.M.'s 20th Regiment, which had been stationed at Nawabgunj.

Whilst such good effects had been produced by the movement of the columns under the personal direction of the Commander-in-chief, equally happy results had been obtained by the action of those which had been operating separately. Hope Grant, on reaching Fyzabad, found there Brigadier Taylor's column, which, together with the troops previously left at that station, gave him a strength of 4300 men. The bridge over the Ghogra having been completed under the direction of Captain Lothian Nicholson of the Royal Engineers, Hope Grant crossed that river on the 25th November, in the face of a rebel force under the Gonda Rajah; and storming his position, whence he had caused much annoy-



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ance during the construction of the bridge, defeated him with the loss of his guns. After a pursuit of twenty-four miles, Hope Grant returned with his force to the camp, which had in the meantime been established on the left bank of the Ghogra.

Brigadier Horsford's column having cleared the right bank of the Goomtee, made for Lucknow, reaching that place with the greater portion of his column on the 4th December, the remainder arriving two days later.

The column under Brigadier Barker, which had been joined by that of Colonel Hale after the abandonment of Rooyah (*vide ante*, p. 315), marched on Bangurmow—returning whence, he reduced the country by Kuchowna and Benugunj, arriving at Khyrabad on the 28th November, and at Biswah on the 3d December.

Brigadier Troup had advanced with the Shajehanpoor column on Nourungabad, and on the 8th November captured the fort of Mittowlee. He occupied it with a strong detachment, and then advanced on Aligunj, near which (at Mehndee) he had a smart skirmish with the rebels. He then moved down to Biswah, where he established himself on the 2d December near the right bank of the river Chouka.

Feroze Shah, the Delhi prince, who happened to be at that time at Memdabad with about 1500 or 2000 mounted followers, doubled back, and pushing rapidly past Baree and Sundeela, succeeded in crossing the Ganges near Meerun-ke-Serai. He caused



considerable alarm in the Doab, and in the vicinity of Etawah had a drawn engagement with some levies, at the head of which the magistrate of Etawah moved out to oppose him. In the meantime, the small movable force organised by Brigadier Percy Herbert at Cawnpore, started after Feroze Shah from that station, and drove him over the Jumna into Central India. Brigadier Herbert, owing to his weakness in cavalry, abstained from following him across the river, in the quicksands of which Feroze Shah lost many of his animals. As soon as Lord Clyde heard of Feroze Shah's movements, he directed Brigadier Troup to detach the bulk of his cavalry in pursuit; and this party was to be joined by two Madras horse-artillery guns. Feroze Shah, however, had too good a start to be overtaken. He was eventually encountered by Sir Robert Napier at Runnode, in the Gwalior territory, in the third week in December; and, on being defeated, made with his followers for Rajgurh, with the design of joining Tantia Topee.

On the 30th November a column was detached from Lucknow, under Brigadier Eveleigh, to reduce the fort of Oomeriah (about twenty miles distant), as well as to settle the country to the north-east, between that place and Futtehpoor. Oomeriah fell into his hands on the 2d December.

Thus had one-half of the task of subjugating Oudh been happily accomplished. The plan, which had been elaborated with such care beforehand, and



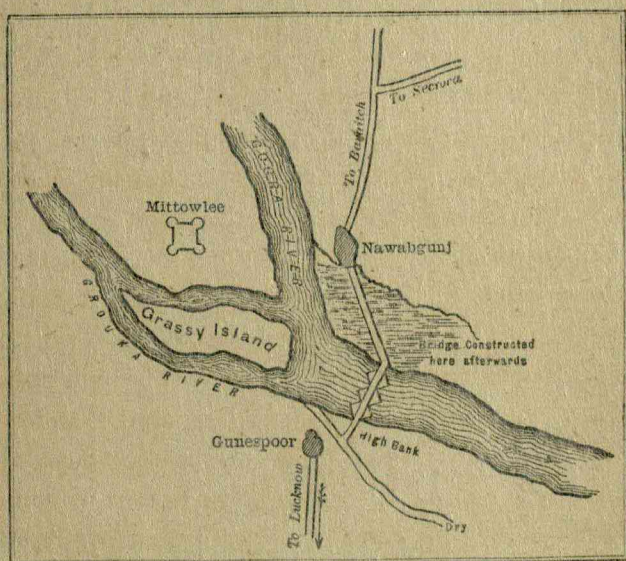
which involved punctuality and precision in no ordinary degree, had borne its fruits. In no single instance had a deviation from it been made ; although, as Lord Clyde reported to the Governor-General, in the theatre of operations, "extending over a length of more than 200 miles, each movement, and each apparently isolated attack, was made to defend and support what was going on to the right and left. The advance in line, stretching from the confines of Rohileund to Allahabad and Azimghur, had put down everything like rebellion, in a large sense of the word, beyond the Ghogra." Contemporary local critics found occasion to sneer at the tardiness of Lord Clyde's movements,—with insufficient reason, however, when it is considered that his combinations necessitated, in many instances, long marches, and that he had a far greater object in view than the momentary dispersion of the rebel bands. Unless justified by some urgent military necessity, Lord Clyde was, on principle, averse to entering any district which could not be permanently occupied. A merely temporary occupation brought to the front all such of the residents as were inclined to sympathise with the British cause ; but no sooner had the troops taken their departure, than the ill-disposed seized the opportunity of plundering, maltreating, and even murdering those who had rendered any assistance. This had actually occurred in more than one district, where little or no disorder had shown itself prior to its temporary occupation by a British

force. To guard against such evils, Lord Clyde was determined to leave no portion of territory through which the columns moved, unfurnished with police posts under civil authority, and of sufficient strength to guarantee order for the future. In a word, he insisted on the permanent settlement of the country as he advanced.

Matters were now ripe for the prosecution of the campaign in the trans-Ghogra territory. On the 5th December, Lord Clyde marched to Nawabgunj Barabunkee with a column consisting of F troop Royal Horse-Artillery, heavy field-battery, two guns light field-battery, one squadron 6th Dragoon Guards, H.M.'s 7th Hussars, one squadron Lahore Light Horse, one squadron 6th Madras Cavalry, a regiment Oudh police cavalry, H.M.'s 20th Regiment, 2d battalion Rifle Brigade, a wing of H.M.'s 23d Fusiliers, the Belooch battalion, and two regiments of Oudh police infantry, under the command of Brigadier Horsford.

On reaching Nawabgunj the same day, the column was joined by the brigade under Brigadier Purnell—four guns light field-battery, a wing H.M.'s 23d Fusiliers, and H.M.'s 90th Light Infantry. On the following day, the 6th December, Lord Clyde had completed one march in the direction of Byram Ghât, when he heard that the enemy were still crossing the Ghogra a march ahead. He at once pushed on at a trot with the cavalry and four horse-artillery guns, on the waggons of which were placed a few of the Rifle Brigade, in the hopes of intercepting the

rebels, and possibly seizing some boats on the right bank of the river. On reaching it, however, he found that the whole of the enemy had crossed, and that there were no means immediately available for effecting the passage. As soon as the infantry brigade, which followed in support, came up, the force encamped near the village of Gunespoor, situ-



ated at the confluence of the Ghogra and Chouka rivers. At about two miles above their point of junction stands the fort of Bittowlee or Mittowlee, reported* to be one of the most inaccessible strongholds in Oudh. It was held by Beni Madho's followers, who had been pursued by Colonel Carmichael's column from Roy Bareilly, and which was encamp-



ed within three miles of the headquarter column. Colonel Carmichael was ordered to retrace his steps on the following day.

Hope Grant, after his successful affair with the Rajah of Gonda on the 25th November, had, in accordance with instructions from headquarters, limited his advance to that point. It was necessary, in carrying out the combination, to give time to Brigadier Rowcroft, who was simultaneously advancing from the Goruckpoor district, to push forward across the Raptee to Heer, for the purpose of clearing out the rebels who had so long disturbed that portion of the frontier, and driving them into the Toolseepoor district of Oudh. A premature movement in advance of the line already taken up would have been attended with grave inconvenience, if it induced the rebels to pass round Hope Grant's right flank, and skirting the mountains, to invade the provinces of Tirhoot and Behar. Such a contingency, of all things, was most to be dreaded; and Hope Grant was accordingly warned "to use the greatest care to prevent such a catastrophe."

The headquarter column halted on the 7th. As all the boats were in the enemy's hands on the opposite side of the Ghogra, and as, with the exception of a few small canoes, no means were available for the passage of the river, which, at Byram Ghât, is a fine deep stream, 450 yards wide at its narrowest point, Hope Grant, who in the meantime had been operating to the eastward of Gonda, and had destroyed the



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fort of Bunkussia, was directed to advance on Sec-rora. The result of this movement was to turn the enemy's position at Nawabgunj. The enemy, it was believed, abandoned the fort of Mittowlee on the 7th, as numerous armed men were observed crossing the Ghogra opposite Nawabgunj. Lord Clyde, anxious to prosecute the campaign without further delay, determined to proceed with Horsford's column to Fyzabad, leaving Brigadier Purnell at Byram Ghât with a squadron of Lahore Light Horse, a regiment of Oudh police cavalry, a heavy and light field-battery, a company of Royal Engineers, H.M.'s 23d Fusiliers, H.M.'s 90th Light Infantry, and a regiment of Oudh police infantry, to watch the Ghât, and collect boats and materials for the construction of the bridge. Brigadier Eveleigh, who had completed his work at Oomeriah, received orders by express to march to Fyzabad. Passing through Deriabad, at which place a small military post had been established, Lord Clyde reached Fyzabad on the 10th December, having accomplished three long marches of nearly twenty miles each. The route to the ancient capital of the kingdom lay through an unusually fertile and highly cultivated country. Colonel Christie followed the Commander-in-chief two marches in rear with the siege-train, which was accompanied by a troop of Bengal horse-artillery, a heavy field-battery, a detachment Hodson's Horse, a wing H.M.'s 80th Foot, the 5th Punjab Rifles, and the Kumaon battalion. Early the next day the



headquarter column began crossing the Ghogra by the newly constructed bridge, and marched to Nawabgunj, about seven miles distant on the left bank of the Tehree Nuddee, *en route* to Secrora, which was reached on the 14th—Lord Clyde, who had remained behind at Fyzabad for a day, overtaking the column on the 12th. On the 9th December, Lord Clyde informed Lord Canning of his proceedings: “I shall be at Fyzabad to-morrow, and cross the Ghogra the next day with a view to breaking up the last bodies of rebels which retain any organisation. Sir Hope Grant, according to native report, had an affair the day before yesterday at Bunkussia. This requires confirmation. The movement of the various columns towards the Ghogra had the effect of driving the greater part of the enemy across the river. The alarm caused by the marching through the interval between two of the columns by some parties of rebel cavalry has been very great; but, as far as Oudh is concerned, no mischief has been done. It is to be hoped that they will be well prepared in the Doab by the parties which have been moved after them. My object in coming by way of Fyzabad was to save time, a brigade having been left at Byram Ghât to complete a bridge, which will not be effected immediately, as the collection of boats sufficient for a work of such magnitude will take many days, even after both banks of the river have been cleared. I yesterday saw the officer commanding the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and spoke to him about



the discharge question. His report was very satisfactory, and that his men had not moved in it. The flying column of cavalry under Colonel Brind has been ordered to stop at Cawnpore, if the rebels under Feroze Shah should have crossed the Jumna on its arrival there, unless your lordship shall please to give it any other orders. Brigadier Barker has been ordered to fix his headquarters at Sundeela, his advanced posts being across the Goomtee towards the Chouka; and he commands all the troops belonging to the various columns in the Seetapoor district—viz., his own, Troup's, and Hale's. I hope his own presence at Sundeela will check the prevalence of panics at the report of small bodies of rebels moving from one point to another. The exaggeration of the native reports would be ludicrous if it was not so mischievous, and it affects Europeans and natives alike."

Writing on the following day to the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Clyde conveyed to his Royal Highness a most satisfactory report of the troops: "I never," he remarks, "saw an army in higher health and condition and better cared for than that now in the field. Their marching is most admirable. I may almost say that twenty miles a-day has come to be an average both with the troops immediately with me and those of the various columns which enter into the general combination. The same spirit animates the officers and men, and your Royal Highness has indeed reason to be gratified with them. It



is only by such a spirit and such exertions that this widespread struggle can be finally put an end to. I am very sanguine that this will now soon be accomplished."

The left bank of the Ghogra at Byram Ghât having been cleared by the advance of Hope Grant to Secrora, Brigadier Purnell was enabled to secure a number of boats for the construction of the bridge. Additional ones had been sent up by Lord Clyde from Fyzabad in charge of a steamer having a detachment of British troops on board. The bridge was being rapidly put together, and was finally completed on the 23d December. Brigadier Purnell was ordered to watch the *ghâts* on the Chouka, as far up as Jehangirabad, and prevent the crossing of any rebel bands. A like duty devolved upon Brigadier Troup, who guarded the line from that place up to the confines of Rohilcund, in which province also the various forces at Mohumdee, Shahjehanpoor, Pilleebheet, Madho Tandah, &c., were put on the alert with a similar object. A detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt, of the 23d Fusiliers, was thrown across the Chouka above Byram Ghât, and marched up the Mullapoor Doab. The police force attached to Brigadier Purnell's column was destined to hold Secrora. Brigadier Eveleigh's column, which had been directed on Fyzabad, was instructed to push forward and halt at Gonda, where it was "to form a reserve to the columns moving northwards, to settle the country, and level the forts."



On the morning of the 14th December, on which day the headquarter column reached Secrora, Hope Grant's force had set out for the purpose of aiding Brigadier Rowcroft in his advance on Toolseepoor, and driving the rebels beyond the British frontier, Grant himself remaining behind to confer with Lord Clyde, whilst his column made one march towards Bulrampoor on the right bank of the Raptée. The column under Brigadier Rowcroft, consisting of a light field-battery of Madras artillery, the Pearl's naval brigade under Captain Sotheby, the Bengal yeomanry cavalry, the headquarter Madras cavalry, H.M.'s 13th Light Infantry, the headquarters 53d Foot, the regiment of Ferozepore, and a wing of the 27th Madras Native Infantry, to which was subsequently added the 1st Punjab Cavalry, had advanced from Bustee, and, crossing the Raptée, was prosecuting its march to Toolseepoor, which place, it was believed, was held by Bala Rao, the brother of Nana Sahib, in considerable strength. With the object of preventing Brigadier Rowcroft's advance being turned to the eastward, a strong post, formed by H.M.'s 73d Regiment, the left wing of the 7th Punjab Infantry, and two bullock-guns, was established at Simree. After one or two affairs with the rebels, Toolseepoor was occupied by Brigadier Rowcroft on the 23d December. He was subsequently joined at that place by Hope Grant, who had previously detached from Bulrampoor a portion of the 1st Sikh Infantry, with a heavy battery and one company of the 53d



Regiment to Bhinga, for the purpose of constructing a bridge over the Raptee.

The objective point for which the headquarter column now made was Baraitch, which was held by the Nana Sahib and the Begum of Oudh, who still rallied to her cause the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents occupying Boondée. As the Commander-in-chief advanced, these leaders fell back in the direction of the Nepaul frontier. On the 15th December, the headquarter column marched from Secrora by the road leading up the left bank of the Chota Surjoo, and reached Baraitch on the 17th. The town had been evacuated by the bulk of the rebels on the previous day. On the day of his arrival Lord Clyde wrote to Lord Canning: "I arrived at Baraitch this morning, the advanced-guard of the Oudh police cavalry having come by surprise on a picket of the rebels. The main body of the latter seem to be at Nanparah, which is about 20 miles off, the Begum being at a fort called Nichwa, which is a few *koss* to the N.W. of that place. It will be necessary for me to stop here a day or two because it is raining, and to give time to Sir Hope Grant, who arrived at Bulrampoor yesterday, in continuance of his movement of advance along the banks of the Raptee on Bhinga, which is also held by the rebels." On the 19th he continued his report: "I am still at Baraitch, having been detained by rain and the necessity for waiting for Sir Hope Grant's march to Bhinga. Had I pressed on before



he had made his circuitous march of the Raptée, there would have been danger of considerable bodies of the rebels slipping round my rear into the country through which I have lately advanced. No time, however, is lost, as necessary leisure is afforded by Major Barrow to induce the chiefs and sepoy to lay down their arms without more fighting. He was most anxious for a halt on this account, putting military considerations aside. Owing to the considerable number of Punjabee troops and police which have lately arrived in these parts, I would solicit your lordship's leave to use my discretion with respect to moving the Madras native infantry and cavalry, now north of the Jumna, back to their own Presidency at a very early date. Their pay is enormous; and it is expedient, both on economical and military grounds, that they should go as soon as possible. The excitement of war once over, the Sikhs will soon discover that the Madrassées are receiving 12 rupees *per mensem*, when they get only 7. . . . The Madras Fusiliers can very shortly be spared from Cawnpore. This regiment has done an immense deal of hard work during the last eighteen months. On the arrival of the 48th Regiment at Cawnpore, it might proceed in boats to Calcutta, and from thence by sea to Madras. I believe this may be done with perfect safety. The Adjutant-General H.M.'s forces has been desired by this post to wait on General Birch, and to inquire if your lordship would approve of the volunteering order for the



military train and the four infantry regiments being issued, the time fixed for it to begin being the 1st February. By that date, I am confident it will be in my power to dispense with them without risk, and to recommend the general location of the troops for the ensuing year. I hope the manner in which the troops are disposed will have the effect of guarding the country properly, while the last move against the insurgents is taking place in the direction of Nanparah and Churda by Sir Hope Grant and myself." Indications of disruption amongst the insurgents were now becoming apparent. On the 22d, while still at Baraitch, Lord Clyde again addressed Lord Canning: "I enclose a copy of an answer sent by me yesterday to the Begum, whose *vakeel* appeared in camp early in the day with an inquiry from her Highness as to what she might expect. The scouts say she has travelled north, and is already close to the hills of Nepaul. This is probably true; and I think it advisable, at any rate, to cause the troops to march forward, as I have this day heard from Sir Hope Grant that he will be able to-morrow to advance up the Raptée towards Bhinga. Brigadier Rowcroft has been much impeded by the natural difficulties of the country he has had to traverse; and Sir Hope, whose movement was combined with his, has been delayed in consequence. I shall be at Nanparah the day after to-morrow. I am happy to say that there is every appearance of a general break-up, the *vakeels* of all the rajahs and *talookdars* still 'out'



having shown themselves to Major Barrow. Bala Rao is not far from Toolseepoor, at which place Brigadier Rowcroft is directed to halt, for the purpose of operating in the district; and the Nana is said to be moving north. I believe there is nothing more to say about the present state of things in these parts. I am glad to see that Sir R. Napier came up with Feroze Shah's party. The accounts of Oudh generally are very satisfactory."

On the 21st, Colonel Christie, who in the meantime had joined the Commander-in-chief, was detached to Oorabee, near the left bank of the Surjoo, with orders to move parallel with the headquarter column, and prevent any rebels doubling round its left flank and crossing the Surjoo into the Mullapoor Doab.

Leaving a small mixed force of Europeans and native troops, as well as a body of police cavalry and infantry, to hold Baraitch, Lord Clyde marched on the 23d, with F troop Royal Horse-Artillery, a heavy field-battery Royal Artillery, a company of Royal Engineers, a squadron of the 6th Dragoon Guards, the 7th Hussars, a squadron Madras cavalry, a squadron of the Oudh police cavalry, eight companies H.M.'s 20th Foot, the 2d battalion Rifle Brigade, and the Belooch battalion, towards Nanparah. Passing through a wide expanse of grassy plain, and destroying Tiprah—a bamboo fort surrounded by a double fence of tall bamboos and a ditch, and which was impenetrable save by one entrance—



the camp was pitched at Deodutpoor, 15 miles from Baraitch. The enemy were reported to have abandoned Nanparah, and to be posted at Churda and Burgidiah. Guns were heard in the direction of the river Surjoo, which afterwards proved to be those of Colonel Christie's column engaged in skirmishing with the enemy. Heavy rain fell on the night of the 23d and during the 24th, rendering the tents too saturated to be packed, and the roads too slippery for marching. Accordingly, Christmas-day was celebrated in camp, on which, the clouds having cleared away, the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, which were lightened up by the glow of the morning sun, shone down, in apparently close proximity, with majestic grandeur. The advance to Burgidiah was resumed on the 26th. After passing Nanparah, which was found to be almost deserted, intelligence reached Lord Clyde that the enemy was in force at Burgidiah. After making a short halt, during which the baggage closed up compactly on the reserve, the column resumed its march, and when the eighteenth mile had been completed, the enemy's pickets were sighted falling back at a leisurely pace on the main body, which was drawn up in advance of a village opposite the left front of the British force. Halting for a few minutes to reconnoitre, Lord Clyde, though the afternoon was far advanced, immediately disposed his troops for action.

Four guns Royal Horse-Artillery, with the 7th Hussars on their left and a squadron of the 6th



Madras Cavalry on their right, were formed in advance. Two companies of Rifles and two of the Belooch battalion followed in support of the guns. The rest of the force formed up on its left rear—viz., 2d battalion Rifle Brigade on the right, two guns Royal Horse-Artillery, Belooch battalion, heavy field-battery, eight companies H.M.'s 20th Regiment, and a squadron of Carabineers. The 1st Punjab Cavalry, which arrived on the field (having made forced marches from Toolseepoor) after the affair had begun, formed up, one squadron on the right of the Rifles and two squadrons on the left of the Carabineers. Skirmishers were thrown out in front of the line, which was directed on the village held by the enemy.

The Commander-in-chief advanced to the front at a canter with the guns and cavalry of the advance-guard. On approaching within range of the enemy's guns, he took ground suddenly to his right for several hundred yards, and when opposite their extreme left he again advanced to his front up to within 600 yards, and brought the guns into action. The effect of the manœuvre was instantaneous; the enemy's flank was turned, and breaking in disorder, he fled across the plain in the direction of Burgidiah and Churdah. The pursuit was carried on until nightfall. The enemy, who numbered about 4000 men, abandoned all their guns (six), which fell into the hands of their pursuers.

During the affair, Lord Clyde, when galloping to



point out the proper direction for pursuit to the officer in command of the horse-artillery, met with a serious accident. His horse fell, throwing him violently on the ground. Mackinnon, his surgeon, who happened to be immediately behind his chief, rode up, and dismounting, found him sitting up in great pain, with blood trickling down his cheek. Mackinnon at first imagined that a stray shot from the enemy in retreat might have produced the flow of blood, but, on examination, found that it was caused by his head coming in contact with a hard projection on the ground. He further ascertained that a shoulder was put out and a rib broken. Lord Clyde, on learning the nature of the injury, was very much disconcerted, remarking, "How unlucky it was for him to be disabled in this manner, just as he was on the point of bringing the war to a conclusion." Notwithstanding, however, this accident, he did not abrogate his functions, but continued, as hitherto, the personal superintendence of the operations in progress.

A circumstance, characteristic of Lord Clyde, occurred this evening. Dr Russell, himself an eye-witness of it, thus vividly portrays the scene: "On returning to camp it was quite dark; not a tent was pitched; the baggage was coming up in darkness and in storms of angry voices. As the night was cold, the men made blazing fires of the straw and grass of the houses of the neighbouring hamlet, in which Nana Sahib's followers had long been quar-

tered. At one of those fires, surrounded by Beloochees, Lord Clyde sat, with his arm in a sling, on a *charpoy*, which had been brought out to feed the flames. Once, as he rose up to give some orders for the disposition of the troops, a tired Beloochee flung himself full length on the crazy bedstead, and was jerked off in a moment by one of his comrades,—‘Don’t you see, you fool, that you are on the Lord Sahib’s *charpoy*?’ Lord Clyde interposed—‘Let him lie there; don’t interfere with his rest,’ and took his seat on a billet of wood.” Under medical treatment the dislocation was rapidly reduced; and after some weeks’ rest on his return to Lucknow, Lord Clyde was pretty well again, though subsequently he suffered from a slight attack of pleuro-pneumonia, the effects of the injury to his rib.

The camp was pitched late around the fort of Burgidiah.

The next day (the 27th) the headquarter column marched on the fort of Musjidiah, situated about six miles distant in a north-westerly direction. To this stronghold a large portion of the rebels had taken themselves on the previous day.

The *enceinte* of the fort of Musjidiah is of small extent in comparison with the forts of Baiswarra, but it was considered by the engineers to be the most complete and the strongest fort which had yet been seen in Oudh. “Its profile”—so runs the report of Colonel Harness—“was very strong in almost every part, the ditch being generally 20 feet in depth and



25 feet in breadth, with very steep slopes to the escarp and counterscarp, and the ramparts having generally a height of 15 feet. In addition to this strong *enceinte*, a very thick and well-formed abatis, impenetrable by troops under well-directed fire, more than half surrounded the work, including the whole of that part which was not concealed by the jungle. The jungle, which extended round the north, the west, and the south-west sides of the fort, was very thick, but nowhere apparently impenetrable by infantry. The other sides of the fort were so far covered by underwood as to render it impossible to form an accurate opinion of the defence by reconnoissance."

The headquarter column, advancing from the southward, halted nearly in front of the north-east face of the fort, at a distance of from 1000 to 1500 yards. The heavy guns with the force—viz., one 18-pounder and one 8-inch howitzer—were ordered up, and taken to the front by a circuitous path through the jungle, and placed in position on the east side of the fort, within 350 yards of the entrance-towers. They were accompanied by a strong guard of infantry. Two 8-inch mortars with the force were brought into action simultaneously at a distance of about 800 yards on the south-west side of the fort. The flanks were covered by the cavalry and the field-artillery, whilst the skirmishers, pushing through the underwood and broken ground, approached to within 300 yards of the works, so as to



fire with certainty through the embrasures. After a vertical fire of not quite three hours' duration, the enemy's guns ceased to reply ; and a soldier, creeping stealthily up to the ditch, discovered that the place was abandoned. The enemy had escaped into the dense jungle at the back of the fort, leaving their guns, ammunition, and grain behind them.

The camp had been pitched whilst the bombardment was being carried on ; so that before sunset all the force, with the exception of an adequate garrison to hold the fort, had returned to it. The loss on this and the previous day was very trifling, amounting to only thirteen men wounded, one of whom subsequently died.

A halt was made on the 28th December. Leaving fifty men of the 1st Punjab Cavalry and a wing of the Belooch battalion to destroy the fort of Musjidiah, Lord Clyde marched back to Nanparah, as at that spot he judged he would be in a more central and advantageous position to watch the enemy's movements.

Lieutenant-Colonel Christie's column, which had been moving parallel with the headquarter column, was directed to continue its advance northward on Durmapoor and Pudnaha on the 31st December. Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt's column, which had marched up the Mullapoor Doab, crossed the river Surjoo at Khyree Ghât near Mullapoor, and was ordered to move on Nanparah. A portion of Brigadier Troup's column, detached under Colonel Dennis, and con-



sisting of two guns Bengal horse-artillery, a detachment irregular cavalry, and the 1st battalion H.M.'s 60th Rifles, had been thrown across the Chouka and Dour rivers, with orders to sweep the country up to the Khyreegurh jungles.

On the 29th the headquarter column halted. During the afternoon of the next day intelligence reached the camp through scouts that the rebels had collected in force near Bankee. Orders were issued thereupon for the troops to parade without bugle-sound at 8 P.M. The camp was left standing, and placed in charge of a wing of H.M.'s 20th Regiment. The infantry were placed on elephants, as many of these animals as were available having been collected for the purpose. The night was pitch-dark. A lantern fastened to a howdah on the back of an elephant moved at the head of the column and served as a guide to the troops in rear; but notwithstanding this precaution, the squadron of the 6th Madras Cavalry lost its way at starting, and did not rejoin the column till the following day. After a march of fifteen miles in the dark, a halt was made about 3 A.M., when within two or three miles of the enemy's supposed position. Soon after dawn the column continued its advance, and after proceeding two miles and a half, the enemy's vedettes appeared in sight with the rebel force beyond them. They were posted within about three-quarters of a mile of a belt of jungle which runs almost parallel with, and about three miles distant from, the river Raptee.



Their position was well chosen, for its close proximity to the forest enabled them to withdraw from the field of battle with little chance of molestation from the guns and cavalry opposed to them. Subsequent examination of the ground showed that two roads ran through the forest, leading towards the Raptée and the pass by which the Soonar valley in Nepaul is reached. The enemy's line occupied the space between these roads. The cavalry and horse-artillery were moved up rapidly to the front, the troop of horse-artillery in the centre flanked on the right by a squadron of the Carabineers and a squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry; on the left, by the 7th Hussars and another squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry. Though the enemy's force was about two miles distant, the steady advance of the British over rough ground brought them within range in about seven or eight minutes. After a few shots the rebels turned and fled. Two guns, with the 7th Hussars and a squadron of the Punjab Cavalry, pursued that portion of the enemy which retired by the road leading into the jungle in rear of their right. Four guns, a squadron of Carabineers, and a squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, followed those who took the road in rear of their left. The enemy gained the jungle, abandoning two of their guns in the open. On reaching cover, they brought a gun into action, around which some of their sharpshooters rallied. This gun, concealed amidst the trees, was so well handled, that it was deemed advisable to



retire the artillery and cavalry out of action until the infantry came up. The guns and cavalry on the left having joined those on the right, three companies of Rifles were thrown into skirmishing order, and entered the wood. The gun was abandoned and captured. The remainder of the Rifles, with a wing of the Belooch battalion, pressed on in pursuit through the forest, followed by the troop of horse-artillery and cavalry. On emerging from the jungle, which was a mile in breadth, the rebels were observed in position on some rising ground about 800 yards ahead, on the opposite side of a deeply embedded nullah. They likewise held the wood on the right of the rising ground. The Rifles were at once formed on the left, with skirmishers thrown out, and advanced briskly toward the wood. The horse-artillery and cavalry crossed the nullah by a difficult ford a few hundred yards lower down. Two only of the guns were able to cross. As the cavalry gained the opposite bank, they were formed up in squadrons. On ascending the rising ground, the enemy's cavalry and infantry were observed slowly retiring along the edge of the forest towards the Raptee. A squadron 1st Punjab Cavalry, supported by three squadrons of the 7th Hussars, charged straight down towards the Raptee, in the direction of a lower ford, for which a portion of the rebels were making. The last squadron of Hussars which came up was directed on the main body of the enemy on the edge of the wood, and orders were



simultaneously sent for the other three squadrons of the regiment to change their direction and support the single squadron.

As the three supporting squadrons swept along the banks of the Raptee, six guns opened on them from the jungle on the opposite side, and ploughed up the ground between them for four or five hundred yards. The pace was good, and they ran the gauntlet without sustaining loss. The leading squadron was 800 yards in advance, and drove four or five hundred of the enemy's cavalry headlong across the Raptee. Several were sabred before they reached the river, and a number were drowned or killed in the Raptee. Unfortunately, Major Horne, who was leading the left wing of the 7th Hussars, and two men, were drowned when crossing the river. Captain Stisted, who led the first squadron, narrowly escaped the same fate. Four guns were taken during the day, and two more were found abandoned in the forest on the following day. The camp and baggage having come up from Nanparah during this affair, the troops joined it in the evening, after a long and fatiguing march.

By intelligence received in camp on the following day, it was ascertained that the several bodies of rebels who fell back on the appearance of the head-quarter column at Byram Ghât, had yielded to the pressure of the advancing line, and had either surrendered or passed the Nepaulese frontier, beyond which the Commander-in-chief was unauthorised to act.



The force halted at Bankee and in its vicinity till the 5th January. During the interval the detachment sent to destroy the fort of Musjidiah, as also that dropped at Nanparah, which had been relieved by Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt's column, returned to camp. The column under Lieutenant-Colonel Christie, which had made a circuit by Pudnaha, also rejoined headquarters.

Information now reached the Commander-in-chief that the remnant of the rebels were encamped in the Soonar valley, between the first and second range of hills within Nepaulese territory. Thereupon Lord Clyde advanced with the force from Bankee nearly six miles, to Sidinhia Ghât, the scene of the action of the 31st December, where the camp was pitched on the right bank of the Raptee, the site having been selected as the most favourable for watching the pass leading into Nepaul. The troops took up their position in a most picturesque spot facing the hills, the slopes of the lower ranges of which were clothed with gigantic forest-trees. The front of the position faced the hills, the left flank being thrown back so as to observe a dense forest, the right flank being likewise refused on the open ground sloping down to the Raptee. The passage by the gorge of the Raptee was believed to be one of the least accessible entrances into Nepaul.

On the 7th January, the Nawab of Furrukhabad and Mehndee Hussein surrendered themselves to the civil authority in camp—the former, who in the early



stage of the revolt had rendered himself notorious by his treachery and open countenance of the mutineers, being immediately transferred to Lucknow under the guard of a wing of H.M.'s 80th Regiment.

After Hope Grant had joined Brigadier Rowcroft at Toolseepoor, he found it necessary, as had been foreseen by the Commander-in-chief, to take measures to prevent Bala Rao creeping round his right flank into the Goruckpoor district. He therefore provided for the security of Toolseepoor by leaving Brigadier Taylor to hold that place ; and taking with him his cavalry and Brigadier Rowcroft's column, set out on the 25th December. Making forced marches in a south-easterly direction, he passed through Heer, and then skirting Simree on his left hand, made a circuit in a north-westerly direction, and anticipated the rebels by hitting on Bala Rao's force at Kumdah-Kote, close under the hills, about thirteen miles distant in a north-easterly direction from Toolseepoor. Hope Grant attacked him on the 4th January, driving his followers into the neighbouring hills and capturing fifteen guns. Like his brother the Nana, Bala Rao sought refuge in Nepaul.

The task Lord Clyde had set himself to perform was now accomplished. By means of the sweeping advance initiated in October, the three wide provinces of Oudh, Behar, and Goruckpoor—which, to use his own words, "till that time had been in a state of downright insurrection—were absolutely cleared of even the semblance of rebellion." "The



march of each column, the commencement of each attack, was guided from headquarters, and watched with the utmost care and accuracy. The different commanders of the various columns were apparently directing independent campaigns; but in point of fact, they all depended the one on the other, and their movements were respectively ordered and arranged accordingly. Although from the nature of the contest there were no great battles, the number of small affairs was very considerable; and the endeavour was made successfully so to combine the various columns, that on no occasion did it happen that any commander was under the necessity of fighting against odds, which he could not easily overcome. I myself moved, as occasion seemed to require, from one column to another, and at times was rapidly marching with a very slender escort, while the public gave me credit for being immediately at the head of a large force on which every sort of authority might draw without reserve."¹ In Oudh alone 150,000 armed men, of whom at least 35,000 were sepoys of the old native army, succumbed to the power of the British arms. Authority was re-established, and by the presence of the newly-organised police force confidence was restored to the inhabitants. About 150 guns were captured in fight. Many more guns and 350,000 arms of different descriptions had, according to the official report, been collected, and

¹ Memorandum on the War in India since the fall of Lucknow, 26th July 1859.



1859.]

more than 300 forts had been destroyed. The disarmament of the country was at length enabled to be taken systematically in hand; and on its completion by the civil authorities some months later, Lord Clyde was enabled to record that "700 additional guns had been recovered from the various forts, more than 1100 of which had been razed to the ground."¹

Owing to the precautions which had been adopted to provide each column with heavy ordnance, as well as mortars for the purpose of bringing vertical fire to bear on such of the forts as it was found necessary to bombard, the casualties incurred in the several affairs with the enemy, since Lord Clyde assumed personal command of the force on the 2d November, did not exceed 18 killed and 84 wounded—an insignificant loss, and one wholly disproportionate to the importance of the results obtained.

The Commander-in-chief having no authority to cross the frontier, now made arrangements for leaving a force to watch the pass leading into Nepaul, so as to guard against any irruption of the rebels from that quarter. Accordingly, a column composed of 4 guns Royal Horse-Artillery, the 7th Hussars, two squadrons 1st Punjab Cavalry, the 2d battalion Rifle Brigade, the 5th Punjab Infantry, and a wing of the Belooch battalion, was directed to remain under the command of Brigadier Horsford at Sidinhia Ghât. Lord Clyde, with the remainder of the headquarter column, set

¹ Idem.



out on the return march to Lucknow on the 8th January, conferring on the way with Hope Grant, who was placed in command of the whole force in Oudh, and who for the present remained to watch matters on the frontier. Hostile operations having ceased, Lord Clyde was enabled to exchange the rough motions of an elephant—from the back of which, since his accident, he had directed the movements of the troops—for the more easy conveyance of a *dhoolie*; and in this manner, passing by Baraitch, and crossing the Ghogra by the bridge at Byram Ghât, he reached Lucknow on the 17th January.

CHAPTER XX.

LORD CANNING'S CONGRATULATIONS—CLAIMS OF LOCAL EUROPEAN TROOPS—LORD CLYDE'S REPLY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD CANNING—REPORT TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—ILLNESS—HORSFORD ENTERS NEPAUL—LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS—HORSFORD RE-ENTERS OUDH—LETTER FROM LORD CANNING—MEASURES AGAINST IRRUPTION OF REBELS INTO TIRHOOT—LORD CLYDE PROCEEDS TO SIMLA—LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—NOTIFICATION OF RESIGNATION TO LORD CANNING—JUNG BAHADOOR—BUNDELCUND—GWALIOR—PURSUIT AND CAPTURE OF TANTIA TOPEE—LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—SUBMISSION OF RESIGNATION—FINAL LETTER REGARDING THE REBELLION TO LORD CANNING—CLAIMS OF EUROPEAN TROOPS DECIDED AGAINST THEM—ACTION OF THE MALCONTENTS—SERIOUS EMERGENCY—MEASURES TO MEET IT—COURTS OF INQUIRY—DISCHARGES—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—LORD CLYDE'S REASONS IN FAVOUR OF AMALGAMATION.

DURING the recent operations, Lord Clyde had received several communications from Lord Canning expressing his pleasure at the turn events were taking. On hearing of the success in Baiswarra, he wrote on the 28th November: "I wish you joy sincerely of the new success of all these last operations. It has been more speedy and more complete than I had ventured to hope. Beni Madho's escape



is provoking; but it is the only drawback, and not likely to be an important one, now that he is so thoroughly stripped of his guns, and shut out from the country where he has most influence. Is it true that he replied to the offers made to him by vaunting that he was the subject of the ex-king, and would stick to his allegiance? I have heard this reported (but not upon very good authority); and if true, it is remarkable. The same tone has been taken by Mahomed Hussein, as you will see by a letter from Mr Wingfield, which I enclose. . . . I do not feel so confident of Bundelcund as you do; but I have heard nothing amiss from there lately.

“I hope to hear from you respecting the claim of the Company’s European soldiers in a day or two. I forgot to say that the shape in which I suggested to Lord Stanley that a concession should be made to the men who do not desire to leave, is that of a year or two of service, not that of a bounty. I think the former preferable, as being less likely to excite the cupidity of other troops whose engagement was made under the Company, and whose pretensions, however justly they might be resisted, it is not desirable to raise. Do you think the suggestion a good one? If any objection occurs to you, I can correct it by the outgoing mail if you will send me word by telegraph.

“The ‘Delhi Gazette’ of the 25th has in it a letter from Colonel Sherwill of the 2d Bengal Fusiliers, which speaks well for the temper of that regiment

in the matter of these claims. I wish that the Madras men and the Bengal regiments may take example from it; but I wish it more than I expect it."

To the suggestion referred to above, Lord Clyde telegraphed the following reply: "With respect to your lordship's proposal to Lord Stanley, I would venture to submit that the case is one which admits of no compromise. If the men are wrong in their demand, they must abide by the law, and there should be no semblance of concession. If they should be deemed to be right, they should have the benefit of the mistake which may have been made, according to the custom of the service. I do not anticipate any difficulty, having particularly noticed the manner in which some very interested parties received my address on this subject the other day. I spoke to them in the sense of the draft of a general order submitted to your lordship by the Adjutant-General. You will know who those parties are, having referred to them in your letter of the 28th instant."

On the 28th December, Lord Canning wrote in acknowledgment of Lord Clyde's letter of the 22d, previously quoted:—

"I am delighted at the steadily continuous good news which comes in from all sides of the province; and I am sure that you must feel satisfied with your work. I was for one night last week at Cawnpore, where Mr Montgomery met me. His accounts of



the social settling down, even in some parts where opposition has been strongest, is very encouraging.

“My first impression upon receiving your proposals for the stationing of troops was, that these would not give us strength enough beyond the Ghogra. Mr Montgomery thinks it will be difficult to find any healthy localities on that side from which to choose, and is disposed to trust mainly to a large force at Fyzabad. A good deal as regards the necessity of garrisoning strongly the trans-Ghogra districts will depend upon the manner in which hostilities there close. If a large body of rebels and sepoys, and a few of the bitterest leaders, take resolutely to the jungles or to the Nepaul hills, we shall scarcely be able to keep the districts in safety without a station of Europeans farther northward and eastward than Secrora. . . . This makes me desirous to see the trans-Ghogra, if not occupied, at least well watched by a European force, —if this can be done without thrusting our English troops into pestilence. From what you wrote to me on the 17th, I hope to hear from you again on this subject. If there should be a really general submission of the rebels or of the chief leaders, the difficulty will be much diminished.

“Pray do as you propose in regard to the Madras native infantry and cavalry now on this side of the Jumna. There need not be a day’s delay in moving them across that river, or by way of Rewah towards Saugur and Jubbulpoor, as soon as you can spare

them. I cannot say, however, that when they get across, it may not be necessary to retain them for a time in the south of Bundelcund, or on the borders of Central India, before letting them pass into their own Presidency: that part of the country has never been thoroughly quieted. The Saugur garrison has not been strong enough to do much at a distance from its walls. . . . If we do not show ourselves in strength there, and for a longer time, than by merely marching through, there will be trouble in the hot weather. Rewah is still in a very inflammable state, and the Rajah himself has come very lamely out of an ugly case of treason, which I have had to bring up against him within the last few weeks. The *thakoors* are actually asking for large grants of land as the price of their accepting the amnesty. It is a part of the country which must be thoroughly intimidated before we shall have peace. Over a large tract of it a European soldier has not been seen for thirty years.

“There is also another large district in which we ought to show English troops, as soon as any can be spared for it and whilst the season is healthy, and that is Palamow and Chota Nagpoor. A half-hearted smouldering rebellion and resistance is going on there, rather increasing than diminishing, which it would be very imprudent to allow to grow to a head. I think it probable that an advance from Hazareebagh to Ranchee, and the presence there for a time of three or four companies of Europeans, would enable the civil



officer to bring Chota Nagpoor into order. Of Palamow I shall hear more in a day or two.

"The Madras Fusiliers have a right to every indulgence that can be invented for them. It will be quite right that they should travel down in boats like gentlemen.

"I shall not be able to get to Lucknow. A few days ago it was probable that I should have to return to Calcutta in the first days of January; but I do not at present think of moving before the 15th of that month."

During the return march to Lucknow, Lord Clyde resumed his correspondence with Lord Canning, which had been interrupted by his accident. Writing from Baraitch on the 11th January, he says: "Although not quite recovered, I am still well enough to take a pen once more, and to thank your lordship in person for your great kindness on hearing of my accident. I assure you I am quite touched by your expression of kind regard. It is a great pleasure to me to be able to congratulate you on the war of Oudh being fairly and thoroughly at an end. The enclosed correspondence will explain to your lordship the arrangements I have already made to meet the requirements of the service in Rewah, Gwalior, and Palamow. I trust every point is provided for, and that in the course of the next few weeks tranquillity may be assured in all places, now that we are able to withdraw troops from Oudh, which has for so long absorbed so large a share of our resources.



Your lordship's orders respecting the frontier had been exactly anticipated, as shown by the enclosed copies of instructions given to Brigadier Horsford. Sir Hope Grant was cautioned in like manner. That officer is now with us; and the permanent arrangements for Oudh will be settled to-day, subject to your lordship's approval."

On the 14th January he again addressed Lord Canning: "I enclose a memo. showing the arrangements which, I think, should be made with a view to allaying alarm once and for all in the Saugur and Nerbudda territories. If your lordship approves of the suggestion, would you kindly issue the necessary orders for the erection of cover, in anticipation of the official appeal which will be sent to the Secretary in the Military Department, Calcutta?"

"I think, with the means now placed at his disposal, Major-General Whitlock ought to be able to insure tranquillity and reduction of all the country comprised in his division. From all accounts, Gonda appears by far the healthiest station in the trans-Ghogra district. It is central, and better placed as regards the Raptée than Baraitch, though the latter is farther north. But at Baraitch there should be one native infantry regiment, with a strong police force at Bankee and Toolseepoor. One native regiment, perhaps, also might be finally left at the healthiest spot which can be found in the neighbourhood of Khyreegurh. But for the present, Brigadiers Horsford and Taylor will remain watching the



position, while all other brigades will be broken up."

The letter from Lord Canning to Lord Clyde on the subject of the latter's accident, is not forthcoming; but there is one from Lady Canning, written on the 15th January, in reply to the announcement conveyed to her by Lord Clyde, of the conclusion of operations :

"MY DEAR LORD CLYDE,—I thank you with all my heart for your most welcome letter of good news, as well as your friendly expressions and high appreciation of Lord Canning, which makes me very proud. But it is you who should be congratulated on your most happy and successful campaign, and this joyful return to peace. Indeed it is a subject of most intense thankfulness. How happy it will make the Queen and all at home of every degree!

"I was delighted to see your handwriting again, and to know of your recovering, for you must have suffered very much from your bad accident. It made Lord Canning and me very anxious, and it is a great comfort to know that you are already getting over the effects of it.

"It was a great disappointment not to get to Lucknow, but I hope this visit will take place at a future and more convenient time.

"I am on the point of getting into my carriage to begin my journey to Calcutta, and Lord Canning goes there on Thursday next.

"I hope, as peace is nearly restored, you will join



us again before long.—Believe me, my dear Lord
Clyde, yours very sincerely, C. CANNING.

“Pray remember me to Sir William Mansfield.
His prophecies of a two months’ campaign in Oudh
have been exactly fulfilled.”

The correspondence with the Duke of Cambridge,
which had been interrupted since his accident, was
resumed on the 19th January. On that date Lord
Clyde addressed his Royal Highness:—

“I regret extremely that, in consequence of my
late accident, I should have failed in addressing
your Royal Highness during the last month. I
begged Colonel Sterling to write to Major-General
Forster on the subject when I was disabled from
writing. I feel sure, however, that H.M.’s Ministers
will have kept your Royal Highness fully acquainted
with the progress made in this country from Lord
Canning’s despatch, and that your Royal Highness
will have become aware that the campaign in Oudh
is fairly at an end. Since the beginning of this year
my attention has been directed towards reinforcing
Bundelcund largely, in the hope of producing as
speedy a settlement in that quarter as has taken
place in Oudh. Thus the 97th Foot has been
directed from Lucknow to Bandah; the 43d Foot
will take post at Saugur—the 48th Foot replacing
the latter at Calpee; and the Madras infantry, cav-
alry, and artillery have been moved to Futtehpoor



and Goruckpoor, *en route* to Bundelcund and Rewah. A Sikh cavalry regiment has also been sent to the same destination. It has also appeared advisable to reinforce Agra and Rajpootana. The Carabineers and a troop of horse-artillery have therefore been moved to Muttra, and the 3d battalion Rifle Brigade is on the march to Agra. The 64th Foot will march through by Mhow to the Bombay Presidency to re-join its depot. The camel corps has also left Oudh, and will ultimately take post at Goona, on the confines of Rajpootana. Two or three regiments—viz., the 79th Highlanders, Bengal Fusiliers, and 1st Bengal European Light Cavalry—are intended to reinforce the Punjab. In addition to these movements, five infantry regiments have been ordered to volunteer with a view to their speedy return to England—viz., the 10th, 32d, 78th, 84th, and 86th Regiments. . . .

“I have already had the honour to assure your Royal Highness that, though I advocate the necessity of entertaining for a time what has been called a European army, it has always been my opinion that it should form part and parcel of the army under the control of your Royal Highness; but what proportion the local force should bear towards the regular army of the Crown has appeared to me a question of expediency, which I could not answer, it being one that could alone be resolved by H.M.’s Government. I conceive it absolutely necessary, for the sake of discipline and example, that all the arms



of H.M.'s regular army should be largely represented in India. As regards the purposes of war, there cannot be a doubt that the regular army is quite competent to meet all the demands. If there were not a large body of officers to provide for, with whom H.M.'s Government is bound to keep faith, it would be a simple matter to say that there should be but one army, and that the regular army of the Crown; but it must be borne in mind that, independent of the officers belonging to the European establishments of the late Company, there are the officers of seventy-four sepoy battalions to provide for. According to the bond undertaken by the late Company with them, and to which Parliament has subscribed, these officers cannot be put aside or be deprived of their career. When I arrived in Calcutta in 1857, I recommended that the vacancies caused by death, in consequence of the war, should not be filled up, as the result of the regiment being defunct in the matter of the sepoys. To this proposal the Government objected on various grounds of what was due to the individuals composing the service. The only vacancies, therefore, now remaining, are those at the bottom of the lists of cornets and ensigns. Your Royal Highness will recollect that the officers of the Indian army cannot be put on half-pay, as might happen in analogous circumstances in H.M.'s service. If, therefore, we are to have no regular native army in future, it would seem that nothing remains for us but to embody a certain number of



European local corps in order to give employment to the present generation of Indian officers, excepting those in civil employ or on the staff. All the latter, I think, might be included in an unattached list, to which should be consigned officers who might be declared inefficient from any cause whatever. At the same time, I would recommend freedom of exchange between the officers of these local corps and of the regulars, as well as of transfers as regards the private soldiers. The same order of discipline and organisation would, as a matter of course, pervade the whole of her Majesty's service, which in such case would not consist of two armies, but of one only, a small portion of which would be localised to meet particular circumstances. I see no just cause why the measure should not be considered one of transition, the period of which might terminate with the present generation of officers. But this must be a matter for after consideration, and is not just now very pressing. The problem for us to consider being, as I understand it, how best to amalgamate the two services with due regard to efficiency and the claims of those parties who have lately been transferred from the East India Company to the immediate service of the Crown, I would venture now once more to repeat, that the number of local corps, if such corps should be sanctioned, is one of mere expediency, on which, with the data before me, I am hardly competent to give an opinion."



A few days subsequent to the despatch of this letter, Lord Clyde, whose progress towards recovery had been thus far very satisfactory, sickened with a slight attack of pleuro-pneumonia. He had engaged himself to be present at an entertainment which Maun Singh had prepared in his honour, but was unable to leave his bed. For some days he was very ill, causing anxiety to his doctor, who for several nights was obliged to sit up with him and watch him carefully. He abhorred medicine ; so that it was only by means of his personal influence with him that Mackinnon induced him to take it. Under the influence of fever he became irritable, and it was with great difficulty he was induced to remain quietly in bed. With careful treatment, however, and rest, the attack passed away, though it was not till the end of the first week in February that he was enabled to resume his correspondence.

In the meantime Oudh remained perfectly quiet ; but Jung Bahadoor, being inconvenienced by the presence of the tail of the rebels in his territory, was desirous that the British troops should cross the frontier with the object of dispersing what remained of the enemy. Lord Canning, in the first instance, withheld his consent ; whereupon Jung Bahadoor transmitted an urgent request that his proposal should be entertained. Certain conditions were attached to it. No executions were to be carried out in Nepaul ; the slaughter of kine, which was an offence to the religious feelings of the inhabitants



was forbidden; and it was to be understood that there was to be no interference with the women, who had taken refuge in the hills. Lord Canning having decided that the demand for British assistance was made in such terms as would justify his consent, Brigadier Horsford was reinforced, and entering the valley situated between the two first ranges of hills, cleared it of the enemy, taking the whole of their guns, thirteen in number. Brigadier Horsford having fulfilled his instructions, recrossed the frontier, to the regret of the inhabitants, who for a fortnight had experienced the most considerate treatment at the hands of their European allies.

A few days subsequent to his arrival at Lucknow, Lord Clyde had broached the subject of the location of the headquarters during the ensuing summer, and, in a letter to Lord Canning, had requested his pleasure on the subject. In discussing the question with the Commander-in-chief, Mr Montgomery was inclined to the opinion that the presence of the former was required at Lucknow for the present, Calcutta being at too great a distance; and that for the next month or two, and until excitement had quite subsided, it would be expedient for him to remain at a central point. At Lucknow the head-quarter establishment could be housed, which could not be managed at any other point excepting the hill-stations. Lord Clyde therefore requested the head of the Government to decide, remarking "that he had no personal predilection, and was quite ready

to go, or remain, wherever it might appear, most expedient to Lord Canning."

In a subsequent letter of the 7th February, Lord Clyde recurred to this question, which still remained pending: "I am happy to say that I am so much recovered from my attack of influenza as to be able to get up to-day and again attend to all my business, which has been difficult for some time past. When I had the pleasure of addressing your lordship on the subject of my future headquarters, the point which principally occurred to me was the military inconvenience which might follow on my remaining in the upper provinces. It appears now to me, after perusing your lordship's letter of the 2d February, that I may have made an omission in not proposing to come to Calcutta to take my share in the deliberations which must ensue very shortly on the reconstruction of the army. Perhaps it might be asked what I could be doing at Simla while your lordship was engaged at Calcutta in the consideration of the great army question. Indeed, the authorities at home might have some reason in putting such a query. Under these circumstances, I trust you will not allow any personal consideration for me and my health to weigh with you. My object in addressing your lordship on the subject was to obtain timely notice of what you might think the best for the public service, so that the gentlemen and subordinates attached to the headquarter establishment might be enabled to provide themselves with houses.



No thought of myself entered my head ; and I should be full of regret if my absence at Simla should prove hereafter a source of inconvenience or delay to the public service, as it occurs to me, on consideration, that a great deal of time may be saved in the early settlement of the details of the new scheme. whatever it may be, by my presence in Calcutta, in close neighbourhood to your lordship, instead of trusting altogether to distant correspondence. I repeat again, I have no personal predilection, and that I only wish to be where my presence will be deemed most useful. I fully appreciate what your lordship says about too military an appearance being maintained in Lucknow after the necessity for it has ceased. It certainly would be inexpedient, as being likely to cause a belief in the public mind that affairs have not been so thoroughly settled in this province as is really the case. At any rate, however, I propose to remain here till Brigadier Horsford is back again across the Raptée from Nepaul. . . ."

Again, in a letter to Lord Canning of the 20th February, in which he reports on the state of the frontier, Lord Clyde refers to the same subject : "I have but little to relate since my last letter was written. Brigadier Horsford was to have returned to our side of the border on the 17th, the Soonar valley being reported quite clear of rebels. There is still a body of some number, it is reported, in the hills above Toolseepoor. I cannot ascertain anything exact about it. The Toolseepoor district itself has

been but little disturbed, but it has been twice visited by small bodies of plunderers during the last week. Mr Wingfield says it is absolutely necessary that the troops should be withdrawn from the neighbourhood of the hills in the course of two or three weeks. This I can well believe, though at present the men under Brigadier Horsford, and in Toolseepoor, remain remarkably healthy. Many regiments of different sorts are now *en route* to their quarters for the summer; and I hope in a short time the Oudh garrison will consist only of what is permanently to remain there. I shall be glad of a change myself, either up or down country, as I am still annoyed by slight attacks of intermittent fever, for which change of air is the most effectual remedy. I shall therefore be very thankful to your lordship for an answer to my last letter, as, in consequence of my having written it, I should not be justified in making any movement either towards or from Calcutta, till I had again heard from you in answer to the points which had occurred to me affecting my residence during the summer in your neighbourhood."

This drew from Lord Canning the following reply :

"CALCUTTA, Feb. 27, 1859.

"MY DEAR LORD CLYDE,—I was greatly concerned at hearing a few days ago that your recovery has not been so complete as I supposed, and this is confirmed by a letter which I received from you yesterday. Upon the main point of that letter I have sent you



an answer by telegraph. I hope you will not delay to act upon it, and to make your preparations for moving, whether it is to Simla or elsewhere. Any little inconvenience—and I assure you sincerely that I anticipate none worth mentioning—which may arise from your being at a distance of a few days' post from Calcutta is not worth consideration. I say this with the more confidence, because it is pretty clear, from what Lord Stanley writes to me of the Commission, that there is no intention to cross-examine you or me from England; and that when the Commission and the Government at home have once delivered themselves of such instructions as seem good to them, we in India shall be left to work out our business for ourselves. If this be so, there will really be no need whatever for your presence in Calcutta. I do beg you therefore, my dear Lord Clyde, to have no scruple in deciding at once in favour of the hills. I will be answerable not only for consenting to, but for urging your absence from Calcutta. Two mails ago I told Lord Stanley that I should do it in the interests of the public service, and I then wrote under the impression that you had completely shaken off the fever. I trust it is not a return of your old Walcheren enemy.—Ever, my dear Lord Clyde, sincerely yours,

CANNING."

After the dispersion of the rebels in the Soonar valley of Nepaul by Brigadier Horsford, and their consequent movement to the eastern portion of that



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territory, Jung Bahadoor had proposed that this body of fugitives should be allowed to proceed as far as the Gunduk river, and that, on delivering up their arms to his troops, they should be furnished with passes by the British Resident in Nepaul, and be then led down in bodies of a thousand to Soogowlee, for the purpose of being sent to their homes under the direction of the British authorities. The plan was accepted by the Government; as also a suggestion made by Jung Bahadoor, that a body of British troops should move through Goruckpoor to the passes of the Gunduk, in readiness to co-operate with the Nepaulese troops in case of need, as also to guard against the contingency of an irruption of the "sepoys" into the rich district of Tirhoot. Accordingly, a brigade consisting of Murray's Jat Horse, a light field-battery Royal Artillery, the left wing of the 13th Light Infantry, the 34th Foot, the 3d Regiment Sikh Infantry, and the 7th Punjab Infantry, was collected at Ramnuggur, beyond the Gunduk, to the north of Soogowlee, and there took post under the command of Colonel Kelly, 34th Foot. A European regiment (the 19th) was held in readiness to cross the Ganges and act as a reserve in the event of its services being required. The posts established in the north of the Goruckpoor and the trans-Ghogra districts were reinforced, whilst certain corps destined for other quarters remained on the frontier as a further precautionary measure.

Having completed his dispositions for the protec-



tion of the border adjacent to Nepaul, Lord Clyde left Lucknow with the headquarters on the 1st March, proceeding by regular marches to Cawnpore, and thence, *viâ* Agra and Delhi, to Simla. On the eve of his departure he resumed his correspondence with the Duke of Cambridge, which had been interrupted by his illness. After enumerating several additional regiments for return to England, and expressing his belief that after a short interval the Indian Government would be in a position to part with more, he adds: "I am happy to say the tranquillity of the country is everywhere becoming more and more solid, and the Government has every cause for congratulation on this account. Within my own experience, I have never known India more quiet than it now is. The fugitives from Oudh are in Nepaul. There seems to be some coquetting going on with Jung Bahadoor. He manages, however, according to his Eastern fashion, and we cannot look for more prompt action. I take it, the upshot will be, that the principal rebel leaders will remain in Nepaul for the rest of their lives; and to this, even if he would, I do not believe he could object, according to the customs of his country. In respect of the regular army of India, I have quite made up my mind that a regular native army is not wanted. All that we want in the way of natives is an extended military police, of which each great section or division should be established in its own province. Such police battalions, while performing the *bonâ fide* duty



of police, and being drilled as soldiers, should be liable to serve in time of war as military bodies. Such has been the system initiated in many parts of India, not only in Scinde, from the time of Sir Charles Napier, but also in the Punjab partially, and lastly in Oudh. It works capitally, and the men are never idle, either in peace or war. I have arrived at this opinion in consequence of what has passed before my eyes during this last campaign. The half-trained police have fought just as well as our highly-trained soldiery of former days. The ultimate economy cannot but be considerable, as, if fairly worked out, many idle hands, to be numbered by tens of thousands, of former days, must be dispensed with both among native soldiers and police. On the other hand, the British standing army of all arms must always be kept up for the Presidency of Bengal at 60,000 men.

“I am about to march to Simla, where I shall arrive in the middle of April. Lord Canning has been so urgent with me to avoid the ensuing hot weather in Calcutta, that I have yielded to his advice, although not without some misgiving of being absent from his lordship's side. He assures me, however, he cannot anticipate any business arising, which may not be settled by correspondence, as well as by conversation. That being the case, I venture to hope your Royal Highness will approve of the step I have taken.”

The time had now arrived when Lord Clyde felt that he was enabled, without detriment to the public



service, to take the first step towards seeking, in retirement, the repose in which for so many years he had cherished the hope of passing the evening of his life. Accordingly, in a letter addressed to Lord Canning from his camp at Goosaigunj, on the 14th March, he thus approached the question: "The many rumours which have been flying about respecting my early return to England may possibly have prepared your lordship for the communication of my plans for the future, although as yet, with the exception of Mansfield, I have opened myself to no one. I am, in truth, desirous of rest, for which my age and long service give me some claim to ask. There being no prospect of a further demand on me for active employment in the field, I propose shortly to request the Duke of Cambridge to accept my resignation, with a view to my being relieved at the end of the year. It would not have been disagreeable to me to have managed my return to England in the beginning of summer; but I conceive that to have acted up to my wishes in this respect might have been construed as a bad example for the army, and consequently might have given cause of umbrage to his Royal Highness. It has appeared to me that I am in duty bound to your lordship to give you the earliest notice of my intention, so that you may be able to take your own measures with regard to my successor before I announce my proposed retirement in official quarters at home. I shall indeed esteem it a happy sequel to our cordial intercourse during



the late eventful period, if, by thus giving timely notice to you, I should be able to contribute to the convenience of your lordship's Government. I need not again assure you of the sincere and perfect satisfaction with which I look back on the time passed by me in the execution of your lordship's orders. I shall ever preserve the most grateful remembrance of that kind and friendly consideration which has rendered the execution of my office comparatively easy, notwithstanding the difficulties with which we have had to contend. I am now marching towards Simla, and shall be at Agra on the 22d."

Notwithstanding Jung Bahadoor's voluntary engagement in the matter of the disarmament of the Begum's troops, it soon became evident that he was either indisposed or unable to carry out his promises. To put an end to this vacillation necessitated prompt action, in order to save, if possible, the British troops posted along the Nepaulese frontier from exposure during the hot season. The measures Lord Clyde adopted are set forth in a letter of the 23d March, which he addressed to Lord Canning from Agra: "I know your lordship has been much occupied with affairs of the very highest importance. This consideration has prevented me from troubling you with a letter, as I had nothing of any very vital consequence to convey to you; and as Mansfield was with you, he would, of course, tell you anything which might interest you, or which it was necessary you should know. I do not consider that Jung Bahadoor

has acted fairly towards us, or that he has maintained his promises. He undertook to cause the Begum and her followers to move to the Gunduk, and there to lay down their arms; but he was so slow in his action, that they only arrived there when it was almost too late in the season for us to attack them, and then he declared that he could not make them lay down their arms. This conduct of his will compel us, I fear, to keep troops out on the verge of the 'Terai' watching the enemy, at a great risk to the health of the soldiers, unless I can succeed in breaking up and dispersing the rabble, which is stated to have assembled at Bootul, before the weather forbids us acting at all. . . . As soon as I understood from Colonel Ramsay [the British Resident] that Jung Bahadoor permitted us to enter Nepaul for the purpose of attacking the enemy, I sent to Colonel Kelly a telegram, dated 12th March, which your lordship has seen, desiring him to cross the border and attack the rebels, provided the information he had on the spot led him to suppose he could finish the operation in a reasonable time, or before the Terai should have become too unhealthy for our troops to enter it. He has, I believe, crossed the frontier, and I hope to hear he has succeeded in coming up with and dispersing the enemy. He had only thirty-six miles to go from Lotun, where he expected to be on the 17th. I thought it necessary to show the rebels that they could not remain together with impunity even in the Terai and its



borders, and I hope your lordship will approve of what I have done. I have ordered straw and means for choppering in the tents at different places close to the frontier, in case we should be compelled to have troops exposed during the hot weather."

The ample reinforcements sent by Lord Clyde to General Whitlock and Sir Robert Napier, on the cessation of hostilities in Oudh, enabled them to commence in earnest the work of subjugation in Bundelcund and the Gwalior district.

Since his discomfiture by Parke at Chota Oodeypoor, the pursuit of Tantia Topee had been pressed with unabated vigour. The rebels, finding their approach to Oodeypoor, the capital of Meywar, barred by a force sent from Neemuch, turned south, followed by Parke, and, emerging from the jungle at Pertabhur, made their way in an easterly direction to Zeerapoor, near Rajgurh. To the last-named place, Feroze Shah, the Delhi prince, had proceeded with the remnant of his followers after his defeat by General Napier at Runnode. On finding that Brigadier Smith was in movement from Seronge against him, Feroze Shah crossed the Chumbul to Indurgurh. In the meantime, a flying column despatched from Mhow, under Brigadier Somerset, but previously commanded by Colonel Benson of the 17th Lancers, and which had marched at the rate of thirty-five miles a-day between the 25th and 29th of December, hit upon Tantia Topee's force at Zeerapoor, and again



at Burrode, driving it on each occasion from the field. Tantia Topee, whose pursuit was now taken up by Brigadier Smith, effected a junction with Feroze Shah at Indurgurh. Notwithstanding the active measures adopted by General Michel, who had left Mhow to direct operations, the rebels, on finding themselves hemmed in by the various columns in movement against them, eluded the grasp of their pursuers by moving rapidly to the northern extremity of Rajpootana. On their way they were surprised on the 15th January at Dewassa by a flying column under Brigadier Showers from Agra, which captured the last two elephants they possessed. Again, on the 21st January, Colonel Holmes, in command of a flying column from Nusseerabad, whither General Michel had moved, surprised Tantia Topee's camp at Seekur, after an extraordinary march of "fifty-four miles through a sandy desert in little more than twenty-four hours." In consequence of this disaster, Tantia Topee separated himself from the main body of his force, and, with a small detachment of followers, made for Seronge; whilst the remnant of the rebels pierced the cordon which was closing around them, and fled south through the Joodpore territory, pursued by Brigadier Honner's column from Nusseerabad, which overtook and beat them at Kosanee on the 20th February. Thence they escaped through the Chutterbhooj pass of the Aravelli range, which separates the territory of Joodpore from that of Oodeypoor, into the Banswara



jungles, closely followed by Brigadier Somerset. Here they finally broke up and dispersed.

For some time Tantia Topee eluded capture; but having been betrayed by Maun Singh of Paorie, who, likewise a fugitive in the jungles, had surrendered himself to Major Meade, was captured by that officer on the 8th April. This was the final blow to the cause of rebellion in Central India. A few days after his capture, Tantia Topee was arraigned before a court-martial, and having been found guilty, was hanged, according to the sentence of the court.

The news of Tantia Topee's capture reached Lord Clyde at Delhi, at which place he spent several days, viewing the scene of the memorable struggle, and everything connected with the operations before that fortress, with the keenest interest. Before reaching Umbala, he reviewed, in a letter to the Duke of Cambridge, the state of affairs up to the middle of April: "A little alarm has been excited in Oudh, in consequence of the descent into that province, from the Terai and mountains of Nepaul, of those bodies of rebels which have been harboured in that country since the termination of the campaign. The sweeping movement of Colonel Kelly from the Gunduk to the confines of Toolseepoor along the Terai, was successful in all that was proposed—viz., doing away with a menace to our rich provinces of Tirhoot, &c., and in showing to the last remnant of the rebels that they were nowhere safe. Having been beaten twice in good style by Colonel Kelly, they have broken



from the hills, having passed through the line of posts established by Brigadier Horsford. The troops are now after them, and, by my desire, Sir Hope Grant has left Lucknow for Fyzabad, to take personal charge of the petty operations which have become necessary. I do not much regret the incident, although, at first sight, it might appear to be annoying. Had this body of rebels been permanently established in Nepaul, it is easy to see that we should have been exposed to a lasting and disgraceful threat, to meet which strongly we are forbidden by our policy, as was the case last January, when the policy of the Government towards an ally prevented me from finally concluding matters in a thoroughly complete and satisfactory manner. To that policy it was not for me to object; but I do not regret that the course pursued by the Nepaulese Government at length compelled it to solicit our aid: hence Colonel Kelly's advance into Nepaul at a time almost too late for operations. The complete success of that movement seems to have been distasteful to the Nepaulese, the commanders of whose troops have, with the exception of Jung Bahadoor, behaved ill to us, and have been as obstructive as they well could, without firing at us. Colonel Kelly has managed remarkably well, and shown much prudence and determination, as well as implicit obedience to his instructions, in the execution of a very difficult and delicate duty. I enclose a copy of a message received from the Chief Commissioner

of Oudh (Wingfield), which shows how the present affair is viewed by that functionary, who has the best means of judging the whole business.

"It is a subject of congratulation that Tantia Topee and other chiefs have fallen into the hands of the forces in Central India. This is the more satisfactory, as the rebels who have lately broken from Nepaul had given out that they were bent on joining the Tantia. In short, taking into consideration the late little campaign on the edge of Nepaul, the successes of Colonel de Salis and others in Central India, and the effective series of marches which have taken place in Bundelcund and Rewah, I think we may assume that we are now dealing with the last embers of the late almost universal conflagration. The most obstinate of the rebel chiefs are giving themselves up in all parts, many of them having been the source of vast trouble during the last sixteen months, whose names were not known out of India, or perhaps of the provinces which were the scene of their degradations. . . ."

Passing through Umbala, where he reviewed the troops, Lord Clyde reached Simla in the last week of April. He took up his residence at "Barnes Court," having, in the meantime, received the most satisfactory reports from the Oudh frontier. Writing to the Duke of Cambridge two days after his arrival, he informs his Royal Highness "that the final dispersion of the rebels, who, as I have lately reported, had returned into the northern district of Oudh from



Nepaul, is proceeding in a satisfactory manner, according to my expressed expectation. The troops in that quarter are still in the field, but Sir Hope Grant seems to think that their work is nearly over. In consequence of the irruption from Nepaul, the 53d Foot, which had been ordered to Calcutta with a view to embarkation for England, has been detained; and although it may probably reach Chinsurah in a month or two for the sake of quarters, I am afraid the season is so far advanced that it will be impossible for that regiment to embark till the autumn, or after the monsoon. The reports from Central India are as good as those from Oudh, and the troops in that country are being rapidly put under cover for the season. In short, we may hope that the rebels have now become in every direction fitting subjects for police treatment, with but little chance of future demand on the troops. This being the case, I venture to submit to your Royal Highness that, if her gracious Majesty should be pleased to accept my resignation of the command intrusted to me in 1857, it would be agreeable to me to be relieved in the beginning of next year. I have avoided giving effect to my desire in this respect, until I became thoroughly convinced that the insurrection had been absolutely quelled throughout India. That being the case, I trust your Royal Highness will graciously consider that I am not evading any duty when preferring this request to be allowed to retire for a time from military command, which, after my long ser-



vice and the fatigues of the last few years, if not positively required by my health, will certainly be most grateful to me. I would further, with the utmost respect to your Royal Highness, beg permission once more to return my sincere and hearty thanks for your unceasing kindness during the time I have held command in India. I can never forget the cordial support and assistance I have invariably received from your Royal Highness, or the gracious favour with which they have been afforded. Since the above was written, I have received two telegrams from Sir Hope Grant, giving an account of three petty successes achieved by three of his columns, and speaking most confidently in the sense of the early part of this letter, and of the immediate break-up of the remnant of rebels now trying to hide in the jungles in northern Oudh."

Demoralised by fatigue and starvation, the remnant of the rebels broke up into small fractions, which were unremittingly pursued by the various parties acting under the direction of Sir Hope Grant. Many of them, including their leaders, gave themselves up—the largest body which had held together having been driven by Brigadier Horsford, with great loss, in the direction of the Khyreegurh jungles. With the following letter of the 1st May to Lord Canning, terminated Lord Clyde's correspondence on the subject of the Mutiny, which, after a struggle of two years' duration, ended in the complete vindication of British supremacy:—



“ I have delayed addressing you for some time on military affairs, as I was aware that you received frequent messages from Sir Hope Grant on the progress he was making in the completion of his instructions. It is a matter of much satisfaction to me to be able to congratulate your lordship on the success which has attended the arrangements made in January and February to meet a contingency which has actually occurred—namely, the irruption of the last remnant of the rebels from Nepaul, in consequence of the difficulty they experienced in procuring food, and the pressure kept on Jung Bahadoor by your lordship’s representative at his court. That which to the uninitiated, and perhaps to the public at large, might appear a subject of annoyance, is indeed to me just the reverse, as there cannot be a doubt that we are now finally disposing of what would, under the circumstances of the previous three months, have proved a standing threat, and possibly have eventually involved us in war with Nepaul, notwithstanding the wishes of Jung Bahadoor in our favour. I have strongly impressed on Sir Hope Grant the necessity of the greatest energy and rapidity on the part of the officers in command of posts and small columns, with a view to bringing the contest to a close as quickly as possible. He is quite alive to the importance of this, and has instructed Brigadier Horsford and the other officers in that sense. The thing seems to be so nearly over, that I am sanguine we shall very shortly have all his troops



in quarters, such as they are, for the season. . . . Colonel Turner, on the Great Trunk Road, reports in the most favourable manner, and says it is unnecessary to replace the Madras infantry, which has been ordered to Bundelcund, under instructions from your lordship."

His great work accomplished, Lord Clyde flattered himself that there was an end to the cares and anxieties which, so long as the rebellion existed, had pressed so heavily upon him. In the bracing climate of the hills, he looked forward to a perfect recovery from his illness, doubtless aggravated by his accident, and the reaction consequent on the excitement of service in the field. But the thought which pre-occupied his mind, and which he regarded as the best restorative, was the approaching realisation of his long-cherished hope of spending the last few years of his life in the society of his friends in England. He had barely been a week at Simla before news reached him of a nature to demand the exercise of all the moral courage and discretion he could bring to bear, in the face of a grave and unexpected danger, which the Government of India was called upon suddenly to confront. It will be remembered that, on the announcement of the proclamation transferring the possessions of the East India Company to the Crown on the 1st November of the previous year, some of the soldiers of the Company's European force had set up a claim for a free discharge, or a bounty on re-enlistment. Lord Clyde's recom-



mentation that a concession should be made was overruled by the Government of India, who referred the matter home. The subject was thereupon brought under the consideration of her Majesty's Government, who, on reference to the law officers of the Crown, finally decided that the men's claim was inadmissible; and an announcement to this effect was made to the European soldiers of her Majesty's Indian forces in an order of Government dated the 8th April.

On the 3d May, when returning from his walk, which he was in the daily habit of taking with Metcalfe, his aide-de-camp, Lord Clyde had a telegram put into his hand from Major-General Bradford, commanding the Meerut division, to the effect that the Bengal artillery and cavalry stationed at that place had shown a bad spirit in regard to the transfer to the Crown; that meetings had been held counselling resistance to authority; that in view of the serious aspect of affairs, two squadrons of the Carabineers had been ordered from Muttra to Meerut; and that necessary precautions had been taken to resist any overt act on the part of the malcontents against authority. So serious did Lord Clyde consider the emergency, that his first impulse was to proceed forthwith to Meerut; but as such a measure might have had the effect of attaching more importance than was desirable to the occurrences at that place, he decided on leaving at once for Kussowlie. At this point he would be in immediate communication

with the Government, and in readiness to proceed to Meerut, or any other station where the local European troops were quartered, in case he found such a course necessary. The great point was to avoid collision; and General Bradford, whose judicious measures met with the Commander-in-chief's fullest approbation, was instructed to use every exertion to ward off such a catastrophe. In a few hours Lord Clyde was on his way to Kussowlie. In the meantime he had communicated by telegraph with the Government at Calcutta, who had received direct intimation from Meerut of what had taken place, and solicited instructions as to the extent he might exercise his judgment in dealing with the crisis, not only as regarded Meerut, but all such stations where it was to be expected a similar feeling would manifest itself. The Governor-General replied that no concession in the shape of re-enlistment or bounty was, in his opinion, possible; but that if collision, which was full of danger, could be warded off by giving discharges to some of the least guilty, such discharges might be granted: that Lord Clyde was not to consider himself tied by this opinion, but that he might rely upon being supported in whatever course his own judgment recommended.

The reports which reached the Commander-in-chief at Kussowlie all tended to show that a widespread combination had for some time existed, and that it had either manifested itself openly or been actually traced at many other stations besides



Meerut, the ground taken up by the malcontents being the same—viz., dissatisfaction with the transfer of their services in virtue of an Act of Parliament, but without their consent.

Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson,¹ Assistant Adjutant-General of the Bengal artillery, who had been sent from Meerut to Kussowlie to make a personal report of what had occurred to the Commander-in-chief, confirmed the previous accounts, as well as the belief entertained by the authorities at that station of the imminence of armed resistance, in case force were resorted to. Despatching that officer to Calcutta in order that the Government might learn from an eye-witness the actual state of the case, Lord Clyde lost no time in giving effect to the only measure he considered it was possible to adopt with the view of calming the existing excitement. As he informed Lord Canning, "no one could tell what would be the effect of a collision on the remainder of the local army and in the native mind throughout India. We might see all our work of last year undone in an instant, under very much worse circumstances than before." His knowledge of the service led him to the conclusion that if the soldier had the opportunity of stating his grievance in an orderly and respectful manner, in accordance with customary rule, he would become amenable to reason; and that even if the services of the men who considered themselves aggrieved should be ultimately lost to the State, "the

¹ General Sir E. B. Johnson, K.C.B., C.I.E.



crisis of desperate armed resistance, considered to be so imminent at Meerut, would at least be obviated." Accordingly, a special Board of Inquiry was directed to be convened at Meerut, under the conduct of the Judge-Advocate-General, the order for which was conveyed by Colonel Johnson as he passed through on his way to Calcutta. In this order, which was dated the 5th May, and was published to the troops at Meerut, as also subsequently at all other stations at which local European troops were stationed, the Commander-in-chief, after alluding to the disquiet which had affected the minds of the local European force at that station, and observing that the demeanour of the men towards the officers had been properly respectful, desired that such soldiers of the Bengal artillery and 2d Light Cavalry as had been struck off duty might return to it. They were informed that if a soldier has a complaint to make or considers himself in any manner aggrieved, it is his right to make a proper and respectful representation, through the usual channels, to superior authority, and to ask for redress; but when this representation has been made, the soldier must be at his duty, and he must wait with due deference, patience, and obedience for the ultimate decision." They were told that the fullest possible evidence would be taken. "Each man," the order ran, "will be called upon to state whether he has any grievance; and if so, what that grievance is, and what are the grounds of it. It is only by such means the Commander-in-chief can arrive at the real



merits of the case as considered by the men ; and in this manner assurance will be conveyed to them, that every man's sentiments will become known to the highest authority, and that due consideration will be given to them. With regard to the question at issue—viz., the transfer to the Crown of the late Company's army, which has caused so much excitement—the men will perceive that it affects them in common with their officers and all the services of this country, including the civil service. There is no distinction drawn between the ranks, and they are called on alike to obey an Act of Parliament. But if any party feels himself aggrieved by an Act of Parliament, he is at liberty to petition respectfully against it. It is on this ground his Excellency has ordered the Court of Inquiry—viz., to enable the men who consider themselves aggrieved by the late Act to give expression to their own views, or in other words to petition against what they conceive to be a hardship, in a soldierlike and regular manner, which they understand themselves."

Fortunately, though considerable excitement prevailed at Meerut, the interval between the 3d and 7th passed off, to Lord Clyde's intense relief, without any disturbance. On the latter day General Bradford reported "that things were looking better, consequent on the promulgation of the order by the Commander-in-chief, and that the men relieved from duty had been directed to return to it." Lord Clyde's measure had proved successful. He had



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established what he termed the "tranquillity of expectation" in lieu of open discontent; and notwithstanding the reports from Allahabad were of so disquieting a nature as to necessitate the presence of additional Queen's troops at that station, a collision was avoided. The uneasy feeling was allayed; and in a message to the Governor-General of the 10th May, Lord Clyde reported that he was of opinion "there was now no cause for real alarm anywhere;" and in proof of it, suggested that the order issued by the Supreme Government for the recall of the 9th Lancers and other troops, which had cleared the sandheads on their voyage to England, should be revoked. It was manifest, however, from the reports received from the several stations at which troops of the late Company's European force were serving, that the feeling of dissatisfaction was general, and that the combination to resist authority had not been discovered a moment too soon. Indeed it was only by the exercise of great prudence on the part of officers commanding at various stations and acting under the general instructions of Lord Clyde, that an actual outbreak was avoided. It should not, however, be overlooked that the large majority of the Company's European troops in Bengal were practically untrained soldiers—three out of the six infantry regiments, and all five regiments of cavalry, having been recently formed from bodies of recruits, and commanded by officers belonging to disbanded native regiments, alike unacquainted with their men and



inexperienced in dealing with European troops. Nevertheless, so anxious was the Supreme Government in regard to the effect this movement might produce on the native mind, that the Governor of Bombay was requested to detain certain regiments of the line, which were on the point of embarking for England.

The telegraph-wire having been completed to Simla, Lord Clyde returned thither on the 11th, in order to assume his superintendence of the executive details of the army, which he found it inconvenient to transact apart from the headquarter establishment.

The Government, seeing how widespread the agitation had become, were convinced of the necessity of extending the grant of discharges to every man who wished for it, provided he had not misconducted himself. Lord Clyde concurred in this proposal, but recommended the postponement of its announcement in general orders until after the Court of Inquiry had sat. In the meantime, courts of inquiry similar to that at Meerut were convened at all stations where men of the local European force were quartered. It soon became apparent that large numbers of men would take advantage of the offer of discharge to quit the service; and in order to make good the vacancies in the artillery consequent thereon, Lord Clyde obtained the sanction of the Government to call for volunteers from H.M.'s regiments of cavalry and infantry. The appeal was well met.



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A few weeks later on, Lord Clyde was enabled to inform the Duke of Cambridge that "the troops remain perfectly quiet everywhere, in expectation of the orders of Government, which will now be published very shortly, conceding discharges to all men who enlisted to serve the Company, but decline the transfer to the immediate service of the Crown. They are to take their discharge or not, but will not be requested to stay. I think that this is the best way out of a very disagreeable difficulty; and that, to a certain extent, the dignity of authority is thus saved. I take the liberty of enclosing for your Royal Highness's consideration a copy of the confidential instructions sent to general officers commanding divisions, in anticipation of the orders of Government. Your Royal Highness will observe that immediate measures have been taken for rendering the troops and batteries of artillery effective, as we cannot afford to have our guns inefficient for want of gunners. As to the cavalry and infantry, excepting the inconvenience and expense of parting with a good many men, thus causing the retention of one or two battalions which might otherwise have gone to England, India will not suffer. But it is a grief to reflect that any arrangement deemed expedient by your Royal Highness on account of the state of Europe,¹ should be interfered with by the untoward occurrences which it has lately

¹ In allusion to the hostilities at this time in active progress between France allied with Piedmont against Austria.



been my unpleasant duty to report to your Royal Highness."

The large number of men who ultimately elected to take their discharge (those from the Bengal Presidency alone amounting to nearly seven thousand men), justified in a remarkable manner the wisdom of the temperate course adopted towards them at the outset. One false step might have produced a simultaneous collision in some of the larger stations, the consequences of which no one could tell. It was a fortunate circumstance that, at such a juncture, the Government was enabled to extend its full measure of confidence to its Commander-in-chief, on whose judgment it could rely, and to whom it could turn for counsel under the pressure of a military difficulty as grave as it was unexpected.

The course adopted by the Government of Calcutta met with the approval of her Majesty's Government; and Sir Charles Wood,¹ who, on a change of Ministry, had succeeded Lord Stanley as Indian Secretary, instructed the Governor-General in Council to convey to Lord Clyde "their approbation of the prompt and judicious measures he had taken."

During the time Lord Clyde's attention had been concentrated on the events which have been described above, the little campaign in Oudh came to an end. The remnant of the rebels, fairly worn out and reduced to a piteous physical and moral condition, finally broke up. By the end of May matters

¹ Now Viscount Halifax, G.C.B.

were in such a position as to enable the European troops—who, in spite of the heat, had not suffered in health—to remit the care of the frontier mainly to the police. The last embers of the rebellion had been extinguished, and the various provinces of India which, for the preceding two years, had been the scene of so much lawlessness and disturbance, were daily subsiding into a state of profound tranquillity.

Whilst occupied with the requisite measures for the discharge and despatch to England of those men of the local European force who elected to take it, Lord Clyde received the Duke of Cambridge's reply to the letter announcing his wish to resign: "I regret much to find that you are anxious to be relieved from the great and important command, intrusted to you by her Majesty, at the beginning of next year. I regret the resolve deeply, as I know how important it is to have an able and distinguished man like yourself at the head of the army in India, and that it will be, indeed, difficult to find another officer to replace you; but, at the same time, I cannot be surprised at your wish, after your anxieties and severe bodily and mental labours, to enjoy some quiet and repose in your native land. I have not failed to make your wishes known in the highest quarters, and no doubt arrangements will be made at an early period to make the necessary selection of your successor. I cannot conclude this subject, however, without assuring you again and again that I



am much and sincerely gratified by the expressions of regard and attachment which you have evinced towards myself. I have endeavoured, as far as it was in my power to do so, to give every support to your views and wishes from the day you left us to undertake the arduous duty upon which you have been engaged; and I rejoice to find that you fully approve my efforts in this direction, which only makes me regret the more that I shall soon be deprived of your valuable and important assistance."

The serious disaffection of the local European troops, as set forth in the preceding pages, made the deepest impression on Lord Clyde. Though he had previously contemplated the expediency of maintaining the establishment of the local European force, at any rate for some time, after its transfer from the service of the East India Company to that of the Crown, recent events convinced him of the absolute necessity of guarding against the possibility of our Indian empire being ever again made liable to such a danger. To effect this object, he strenuously urged an immediate amalgamation of the two forces into one imperial army.

One or two extracts from his correspondence will be sufficient to show the views he expressed on the subject.

On the 11th May he wrote to the Duke of Cambridge: "As your Royal Highness knows, I have always been strongly of opinion that it is impossible, as shown by practice and experience, to maintain

discipline in local corps, such as we expect in those of her Majesty's service ; but it did not occur to me that the loyalty of local corps might suffer. Recent events have shown that we cannot depend on that ; and that, at any time, we are liable to have to meet dangerous combinations against our authority, to the prejudice of discipline and the intimidation of Government. . . . It is clear, from what we have now seen, that it is dangerous to trust to local corps, and that we can alone put faith in a discipline which is constantly renovated by a return to England, and the presence of officers with their regiments, who look on them as their homes. It is therefore a subject for deep consideration and inquiry, whether, after what has recently taken place, it is expedient or secure to increase the local European army ; and if, in the largest sense of the word military safety, it has not become a necessity that for the future all European corps, of whatever arm, serving in India, should undergo the process of relief."

To Lord Canning he remarked : " I am irresistibly led to the conclusion that henceforth it will be dangerous to the State to maintain a European local army. I believe that, after this most recent experience, it will be unsafe to have any European forces which do not undergo the regular process of relief, and that this consideration must be held to be paramount to all others. . . . We cannot afford to attend to any other considerations than those of dis-



cipline and loyalty, which may be constantly renovated by the periodical return to England of all the regiments in every branch of the service."

The fact of such a large exodus of the local European force from India confirmed Lord Clyde in this opinion; and in anticipation of the concurrence of the Home authorities in this view, he prepared a minute for the Horse Guards, suggesting that the officers of her Majesty's service should be invited to prepare themselves, by the acquisition of the Hindostanee language, for the new duties now opening on them, and that encouragement should be held out to such of their numbers as might prefer a permanent Indian career to a return to England with their regiments.



CHAPTER XXI.

ILLNESS—POSTPONEMENT OF RESIGNATION—AFFAIRS IN CHINA—
CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD CANNING REGARDING TROOPS FOR
CHINA—EXPEDITION DETERMINED UPON—LORD CANNING DE-
CIDES ON GOING TO THE HILLS—LORD CLYDE CONGRATULATES
LADY CANNING ON LORD CANNING'S EARLDOM—MEETS VICE-
REGAL PARTY AT CAWNPORE—LUCKNOW—LORD CANNING DESIRES
TO DETAIN LORD CLYDE IN INDIA—CHINA EXPEDITION—SIR
HOPE GRANT COMMANDS—PROGRESS UP COUNTRY—LORD CLYDE
ACCOMPANIES LORD CANNING TO PESHAWUR—KANGRA—SIMLA—
AMALGAMATION—LORD CLYDE FOLLOWS LORD CANNING TO CAL-
CUTTA—PROMISES LORD CANNING TO SIT FOR HIS PORTRAIT
—FAREWELL ORDER—LEAVES CALCUTTA—LETTER FROM LORD
CANNING—REPLY—PARIS—COLONELCY OF COLDSTREAM GUARDS
—RECEPTION IN ENGLAND—ANECDOTE—VICHY—DEATH OF LORD
CLYDE'S FATHER—CHATHAM—THE MANSION HOUSE—THANKS OF
THE HOUSE OF LORDS—PARIS—TOUR IN ITALY—INCIPIENT SIGNS
OF ILL-HEALTH—BERLIN—MANŒUVRES—COLONEL VON BLUMEN-
THAL—INVESTED G.C.S.I.—DEATH OF LADY CANNING—ILLNESS
—AFFAIR OF THE TRENT—DISPOSITION OF MEANS—VISIT TO
NORTHUMBERLAND—REVIEW OF VOLUNTEERS AT BRIGHTON—
RETURN OF LORD CANNING—PARIS—DEATH OF LORD CANNING
—VISIT OF GENERAL AND MADAME VINOY—DEATH OF SIR R.
DOHERTY—COMPLETION OF SEVENTIETH YEAR—GAZETTED FIELD-
MARSHAL—HOUSE IN BERKELEY SQUARE.

AFTER his return from Kussowlie to Simla, a marked change was observable in the habits of Lord Clyde. He began to slacken in his custom of early rising,



and seemed less disposed to take his morning walk. In the middle of July he caught another severe cold, to which affection he seemed to have become more liable than before his accident. It resulted in a sharp attack of influenza, accompanied by a good deal of fever and inflammation of the eyes. He was not, however, incapacitated from attention to business, which at this time pressed heavily upon him, in consequence of the constant references to headquarters, and the correspondence with the Supreme Government, regarding the measures necessary for the removal down country and the embarkation of the discharged men of the local European force. He had hoped, in the event of his resignation being accepted, to be able to quit India at the end of January 1860; but foreseeing early in August that he would not be able to leave quite so soon as he had intended, he explained to the Duke of Cambridge his reasons for suggesting the postponement of his departure: "It has occurred to me that it would be very desirable for me to visit as many stations as possible on my way down country, in order to see the troops as Commander-in-chief, after the unfortunate excitement of the last three months. To do this properly would take me rather longer than I first counted on, when I had the honour to address your Royal Highness on the subject of my resignation, before the discontent declared itself among the local troops. If your Royal Highness should be pleased to acquiesce in the views



I have taken, it would be advisable, perhaps, that I should not be relieved till the close of February, instead of January, as I had originally proposed. If my stopping a month or so longer on this account can be of advantage to H.M.'s service, your Royal Highness will believe in my perfect readiness to shape my private arrangements accordingly, in obedience to any commands your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to give me."

In the meantime events had occurred elsewhere, of such a nature as to materially affect the arrangements Lord Clyde had suggested for his return to England. Affairs had taken an adverse turn in China.

In consequence of the force destined for operations in that country in 1857 having been diverted to Calcutta to meet the emergency of the Indian revolt, the plenipotentiaries of France and England were not in a position to press with effect the demands of their Governments until December of that year. Operations were then directed against Canton, which fell into the hands of the allies—Yeh, the Chinese commissioner, being captured and deported to Calcutta. To hasten the negotiations, an allied force was left in occupation of Canton; whilst the plenipotentiaries, escorted by their respective squadrons, proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho, which was reached in May of the following year. The entrance to the river was barred by the forts of Ta-koo; but after a smart cannonade, which silenced



the Chinese fire, they were captured without difficulty and occupied by detachments landed from the ships. Other impediments being removed, the plenipotentiaries continued their progress up the river to Tientsin, where they were met by two High Commissioners, who finally agreed to the terms of a treaty, which was signed on the 26th June 1858.

Lord Elgin, after proceeding to Japan and negotiating a treaty with that country, returned to England. In the spring of 1859, Mr Frederick Bruce,¹ Lord Elgin's brother, was appointed English Minister at the Court of Peking, whither he was instructed to proceed in company with his French colleague Monsieur de Bourboulon, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of the previous year. Finding, on their arrival at Shanghae, that the Chinese Government was raising obstacles to their presence in the capital, the plenipotentiaries, escorted by the combined naval squadrons, proceeded to the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. Their patience being exhausted by the continued evasions of the authorities at Tientsin, who were evidently averse to the progress of the mission, the plenipotentiaries placed the matter in the hands of the officer commanding the British naval forces in Chinese waters. On the 24th June an attempt to force the barriers constructed at the mouth of the Peiho, as also a *coup de main* on the forts commanding the passage, were repulsed with

¹ *Vide ante*, vol. i. p. 130.



such heavy loss to the assailants as to necessitate the withdrawal of the expedition to Shanghai.

On the receipt of this intelligence, and in anticipation of instructions from the Home Government, Lord Canning took measures to ascertain what troops could be spared from India to meet the changed aspect of our relations with China. The bad faith displayed by the Chinese Government, and the insult offered to the flags of England and France, demanded instant reparation, the enforcement of which would undoubtedly necessitate an expedition on a large scale. In the critical position of European affairs, and with the slender military resources at this juncture disposable at home, it was pretty certain that few, if any, troops could be spared from England; but the tranquillity of India, which was daily becoming more confirmed, led Lord Canning to the conclusion that a body of troops sufficient for the purpose could be drawn without inconvenience from that country. For such a contingency he prepared Lord Clyde, of whose experience regarding the climate and resources of China he was glad to avail himself. They were soon in communication on the subject. "I have much pleasure," wrote Lord Clyde, "in communicating to your lordship the results of my former stay in the China seas. It seems evident that H.M.'s Government will not be able to put up quietly with the last instance of treachery and insult, to which Mr Bruce and our forces have been so unhappily exposed. If that be



so, it will be necessary to take the Peiho forts according to rule, by which means such a result will be obtained, in all probability with ease and without much loss. As I know the Peiho is not navigable for large shipping, supposing the Government to determine maintaining the treaty, it will be necessary for the troops to march on Peking along the banks of the river, in immediate communication with a fleet of gun and store boats. Such a design will, as a matter of course, comprehend an expedition of very considerable magnitude, involving much previous arrangement and combination. The Government will have to recollect that, unless the expedition be conveyed altogether by powerful screw-steamers—which, according to our means in the Indian and Chinese seas, I assume to be out of the question—the expedition cannot leave the Malacca Straits before the setting in of the south-west monsoon, or about the middle of May, and consequently cannot commence offensive operations on the Peiho before the month of July or August following, about twelve months subsequent to the date of the late unfortunate business. In short, all operations must be combined with a due regard to the prevailing wind, as sailing transports, and in all probability the ordinary steam-gunboats, can make no way against the north-east monsoon. It appears to me that some Sikh regiments would be more useful for such an undertaking, as auxiliary to the British corps, than either Hindostanees or Madrassesees. . . . Large

stores of warm and waterproof clothing should be sent to Hong-Kong from home, for the use of any troops despatched from this country, long boots, blankets woollen and waterproof, flannel shirts, &c. In Calcutta such things cannot be procured, and in the river and China seas troops are cut down immediately by the cold and wet if insufficiently clad. It might be well to send a hint home to this effect immediately, as the troops will, I presume, be furnished from this country, whether British or native. Food and provisions and preserved vegetables are also indispensable for the troops during their long confinement on board ship, and should come from home. There are plenty of people who know all about this in England, if the hint be given. I am preparing a careful memorandum, according to my experience, on every matter connected with such an expedition as that which has been alluded to. This I propose to forward to your lordship when the details have been carefully considered. I would recommend you not to lose a mail in advising the Home authorities to prepare the store at Hong-Kong immediately, of preserved provisions, warm clothing, and the new Enfield ammunition; for I assume, owing to the state of affairs in Europe, that the expedition both in men and material must be found from this country."

Lord Clyde's anticipations proved true. The orders from home contemplated a joint expedition on a large scale, to be undertaken by France and



England. The troops and material of the latter Power were to be supplied mainly from India, and the Governor-General was empowered to make all the arrangements in concert with the Commander-in-chief.

It being the intention of Lord Canning to make a progress through the North-western Provinces and the Punjab in the ensuing cold season, Lord Canning consulted Lord Clyde as to the arrangements for his escort, as also as to the propriety of including Bundelcund in the programme. "You will see," he wrote, "that I look to the hills next summer. I intend it, and hope it, but should be very sorry to back myself to get there. The state of things here as regards the Council is vexatious. Sir C. Wood, like his predecessor, is disposed to knock it on the head. But for this an Act of Parliament is necessary; and he tells me that meanwhile I must make the best of things—that is, I must go on doing as I have done for the last three or four months, working the cumbrous system which the law imposes upon the Government of India, with only two coadjutors to share the heavy and useless weight of detail which has all but broken my back. If I had not been much less ailing than last year, it would have done for me. As it is, I am well enough, but I have no fancy for a fifth hot season in the plains; and therefore I shall make a push for the hills, even with the probability of having to come back to launch the new system.



"You would be surprised to see how eager Outram is for the extinction of the Council. He is desirous to resign at once, if this would facilitate its dissolution (anyhow, I believe he will go home before the next hot weather); but in truth, nobody who is not an Indian-bred civilian, and who does not live for the sake of 'recording opinions,' can have much affection for it. I have succeeded in reducing the number of 'minutes' written by about 90 per cent, but still it has an innate tendency to be a gigantic essay-club."

In Lord Clyde's opinion, Bundelcund was hardly yet in a sufficiently tranquillised condition to admit of a visit from the Governor-General. A certain amount of irritation still pervaded the districts of that territory. Indeed at that moment, in consequence of the alarm caused to the petty rajahs by the plundering of numerous bands of marauders, who were roaming about seeking the means of subsistence, measures were in progress for increasing the Saugur force, so as to sweep the whole country from Saugur to the eastward, and effectually clear the Jubbulpoor line of railway. The idea of Bundelcund, therefore, was renounced, and it was finally arranged that Lord Clyde should join the Governor-General's camp at Cawnpore in the second week in October.

In the meantime, news had reached Simla of a nature to afford Lord Clyde the liveliest satisfaction. The cause of it is explained in the following



letter to Lady Canning: "I daresay you have received from your numerous friends many letters of congratulation on the advancement of Lord Canning to an earldom: if my little tribute has not come so soon, believe me it is not because I do not wish heartily to congratulate both yourself and Lord Canning on this recognition by the nation of his services to the State during the last two perilous and eventful years. His kind consideration for my health placed me at a distance from him, when I could gladly have been near to have taken his orders, and as far as possible to have assisted him during this unpleasant business with the local corps. If there was not such an army of officers and clerks belonging to my headquarters, who must all march when I do so, I certainly should have tried to get down to Calcutta, so as to be at hand. However, it could not be so; so I must content myself with writing my best wishes for your health and happiness."

Leaving Simla at the end of the first week in October, Lord Clyde visited Subathoo, Umbala, Delhi, and Meerut, at each of which places he inspected the troops, and on the 13th arrived at Cawnpore, where the camp of the Governor-General and his own were formed. From Cawnpore the two camps crossed the Ganges into Oudh, and marched together to Lucknow, which was entered in state. Lady Canning accompanied her husband; and under Lord Clyde's guidance, the viceregal party visited the ground on which the relief took place, as well as the



many objects of interest connected with the recent struggle to be found in that city. From Lucknow the Governor-General marched back to Cawnpore, and continued his progress up the Delhi and Agra road to the North-western Provinces—Lord Clyde, with the headquarters of the army, accompanying him.

Before leaving Simla, Lord Clyde had received an intimation from the Duke of Cambridge that he was to be succeeded in the chief command by Sir Hugh Rose; but as that officer happened to be serving in India, it was left to Lord Clyde's discretion to decide upon the period of his return to England. He still hoped to be able to leave at the end of February. Preparations were in progress for the China expedition, to the command of which Sir Hope Grant had been nominated. In all its details Lord Canning depended on the counsel and recommendations of Lord Clyde—the result of his acquaintance with that country; and he was loath to part with his old Commander-in-chief, at a time when he considered he could ill spare his services. He made a personal appeal to him to postpone his departure, allusion to which is made in a letter from Lord Clyde to the Duke of Cambridge: "A few days ago Lord Canning, in conversation, told me he regretted I was going to leave India so soon as I proposed, and requested to know whether, if he found it practicable to make arrangements at home which would be more suitable, I would remain Commander-in-chief some



months longer. I told his Excellency that I was very much gratified by finding that I had carried on the duties of my office to his satisfaction, and that if I had known it was his wish I should remain, I would not have sent in my resignation at the time I did. I had notified my intention to Lord Canning a month before my letter to your Royal Highness. However, I said it was impossible for me to address your Royal Highness again on the subject. Lord Canning has informed me that it is his intention by this mail to apply to the Home Government with a view to retaining me here for the present. . . . Of course, if the Governor-General wishes it, and thinks I can be useful to his Excellency by remaining a little longer than I had intended, I will do so, should the Government at home and your Royal Highness deem such a course expedient. . . ."

As was to be surmised, no difficulty was made by the authorities in meeting Lord Canning's wishes. "I can perfectly understand," wrote the Duke of Cambridge in reply to the letter just quoted, "Lord Canning's feelings in this respect, and it is most natural that he should have the most perfect reliance on your knowledge and experience in so important an undertaking, especially as regards a country [China] so little known to others, but of which you possess so thorough a knowledge. Feeling, therefore, that the request is not an unreasonable one on Lord Canning's part, and seeing how strongly he feels on the subject in a letter he has himself addressed to



Sir Charles Wood, I am empowered by the new Secretaries of State, Sir Charles Wood and Mr Sidney Herbert, and have the consent of her Majesty, to whom the proposition has been submitted, to authorise your remaining in your important command in India for the present."

From Agra, where the Governor-General remained some time, Lord Clyde paid a flying visit to Gwalior. Here he became the guest of his old friend Sir Robert Napier; and after making an inspection of the troops in garrison, visiting the fort, and examining the site for a proposed new cantonment, he proceeded on to Jhansi. At this place also he inspected the troops, as well as the fort and ground, the scene of Sir Hugh Rose's attack. From Jhansi he made his way back by Gwalior to Agra. From Agra the combined camps moved to Meerut, which was reached just before Christmas. When at Meerut, Lord Clyde seized the opportunity of visiting Roorkee, where he viewed with great interest the college and workshops of the engineering establishment, as also the pontoons and the magnificent works of the Ganges canal.

In the meantime, the details of the troops to be despatched to China, which had formed the subject of a lively correspondence with the Home authorities and much consultation with the Governor-General, were finally determined. Notwithstanding the sensible reduction of the European strength, caused by the exodus of so large a proportion of the local force,



as well as by the withdrawal of the battalions of the line destined for the expeditionary force, Lord Clyde had the satisfaction of informing the Duke of Cambridge that he had been authorised by Lord Canning to arrange for the return to England of three more battalions—an undeniable proof of the pacification of the country. At the same time, he was enabled to report that “the arrangements for the settlement of Bundelcund had been successful. In consequence of the measures adopted to sweep that country with troops, there had been no serious resistance, and very little fighting; the province had been given up to the police, and the troops had been withdrawn to their quarters.”

The next point of the Governor-General's progress was Delhi, where Lord Clyde made a minute inspection of the defences. Leaving that station on the 4th January, and proceeding by Umbala, Loodiana, and Umritsur, Lahore was reached in the second week in February. Writing from that place to the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Clyde informs him that Lord Canning was about to proceed to Peshawur: “He has determined to see the country himself. It appears that Sir John Lawrence has advanced it as his opinion that it would be advisable to withdraw the troops from the Peshawur valley and the right bank of the Indus. Many other persons, and I among the number, do not agree with him. The occupation of the cantonment of Peshawur completely commands the Khyber Pass, and prevents



the Affghans issuing from it and taking possession of the valley of Peshawur, and, when once established there, making further inroads into our territory. As I know the ground well, having served there and carried on war among the hills to the northward, the Governor-General expressed his wish that I should accompany him; and as Sir Hope Grant and Sir R. Napier¹ are both at Calcutta, I considered that it was not very necessary for me to go there, and that I might be more usefully employed in accompanying Lord Canning to Peshawur."

On the return of Lord and Lady Canning from Peshawur, Lord Clyde rejoined the headquarter camp at Sealkote, whence he accompanied the viceregal party to Kangra. During the march up country he had shown a disinclination to riding exercise, preferring to be driven by Metcalfe, his aide-de-camp, in a wheeled vehicle; but the lassitude, of which he had previously shown symptoms, seemed to have passed away. The beautiful scenery of the hills in the neighbourhood of Kangra told with an invigorating effect upon him, and he returned to Simla in the company of Lord and Lady Canning in the second week of April, having laid in a fresh stock of health.

India had relapsed into a profound state of peace and security; the Chinese expedition had embarked; and, his work having been accomplished, Lord Clyde

¹ Sir R. Napier had been appointed to the command of one of the divisions of the China expeditionary force.



looked forward to an early emancipation from his command. One burning question, however, was as yet unsolved. The proposed amalgamation of the Queen's and local services had been the subject of animated discussion in the Indian Council, one member of which—Sir James Outram—had from the first opposed the project. In a letter to Lord Canning written on the 28th April, Lord Clyde expressed his views: "I have the pleasure of returning to your lordship the minutes which you sent me, by Sir James Outram, Sir Bartle Frere, and Mr Wilson. These minutes all have reference to the first or protest minute of Sir James Outram. That is an immense subject, upon which I have now no time to enter. I may say that I do not concur with Sir James in his strong anti-amalgamation feeling. Indeed I am disposed to believe that amalgamation would be the best policy, always taking care that the vested rights of the local officers should be respected. With all the propositions of Sir J. Outram regarding the comforts and management of the soldiers—their instruction and amusement, both mental and bodily—I quite agree, if it be possible to carry such schemes into execution; but I fear the erection of a quantity of additional buildings in barracks, when bare cover itself for the soldiers has been attained in a very imperfect manner, would be at present impossible on account of the expense. All good commanding officers, during my experience, have systematically endeavoured to give their men



never die out in India; and the natives must feel that, while Britain contains such sons, the rule of the British sovereign must last undisputed.

"Soldiers, both English and native, I bid you farewell; and I record as my latest word, that the bravery and endurance, of which I have spoken with admiration, could not alone have insured success.

"That success was owing in a great measure to your discipline, the foundation of all military virtue, which, I trust, will never be relaxed."

After holding a farewell levee, and attending a ball given by the residents of Calcutta in his honour, he handed over the command to Sir Hugh Rose. Then came the final leave-taking with Lord Canning. Frequently, after his return to England, would Lord Clyde dwell on this scene, and acknowledge the effort it cost him to subdue his feelings.

Lord Clyde left Calcutta on the 4th June. At Madras he received a note from Lord Canning, written on the day of his departure, and sent by the after-packet, in which he reminds Lord Clyde of his promise: "Don't forget my two requests—to see my sister, and to sit to Frank Grant in your old blue jacket. The sitting is a serious matter, but I think you will do it for me. Metcalfe, too, has a little packet, which I asked you to leave for Lady Sydney. Sydney will save you all trouble (except the sitting) with Grant. I have asked him to do so. And now, once more, good-bye, my dear and valued friend. God bless and protect you! Amongst



the many happinesses of returning home, there are few to which, when the good time arrives, I shall look forward with more intense delight than that of seeing you once more."

From Madras, where he became the guest of Sir Patrick Grant for one night, Lord Clyde replied to Lord Canning's letter: "The after-packet brought me your very kind and most grateful letter; and I cannot leave Madras without thanking you for the friendly, and indeed affectionate, tone in which you have written. Believe me, the parting from your Excellency, after so many proofs as you have shown of personal kind feeling towards me, is the only drawback from the pleasure I look forward to in reposing after so long service and so many anxieties. I consider that your good opinion, and the friendship so plainly spoken in your letter, is a very high reward for any assistance I may have been able to afford in carrying on the public business. I shall have great pleasure in complying with your Excellency's wish that I should sit to Mr Grant for my portrait; and I hope that when you return, you will not think it unreasonable that I should ask you to sit also to the same painter, in order that I may have present in my room the likeness of a statesman, who so triumphantly succeeded in settling India, and who, in all the labours of his arduous office, has never forgotten a kind word and deed for his Commander-in-chief. Pray in your letter remember me to dear Lady Canning. I shall be one of the



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first on the shore to greet you both on your return to England."

Lord Clyde reached Paris on the 13th July. Here he remained several days, meeting at the table of the British Ambassador (Lord Cowley) Marshal Pelissier and other French officers of his acquaintance. He was also honoured by an audience with the Emperor. General Vinoy, with whom he had maintained a regular correspondence during his absence in India, was at this time holding a command in the provinces. Lord Clyde was anxious to see him, and for this purpose contemplated prolonging his stay in France; but his plans were disarranged by an earnest appeal from the Duke of Cambridge to expedite his return to England. "I hope this letter," wrote his Royal Highness, "will meet you at Paris, where you have arrived safely after a prosperous journey. I am anxious to be the first to announce to you that, consequent upon the death of our poor friend Lord Strafford, and the vacancy that has occurred in the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, her Majesty has graciously selected you for the high honour of becoming the colonel of this distinguished regiment—a distinction which, I am confident, you will appreciate as it is intended. I would also express a hope that you should come over to England as soon as you can conveniently do so. The Indian army question is now pending. I believe we may say with confidence that it will pass through Parliament. Your presence,



however, with a view of aiding us in getting it through Parliament, would be of importance to us; and I therefore do hope that you will come over, even should you return afterwards with a view to seeing your friends over the water. I need hardly assure you with what pleasure I shall welcome you home; and your reception in this country is sure to be a most hearty one,—so pray come as soon as you possibly can. . . .”

Having paid a hurried visit to General Vinoy, Lord Clyde hastened his departure from Paris, reaching London in time to take his seat in the House of Lords, and speak and vote in favour of the Bill for amalgamating the armies of India, which measure was carried through Parliament and became law.

The Duke of Cambridge's anticipations were verified. Nothing could be more flattering than Lord Clyde's reception by all classes of his countrymen, from her Majesty downwards; but with the retiring modesty which characterised him at all times, especially in prosperity, and which caused him to abhor anything approaching to lionisation, he shrank from all manifestation of applause, or attempt to make him an object of popularity. Arrived in London, he found himself a prisoner there for some time. Numerous questions connected with the amalgamation of the forces in India were submitted to him for his opinion; and constant references in the matter of promotion, and rewards to officers for services rendered in the recent cam-

paigus, monopolised every hour of the day. Sometimes the application would be supplemented by the personal appeal of an interested friend or relative, and, on more than one occasion, in such terms as to try the old soldier's patience. One of these visitors advancing, as a ground for consideration, that his son had been in a position of considerable danger, Lord Clyde rose from his chair, and, with marked emphasis of tone and manner, replied, "So he was in a position of danger, was he? I tell you what, sir! your son was very favoured and most fortunate to be placed in such a position. We soldiers consider it the best thing that can happen to us, and we value it as much, if not more, than promotion."

As soon as he was able to release himself from this irksome occupation, he repaired to Vichy, where, in the company of General Vinoy, he obtained the repose for which he had so ardently longed, and which the state of his health rendered necessary. Increasing years, and the toil and anxiety he had undergone, had told on his iron frame; and though he still retained an unusual amount of bodily vigour for a man of his age, his friends could not fail to detect a visible change in his appearance.

During his last absence in India, Lord Clyde's father had moved from Mull (Argyle), where he had long been resident, to Portobello, near Edinburgh. There tended by his daughter, he died at a ripe



old age in January 1859. Having established Miss Campbell in a home of her own in London, Lord Clyde, on his return from Vichy, settled himself in chambers in the Albany. These he made his headquarters; but as General Eyre was at that time holding the command at Chatham, he paid frequent visits to his family, coming and going as it suited him, and never feeling so much at home as when in the society of these attached friends, in whose presence he was freed from all restraint, whose children were a constant source of interest to him, and where he was enabled to indulge the strong domestic feelings to which he was by nature inclined.

In the autumn of 1858 the freedom of the city of London had been conferred upon him by a vote of the Court of Common Council; and in the December following his return, he attended, in company with Sir James Outram, to whom a similar compliment had been paid, the ceremony of the presentation of a sword of honour, followed by a banquet at the Mansion House. Proud as he was of the estimation in which his services were held by his country, it was an effort to Lord Clyde to face an assembly of this kind, in which he found himself one of the principal objects of interest, and was compelled, in spite of himself, to receive and reply to compliments of a personal nature. Nevertheless he could, when the occasion required it, acquit himself as it became him, though not, perhaps, with



the same ease and fluency as when haranguing his troops. When, a few weeks later, the thanks of the House of Lords were voted to the force employed in China for the successful result of its operations, whereby a favourable peace had been concluded with that country, Lord Clyde refused to receive the compliments paid him for the care and foresight he had displayed in the preparation of the expedition, without sharing them with Lord Canning. To this act Lady Canning, in her correspondence with Lord Clyde, gracefully alludes in warm terms of gratitude.

Early in April 1861, he was on his way to Paris, glad to escape from the claims which society imposes upon its favourites, and fortified with an excuse for declining various tokens of respect of a public nature, which his fame and popularity invited. General Vinoy happened to be in Paris, and in his society he spent a month before continuing his journey to Italy. From the entries in his journal, which he recommenced in 1861, he appears to have suffered at times from a recurrence of his old attacks of fever and ague, one of which seized him before leaving Paris. Passing through Turin, he made his way to Magenta, the scene of the conflict in the campaign of 1859. "*Journal, 10th May.*—Visited the field of battle. So enclosed and covered with vines and trees and cultivation, that I now comprehend the difficulty of the Austrians acting in a close line, and of the advantage to the French in the employment



of so large a proportion of the infantry in skirmishing order. Vinoy told me the number so employed by the French were always greater than the Austrians, and that they therefore broke through, and assailed the supports and reserves of their opponents, which were in column." At Milan, Lord Clyde found in command his old friend and comrade of the Crimea, General della Marmora, from whom and his English wife he met with a hearty welcome. At their table he renewed acquaintance with several officers who had accompanied the Sardinian force to the East, and he dwells in his journal on the friendliness exhibited to him by all. General della Marmora paid him the compliment of having the troops out for his inspection, and Lord Clyde comments on "their stout and hardy appearance, as well as their steadiness under arms." Before he left Milan, General Cialdini,¹ another Crimean friend, who happened at that time to be holding a command at Bologna, came up from thence to pay him a visit, which afforded him great pleasure. Not having seen the Italian lakes, Lord Clyde took the opportunity of being in their neighbourhood to make a rapid excursion to them. Embarking at Como, and proceeding up the lake, with the beauty of the scenery of which he was much impressed, he crossed to Lugano, and thence to Maggiore. Maggiore, he remarks in his journal, "though larger, is not so pleasing as Como. The Borromean islands are

¹ Now Italian Ambassador to the French Republic.



pretty objects, but not equal to the scenery in the Yang-tsze-kiang, with its golden and silver islands."

Passing through Milan, he stopped at Desenzano, for the purpose of examining the battle-field of Solferino. "*Journal, 19th May.*—Went to Solferino heights *viâ* San Martino, Madonna Scoperlo, and Pozzolengò. From the heights of Solferino the whole of this very extensive field of battle may be seen. The French army were evidently in hand; and I conceive the Emperor Louis Napoleon to have been better informed of the movements and objects of the Austrians on that day, than the latter were of those of the French. From what I heard from Vinoy, the whole of the regiments, with the exception of a couple of companies of each as a reserve, were employed in attack. They formed a loose line in skirmishing order, each man acting for himself in this sense, and independently, when he thought fit, although in fact in line, but quite out of hand for any formation. The numbers thus employed were far more numerous than the Austrian line of skirmishers, and their numerical superiority enabled the French to break through the Austrian line of skirmishers, and to envelop the troops formed in rear in support. Thus the long range of the French artillery enabled it to punish and disorganise the reserve of all arms. La Marmora spoke most favourably of the Austrian soldier. He was brave and well instructed; but somehow or other his superior officers were at fault

throughout the whole campaign, and he fought always at a disadvantage."

After examining the position of San Martino, Lord Clyde proceeded to Verona, where, under the guidance of one of General Benedek's aides-de-camp, he inspected the heights which command the town. Thence he made his way to Venice, with the beauty of which city, as also its works of art, he appears to have been duly impressed. From Venice he returned to England by the Brenner Pass and Munich, where he notes that he was "not very well: a feeling of weakness comes over me for which I cannot well account, unless it be old age, which cannot be expected to improve with advancing years." By the second week in June he found himself reinstalled in his old quarters at the Albany.

The feeling of weakness alluded to above was doubtless one of the incipient symptoms of the insidious malady, which at this time had begun to undermine Lord Clyde's constitution, and eventually caused his death. Ever since his return from India, those who were much in his society had remarked in him a nervous excitability, as also a tendency to brood over matters, which in ruder health he probably would have regarded with comparative unconcern. One moment he would be uneasy under the weight of the honours which, in his judgment, had been lavished upon him. At another he would trouble himself concerning the distribution of the Central India prize-money, his claim to which had been con-

tested,—“not,” as he said, “that he cared for the money—if he got it,¹ it would be a trouble to him : he could not carry it with him to the grave, and his sister, thank God, was already provided for,”—but because he was apprehensive lest, by his right being ignored, the troops, whose due he conceived it was to share it with him, should be deprived of it. Be this as it may, the effect upon him was such as at times to seriously interfere with his peace of mind. Unquestionably it was a sign of failing health. Even at this period he was not exempted from physical suffering. An ominous pain in the left region of the chest would cause him to stop short when walking with a companion, bear with all his weight upon him, and even sometimes force him to groan aloud. Yet he could not bear to be considered ill, and never mentioned it, or allowed it to be observed, if he could help it.

At the close of the summer of 1861, Lord Clyde was selected by the military authorities to represent the British service at the manœuvres about to be held by portions of the Prussian army. Whilst the *corps d'armée* destined for this purpose were assembling in the vicinity of Cologne, Lord Clyde was specially invited to Berlin to witness the manœuvres of the Guards, which were to be conducted in the neighbourhood of the capital, no other foreign officers being present. Thither Lord Clyde and his party, of

¹ Lord Clyde's claim was eventually recognised, though the money was not paid over to his estate until after his death.

whom General Eyre was one, proceeded in the first week in September. Colonel von Blumenthal,¹ commanding the 3d Regiment of Thuringian Infantry, was deputed to receive the English officers, and spared no pains in rendering them the most friendly and active assistance by anticipating their wants in every possible manner. Their reception by the King, the Crown Prince and Princess, and all the Royal family, was most gracious and hospitable—an example followed by all classes, and acknowledged by Lord Clyde in ample terms in his journal. The smart appearance of the troops, the steadiness and precision of their formations and movements, the perfect knowledge of their duties in the field, satisfied him that no pains had been spared to perfect the soldiers in their training. Nor did his practised eye fail to detect the celerity of the infantry-fire with the breech-loading rifle, at that time a novelty to the armies of Europe, and which the Prussians had been the first to adopt. It was the constant theme of his conversation with those who were associated with him on this occasion; and his remarks left an enduring impression on the mind of General von Blumenthal, who, in speaking, in a recent letter, of Lord Clyde's presence at the Prussian manœuvres of 1861, remarks: "I can say I profited a great deal by his conversation. He was

¹ Now General von Blumenthal, of European celebrity, who accompanied the Crown Prince of Prussia as chief of the staff in the Prusso-Austrian campaign of 1866, and again in the same capacity in the Franco-German war of 1870-71.

always kind, friendly, and clear in what he said to me. He expressed a high opinion of our army almost in every respect, and I have often thought of him and his praises and good advice in the midst of battles. How I wished he could have seen our fighting! As well as I remember, there were only three remarks about our tactics in which he did not agree with us. First, that we fought too much in column instead of line; and now, since the firearms are become so murderous, we shall mostly fight in line. Secondly, that we always formed square with our battalions against cavalry, instead of receiving the attack in line. He was also right in that. In the Austrian, and particularly in the French war (at Sedan), we received the cavalry in line. Thirdly, that our cavalry too often attacked the enemy when in cover. This had been the case at the manœuvres, but it was no fault of our tactics—rather that of the leading officers, who were too eager to attack.”

From Lord Clyde's journal we learn that on the termination of the Guards' manœuvres he was received by the Prussian Royal family at Brühl—"The King, Queen, and our most amiable Princess (wife of the Crown Prince), full of kindness and civility." The remainder of the autumn was spent by Lord Clyde between London and Chatham.

On the 1st November he accompanied Sir John Lawrence to Windsor, on the occasion of the first Chapter of the newly established order of the Star of India being held by her Majesty. "*Journal*, 1st



November.—Installed as a Knight of the Star of India by her Majesty. Dined at the Castle. Her Majesty and the Prince Consort most amiable in their manner to me upon this as on every other occasion."

Since his departure from India, Lord Clyde had maintained his correspondence with Lady Canning. A few days subsequent to his visit to Windsor, he notes in his journal the despatch of a letter he had written. But it was not destined to reach her. On her way back from a hurried visit to Darjeeling, made whilst Lord Canning was absent on duty in the upper provinces, that amiable lady contracted a fever. Her constitution, much impaired by the climate, and the anxiety which she had suffered since her arrival in India, was unable to resist the attack, which terminated fatally. The acknowledgment of the letter devolved upon Lord Canning, who, in a few touching words, remarked "how cordially she, whom he had lost, reciprocated the regard Lord Clyde entertained for her."

Shortly after the despatch of his letter to Lady Canning, Lord Clyde himself experienced a serious attack of illness. He had been dining out, and, as was his habit, was walking home (it was a cold November night), when he was seized with a violent return of the pain, to which on many previous occasions he had been subjected. With the assistance of a conveyance he reached his chambers, and in consequence of the serious symptoms which

supervened, sought medical advice. He was confined to his room for the best part of a fortnight; and though the attack yielded to treatment, he alludes in his journal to the state of prostration in which he found himself, after the feverish feeling had left him and he had been pronounced convalescent. As soon as he was permitted to leave the house, Lord Clyde repaired to Chatham, where he spent the greater portion of the month of December with his friends the Eyres. Whilst on this visit, news of the arrest of Messrs Slidell and Mason, the commissioners of the Southern States of America, and their secretaries, on board an English passenger-steamer, by an armed party of a frigate of the United States navy, reached England. Consequent on the excitement produced in the country by this affair, and in view of the contingent possibility of a rupture between Great Britain and the United States, public opinion pointed to Lord Clyde as one whose services might be required in command of the troops in Canada, whom it was deemed prudent by the Government to reinforce without delay. Grave anxiety marked the close of the year, on which an additional gloom was cast by the unexpected and lamented death of the Prince Consort.

On the 2d January, Lord Clyde, who had returned to London from a visit which he had been paying at Cheshunt to his old and attached friend Mr Gledstanes, notes in his journal: "Opinion doubtful as to the American Government giving up the gentle-



men, Messrs Slidell and Mason, taken from the Trent; and I find much conjecture respecting my being sent to Canada in case of war. I have no desire or ambition to be further employed. Personal ambition has left me. I have none. If asked to go, I am quite ready." All doubt on the matter was, however, solved by the adoption of temperate counsels on the part of the American Government, which, after a few weeks' interval of suspense, conceded the demands of the British Government and released the captured passengers.

Though it is a subject on which Lord Clyde himself would have preferred silence to have been maintained, yet his remarkable open-handedness in the disposition of his means demands notice, with a view to the just elucidation of his character. Possessed as he was at this time of a handsome income, the saving of money, which for so many years of his life he had practised with rigid self-denial in the interest of others, had ceased to be an object with him. In the society of his intimates he spoke of his money as "dross which he could not carry with him to the other world;" and his pleasure was in devising excuses for distributing it amongst those of his friends to whom, at the moment, he considered it would be most acceptable. A single extract from his diary will suffice. On the 18th January he notes: "I have given so many presents in money during the course of the year, that I find I must discontinue the indulgence of this pleasure for some time to come." Then

follows the enumeration of the items—amounting, exclusive of the handsome annual allowance made to his sister, to a total of £6792.

In the beginning of the year, he appears to have again suffered from the effects of the night air. In his desire to give pleasure to the younger members of a family with which he was intimate, he had accompanied a party to the theatre to see a pantomime. The next day he notes the consequence, and remarks that he is “too old now to go to such places.” Nevertheless, in the third week of January he was sufficiently well to undertake a flying visit to Northumberland, where he took the opportunity of renewing his acquaintance with some of his old friends in that county. Amongst them he specially mentions his “dear old friend” Colonel Coulson and his family: “all had been most kind to me when quartered with my regiment the 98th in that district in 1839-40 and -41.” He appears, however, to have recognised the necessity of care; for, on his return to London, he declined an invitation to dinner with one of his most attached friends,¹

¹ The late Mr John Crawford, F.R.S., a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, in which capacity he rendered important service at the head of a diplomatic mission to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China, with the object of opening out commercial relations with India. He afterwards became President of the Ethnological Society, and as a Vice-President of the Geographical Society, took a leading part in the proceedings of that body. He was also for many years a writer in the ‘Examiner’ newspaper, under the brilliant editorship of the late Mr Fonblanque. Himself an Islay man, Mr Crawford was intimately acquainted with Lord Clyde and his connection with that island. They were fast friends through life, and



assigning as his reason, "the night air pinches my chest and gives me pain, which distresses me—a warning to be more prudent in taking care of myself."

On the 27th February he records in his journal : "Despatched a letter of thanks to Lord Breadalbane for the handsome dirk he presented to me in the name of the Highlanders of Glenorchy, Breadalbane, and Nether Lorne."

This was not the only compliment of the kind paid to him by his admiring compatriots. Consequent upon his visit to Scotland in 1856, the ladies of Argyleshire subscribed for a handsome Cairngorm brooch, in order to commemorate his connection with that county, in which Islay, whence the veteran soldier's family sprang, is situated.

This mark of their esteem was presented by the late Duchess of Argyll, on behalf of the donors, at a dinner given at the Duke's house in London, on Lord Clyde's return from India. On his death the brooch was handed over to the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, by whom Lord Clyde was regarded as a valued and intimate friend, and is now at Inverary.

At the instance of the authorities, Lord Clyde consented to command at a review of the Volunteers, which was arranged to be held at Brighton on Easter Monday of this year. Before proceeding thither he paid a visit to Strathfieldsaye.

to Mr Crawford Lord Clyde more than once pointed as the biographer of his choice, in case any memoir of him were undertaken.

"*Journal, April 16th.*—The Duke of Wellington showed me all over the house: the room in which the great Duke slept and wrote; his bed a simple stretcher, without curtains, and on which a chintz covering was placed during the day, and thus had the appearance of and served as a sofa. The furniture of the apartment was just such as you would see in the barrack-room of a regimental field-officer or a captain in a barrack in England."

The review, which was intended to test the practicability of collecting at a given point on the coast a *corps d'armée* for defensive purposes, fulfilled its object to the satisfaction of all concerned. In a few hours some 20,000 men were assembled, the majority of whom were brought by rail at an early hour from London, the remainder being furnished from Dover, the Isle of Wight, and other places along the coast. "They" (the Volunteers), remarks Lord Clyde in a letter written a few days later, "surprised me not a little by their wonderful steadiness and intelligence. It was not merely a simple affair of marching round and saluting, but a readiness of movement and facility of changing position, which is not always surpassed by the oldest and most practised troops." It was the last occasion of his appearing at the head of troops in the field.

Just at this period Lord Canning returned to England. Leaving India in apparent health, he had begun to complain of some discomfort upon landing at Marseilles. He was, however, well



enough to walk down to the Albany before breakfast the morning after his arrival, and thank Lord Clyde for the redemption of his promise to sit for his portrait.

At the end of May, Lord Clyde was on his way to Paris, where he remained three weeks, spending his time most agreeably in the society of General and Madame Vinoy and their friends. The open-air life of the French metropolis was very congenial to him, and he notes in his journal the pleasure it gave him to meet "his old friend Marshal Canrobert," General Mollard, and other officers, whom he had known in the Crimea. Nor was he forgetful of those who had passed away. "*Journal, June 2d.*—Attended a religious ceremony observed at the church of La Trinité on the anniversary of the death of General Espinasse, killed at the battle of Magenta. The father and brother of Madame Espinasse called and left their cards on me afterwards, to mark their appreciation of the respect I desired to show to the memory of their relation."

"*June 15th.*—Breakfasted with Vinoy. Went afterwards with Madame and himself to Versailles, where I had not been since 1816, forty-six years ago. All those who held possession of my affections at that period have been removed. . . . Saw the gallery of modern paintings collected by Louis Philippe. Vinoy could not help calling my attention to the absence of all notice of the English in the pictures of those scenes in which we were united and took

a part, such as the battles of Alma and Inkerman. He observed that all artists, of whatsoever country, did the same, their national feeling leading them to represent every honour as having been gained by their own soldiers. It was evident that my good friend felt ashamed at this kind of monopoly on the part of the French artists, of all credit in these battles being given to the French army, while it was agreeable to the national vanity of the people."

In the meantime Lord Clyde had arranged with General and Madame Vinoy to pay a visit to London, for the purpose of seeing the International Exhibition, at this time the great object of attraction. He undertook to precede them thither, for the purpose of procuring them apartments, and, before quitting Paris, was enabled to announce to his friend that, in anticipation of his arrival, the Athenæum Club had elected him an honorary member by acclamation.

The pleasure in store for Lord Clyde was, however, materially affected by the news which awaited his return. On the day of his arrival, Lord Canning, on whose constitution, enfeebled by climate and the toil and anxiety of his labours in India, disease had made rapid inroads, breathed his last. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, in a grave near that of his illustrious father; and of the many friends and admirers who followed his remains to their last resting-place, none mourned him more sincerely than his former Commander-in-chief, who had received such signal proofs of the late Viceroy's confidence



and friendship, when associated with him in the triumph of restoring British ascendancy in India, so rudely shaken by the revolt of the sepoy army. It is a noteworthy circumstance that on this occasion Lord Clyde lent his arm to Sir James Outram, who was then in failing health, and whose remains, together with his own, were destined to be laid, at no long interval, under the same pile which was then receiving those of their honoured chief.¹

London was full of visitors, to meet whom Lord Clyde had no lack of invitations; yet he wearied of the life, complaining in his journal "of doing nothing, and idling without any definite object." Nevertheless there are several entries at this time of pleasurable visits paid to Rosebank, near Fulham, the residence of Colonel and Mrs M'Murdo,² the latter being the daughter of Sir Charles Napier. With these friends Lord Clyde, since his return to England, had become very intimate; and it may be imagined with what delight he reverted, in their presence, to the memory of his revered commander.

The visit of the Vinoys having been postponed for some weeks, Lord Clyde was enabled to spend a portion of the time at Chatham, where, he notes, he amused himself by sitting or walking in the garden all day, and where he enjoyed the society of Sir

¹ Sir James Outram died in the following spring, Lord Clyde, amongst other friends and comrades, attending his funeral on the 25th March 1863.

² Colonel M'Murdo, at that time holding the appointment of Inspector-General of Volunteers; now General W. M. S. M'Murdo, C.B.



Henry Harness, speaking of him in his journal "as an amiable and good man, very sensible in his military views, and for whom I have a warm regard."

In the second week in July the Vinoys arrived, and remained a week in London, during which time Lord Clyde spared no exertion to render their stay agreeable, accompanying them to the Exhibition, the Tower, Windsor, and other places of interest, and introducing them to his friends, by whom they were warmly welcomed.

"*Journal, July 20th.*—Vinoy and Madame left this morning, seemingly very much pleased with their visit and their reception in London, and all the attention it had been in my power to show them." The day following the Vinoys' departure, Lord Clyde escorted Mrs Eyre to Northumberland, in order to attend the marriage of her brother,¹ who had rendered important service on the headquarter staff during the Indian Mutiny. Whilst at Hexham, Lord Clyde did not omit the opportunity of paying a visit to his valued friends the Coulsons of Blenkinsopp—"the old colonel, who rarely received any visitors, being full of kindness."

On his return to London he complained in his journal of "not being well: a heavy and tired feeling, which can only be ascribed to advancing years. I fight against it, and not without success, so that I have no right to complain."

Lord Clyde had been repeatedly urged by his

¹ Now Major-General G. Allgood, C.B., late Bengal Staff Corps.



medical adviser to proceed to a German bath, for the purpose of recruiting his health. He, however, tarried in England, for reasons which showed his readiness to prefer the interests of others to his own.

His claim to a share in the Bandah and Kirwee-prize-money was undisputed by the Treasury; not so that of Sir Hugh Rose and the troops of the Central India field-force.

In a letter to a friend whom he had been desirous of joining in Germany, in case he found himself in a position to leave London, he thus alludes to his detention: "The Treasury have not yet come to any decision regarding the claim of the officers and soldiers of the column under Sir Hugh Rose to share in the booty taken at Kirwee; and I think I may possibly be able to serve their interests by remaining in town until the Treasury have arrived at a decision. I shall be content to remain until the question has been settled. The French have a proverb, '*Qu'il vaut mieux toujours s'adresser au grand Dieu qu'à ses saints*;' and I wrote a letter to Lord Palmerston a few days ago, which I feel confident will command his lordship's attention, and lead him to give a decision speedily, if it rest with him to do so."

In August he paid a visit to the late Lord Herbert at Wilton, and on his return attended a marriage in the family of Mr R. Clutterbuck at Watford. When at Wilton, he had met Count Strzelecki, and had arranged to proceed with him to one of the



baths in Bohemia; but this plan was deranged, owing to an unforeseen circumstance, explained in the following extract from his journal: "*September 3d.*—Heard this day of the death yesterday of my dear and good old friend Sir Richard Doherty, who served with me in the 21st Regiment upwards of nine years, when in the rank of captain and major. He was truly good, upright, and just-minded, and we were ever on cordial and intimate terms. I cannot avoid paying the last mark of respect to his memory by attending his funeral; and in so doing, I must be content to give up the intention of visiting Marienbad this year, and to write in this sense to Count Strzelecki.¹ The weather has become wintry in feeling; and with the pain which cold produces in my chest, I should be foolish to incur the risk of being laid up, besides passing a month of certain discomfort." "*September 6th.*—Attended this day the funeral of my dear old friend and comrade Sir R. Doherty. . . . I grieve sincerely for his loss. Sutherland, our mutual friend and brother officer in the same corps, was also at the funeral."

In the following month he records the pleasure he derived from a visit paid to Sir Frederick and Lady Currie at their residence in Kent, and remarks on the kindness they had shown him when stationed at Lahore in 1848.

"*Journal, October 20th.*—Returned from Sir

¹ Pronounced Streleski—a well-known member and favourite of London society.

Frederick Currie's country-house with him to town. Completed my 70th year of age this day. Considering all that I have gone through in the shape of hard work and exposure to bad climates for a long continuance of years, I have much reason to be thankful in being so well and feeling so strong and active as I do, after 54 years' service as a soldier, together with feelings of sincere gratitude for the wonderful fortune which has attended me in my career through life."

One further honour, however, was in store for him.

"*Journal, November 9th.*—Heard this morning at the Horse Guards that my name, with those of Blakeney, Gough, and also of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, would appear in an extraordinary 'Gazette' as Field-Marshal this evening (the twenty-first anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Wales). I would have been far better pleased to have escaped this honour. I have had so many conferred on one so humble, that it would have been agreeable to me to have avoided receiving any further honours."

If he had toiled long and patiently (45 years) to attain the rank of major-general, his promotion since that time had been extraordinarily rapid, for it only took him eight years to run through the list of general officers and gain the topmost rung of the military ladder.

Lord Clyde, who had been for some time intending to leave his quarters in the Albany for a residence



of his own, succeeded in November in finding a house suitable to his requirements. By the end of the year the transaction was completed, and he became the possessor of the lease of No. 10 Berkeley Square. It was, however, some months before the house was ready to receive him.

CHAPTER XXII.

LORD CLYDE'S HEALTH AT THE BEGINNING OF 1863—HE TAKES POSSESSION OF HIS HOUSE—WEAKNESS AND FAILING EYESIGHT—EXAMINED BY MR LONGMORE—LAST ENTRY IN JOURNAL—SERIOUS ILLNESS—VISIT TO CHATHAM—LAST ILLNESS—REMEMBERS HIS HIGHLANDERS—THE QUEEN'S SYMPATHETIC MESSAGE—LETTER WRITTEN BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMAND TO LORD CLYDE—ANXIETY TO SEE HIS SISTER—MISS CAMPBELL ARRIVES—DEATH OF LORD CLYDE—REGRET OF THE NATION—LETTER FROM LORD GRANVILLE—FUNERAL IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY—INSCRIPTION ON TOMBSTONE—SUMMARY OF CHARACTER—LETTER FROM GENERAL VINOY—EXTRACT FROM THE 'TIMES'—CONCLUSION—MEMORIALS IN LONDON AND GLASGOW.

THE New Year found Lord Clyde in the Albany, weak and ailing from a sharp attack of fever, which seized him when spending Christmas with Lord and Lady Donegal at their seat in Berkshire. He, however, soon rallied, and for some weeks to come busied himself with the details for the occupation of his house in Berkeley Square. This took some time, so that it was not till March that he found himself installed in his own home. Amongst the pleasures which he anticipated from his new possession was the possibility of receiving his friends from Chatham; and he did not consider his arrangements complete

until he had commissioned General Eyre "to tell the dear children that he had two nice little iron beds, of the same size and form, put up in the room above the one destined for their father and mother."

In the meantime the feeling of weakness, and the exertion of seeing and talking with people, continued irksome to him, resulting in an undue amount of fatigue. Reading small print had for a long time been difficult with him. Ever since the beginning of the struggle between the Northern and Southern States of America, Lord Clyde had watched the progress of the war with absorbing interest. He kept himself well informed of the various operations of the contending armies; and if, as was frequently the case, his eyes were too weak to scan the accounts published in the newspapers, he gladly availed himself of the assistance of a friend to read them to him.

Lord Clyde had been in the habit of consulting Dr, now Sir Thomas, Watson; but on the occasion of a visit from his friend Mr Longmore¹ early in the year, he submitted himself to a minute examination by that gentleman. Although no indications of any distinct organic lesion of the heart's structure could be detected, Mr Longmore was led to fear that this organ was seriously affected; and he arrived at the conclusion that derangement of

¹ Surgeon-General T. Longmore, C.B., Professor of Military Surgery in the Army Medical School at Chatham, now removed to Netley; in 1863, Deputy Inspector-General.



the circulation, as a result of the weakened condition of the heart, was the chief cause of the symptoms from which the patient was suffering. He therefore advised that all disturbance of the heart's action by mental emotion, or other means, should be prevented as far as possible; and as exposure to the cold air troubled Lord Clyde severely on leaving his club to return home at night, he was urged to give up his ordinary habit of walking, and to use a closed carriage instead.

His journal, which he had kept with more or less regularity since the beginning of 1861, came to an abrupt conclusion in the third week in January. The last entry was dated on the 18th of that month: "Major Bowie kindly accompanied me yesterday to the house of the late Lord Canning in Grosvenor Square, where I was shown the swords he had brought from India. I discovered the regulation sword I had worn as a general officer in the Crimea and India, and which I gave him as a little keepsake and *souvenir* of the old soldier, who had so much pleasure in serving under his orders in the overthrow and suppression of the Mutiny of the native army, and restoration of order and tranquillity of India."

On the 16th May, whilst General and Mrs Eyre were with him on a short visit, Lord Clyde complained of being unwell. A gouty sensation caused him pain in the foot; but as no serious symptoms supervened, his friends left him and returned to

Chatham. On the following day General Eyre was telegraphed for to Berkeley Square, and found Lord Clyde, who had expressed anxiety to see him, seriously ill. It was such an alarming attack, that his medical adviser recommended him to put his affairs in order.

In the first week of June, Lord Clyde, to the surprise of General Eyre, reappeared at Chatham. His visit was quite unexpected, inasmuch as, when his friend left him, he had expressed his intention of remaining in town for some time, to enable him to complete his business with his lawyer. No doubt he was anxious to escape being made an object of interest; for in spite of every precaution to the contrary, the inquiries for him were overwhelming. All London was at his door. He remained at Chatham a fortnight in a state of great debility, and with his eyesight seriously impaired. He then returned to London for a few days, and came back to Chatham on the 23d June, having in the interval caught a cold. He never left again.

From the beginning of his last attack, Lord Clyde realised his precarious condition, and prepared himself in all humility for the end. "Mind this, Eyre," he impressed upon his friend at an early stage of his illness, "I die at peace with all the world." He would frequently ask Mrs Eyre to join with him in prayer, and derived much consolation in hearing passages from the Scriptures and sacred poetry read to him by her or a member of her family. He pre-



ferred to have the Bible read in French, making his comments in the same language. His taste for Scotch poetry remained undiminished to the last; and when reverting to the memory of his early days, he would endeavour to repeat passages from the "Deeside." To sit in an easy-chair in the garden, or to be taken an airing in a carriage driven at an easy pace, was his chief solace, until early in July, when the paroxysms of pain in the region of the heart, accompanied with great difficulty of breathing, became so frequent, as to oblige him to confine himself to his room.

In the first fortnight of July, Lord Clyde experienced several attacks, attended with such alarming symptoms, as to necessitate further advice being called in. Dr Watson was summoned from London, and on several occasions slept in the house. In the intervals of pain Lord Clyde was quite himself, his memory and judgment as clear as ever, and he was much interested in talking to Dr Watson about old Peninsular days. His nervous system had, however, become much deranged, and its irritation was further increased by the want of sleep. Perfect quiet was enjoined by his medical attendants.¹ At times he became very excitable; and on hearing the sound of the bugle in the adjoining square, he would jump up from his chair,

¹ Surgeon-Major J. Summers, M.D., Royal Engineers, and Assistant-Surgeon H. L. Randell, M.R.C.S., Royal Engineers, who were assiduous in their attentions to Lord Clyde.



exclaiming, "I'm ready." On another occasion, when rallying from a paroxysm of pain, he sighed, "Oh for the pure air of heaven, that I might be laid in rest and peace on the lap of the Almighty." By the third week in July the patient's general strength had rapidly declined. Other symptoms, too, supervened, which only too plainly showed that the disease, in which they had originated, was making a fatal advance. As the circulation became more enfeebled, he was subjected to delusions of sight and imagination; and disturbing sleeplessness, which the usual remedies failed to relieve, augmented his sufferings. Although at times quite natural and submissive, he often became the subject of intense delirium. He longed for his release; but on the 24th July he said to General Eyre, "I should like to live till to-morrow, because it is the anniversary of St Sebastian, which is perhaps a fitting day for the old soldier to diē." At the same time, he desired to be remembered to "Sutherland, his old comrade of the 21st; and to good Haythorne,¹ brave Haythorne, as modest as he is brave."

His memory, too, would frequently dwell on his faithful Highlanders, and find expression in terms of gratitude for the trust they had reposed in the chief, who loved them so well. Some account of the Alma which had recently appeared in a periodical had not rendered them the justice which, in his opinion, they deserved; and on learning that a former member of

¹ *Vide ante*, vol. i. p. 123.



his staff was expected at Chatham, he became excited, and said, "When —— comes down, get him to assist you in drawing up a statement for me to sign. I should like to see it and sign it myself." On being reminded that he had promised not to speak any more on such subjects, he grasped General Eyre's hand and replied, "Well, I will obey orders; but, my dear friend, it is not on my account—it's for the sake of those noble soldiers, who expect it from me."

Numerous and feeling were the inquiries made regarding him; and though many intimate friends repaired to Chatham, some of them from long distances, it was deemed advisable that he should not run the risk of excitement consequent on an interview. Lord Clyde himself shrank from seeing any but those who ministered to him. Even his sister, who remained under the same roof with him for several days, on the chance of being admitted, returned to London without having accomplished her purpose.

As soon as the news of his illness reached the Queen, Sir Charles Phipps communicated to General Eyre the grief her Majesty experienced at hearing it; and he was directed "in her name to say everything to her old loyal faithful servant that can be said of sympathy and sincere regard." "He was," Sir Charles Phipps added, "a very great favourite of her Majesty; and if he still can listen to such expressions, it may soothe him to hear how deep is the Queen's feeling for him."



This was followed by a letter, which her Majesty desired to be written to Lord Clyde himself:—

“OSBORNE, July 20, 1863.

“MY DEAR LORD CLYDE,—The Queen has just heard of your serious illness, and has directed me to write to you to express her sincere sympathy, and her anxious hope that it may please God to grant you recovery from your sufferings.

“You are well aware of the high appreciation of her Majesty of your invariable and unbounded devotion to duty, which has rendered your life so glorious and so valuable to your Queen and country.

“Her Majesty cannot but hope that it must be a consolation to you, amidst all that you have to undergo, to look back to such a life, and to recall that from your earliest youth to your respected and honoured old age you have freely dedicated yourself to the service of your country.

“The Queen hopes that it may be still soothing to you to know how deeply your Sovereign feels for you, and how entirely you have secured to yourself her esteem and respect.

“She prays that a merciful God may lessen your sufferings and grant you peace,—Sincerely yours,

“C. B. PHIPPS.”

In his enfeebled state Lord Clyde was unable to acknowledge otherwise than vicariously this high token of her Majesty's regard. From day to day



he continued in the same suffering condition, restless, and at times delirious, but in the intervals calm and gentle as a child, longing for the rest which was denied him for some weeks to come. His originally robust frame and healthy constitution alone enabled him to resist the rapid encroachment of the fatal disease, which was gradually sapping his strength.

On the 1st August he expressed an earnest desire to see his sister. In the hope that sooner or later this would be the case, General and Mrs Eyre had induced Miss Campbell to pay a second visit to Chatham; and she was already in the house, waiting for her brother's consent to the interview, whenever the longed-for opportunity might occur. Once he had resolved to see her, he was impatient until he had realised his wish. He was even anxious to take a stimulant, in order, he said, "to give me strength to go down a few steps to meet the old sister when she comes, that I may embrace her before to-night, before I die." Such, indeed, was the excitement produced by the anticipation of her arrival, that it was not till the evening she was permitted to see him. Most touching was their interview.

Finding that her brother derived comfort from her presence, Miss Campbell remained at Chatham till the last. Though she was physically unable to minister to his wants, he was glad to have her with him during his intervals of consciousness and freedom from pain. When she could not be in his room, she

watched patiently outside his door. For some days, increasing weakness had compelled Lord Clyde to renounce his habit of wandering from one room to the other of the suite reserved for his use, and by the 10th August he was no longer able to sit up in his chair. He either lay on the sofa or on a mattress on the floor, taking daily less and less nourishment, and at times relapsing into such a state of faintness, as to warrant the belief that the end was imminent. Still he rallied, and during the next few days dozed and slept more than usual. On the 13th August his sister had sat by his side watching him all the night through. Early in the morning he recognised her and told her to go to bed. A few minutes past noon of the 14th it became evident that Lord Clyde was sinking fast. Miss Campbell was promptly summoned; and half an hour later, whilst his sister, General and Mrs Eyre, and his faithful servant White, knelt around him, he calmly passed to his rest.

The news of Lord Clyde's death was received throughout the country with a general feeling of sorrow, which was echoed by the press, and proved how deep was the hold he had on the affections of his countrymen. The nation, which had recently and ungrudgingly acquiesced in the honours conferred upon him, would have been well pleased to have seen him spared for a longer time to enjoy them, and mourned the loss of the gallant veteran, whose deeds were still fresh in its memory, and



whom it had learned to regard as one of its most trusted and honoured servants.

From Coburg, Lord Granville, who was in attendance on her Majesty, wrote to General Eyre :—

“COBURG, *August 20, 1863.*

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks your two letters. The Queen heard with great sorrow the death of Lord Clyde.

“I received her Majesty’s order to express to the Duke of Cambridge her Majesty’s grief, and to say ‘that the great military services of Lord Clyde in different parts of the world, the success with which in most trying circumstances he restored peace to her Majesty’s empire in India, and the personal regard which the Queen and her beloved Consort entertained for his high and honourable character, make her Majesty deeply deplore the loss which the Queen, in common with her Majesty’s subjects, has sustained.’¹

“The Queen also desired me to express her Majesty’s hope that some suitable mark of respect will be paid to the memory of one who so well represented the great qualities of a British soldier.

“I shall be much obliged if you will communicate to Miss Campbell the Queen’s sentiments on this sad occasion.

“I have had the honour of laying before the

¹ These words were embodied in a general order published to the army on the 22d August 1863.



Queen the copy of the letter in which you explain to the Duke of Cambridge the wishes of Lord Clyde respecting his own funeral.—Yours sincerely,

“GRANVILLE.

“*P.S.*—I should be extremely obliged to you if you would take an opportunity of offering my respectful condolences to Miss Campbell. I entertained the feelings of admiration for Lord Clyde which are held by all Englishmen; but in addition to these, his devoted friendship to my poor friends Lord and Lady Canning, inspired me with particular regard for him.”

Consistent with the modesty which had uniformly marked his career, Lord Clyde had enjoined on General Eyre his desire that his funeral should be conducted as simply and as free from ostentation as that of a country gentleman. In accordance, therefore, with his wishes, steps were taken with a view to his interment in Kensal Green Cemetery. On the action, however, of Lord de Grey (now Marquess of Ripon), Secretary of State for War for the time being, who rightly interpreted the public feeling, the Government intervened, and resolved to pay a national tribute to Lord Clyde's memory by according to his remains the honour of a resting-place in Westminster Abbey. Thither, with as little pomp as was consistent with the idea of a private funeral, all that was mortal of him who



had died the foremost soldier of England, was borne on the 22d August; and with every demonstration of respect from the highest and noblest in the land, and in the presence of a number of his attached friends and followers, Lord Clyde was laid in the grave, there to rest in the company of the statesmen, warriors, and other illustrious men who sleep around him.

A plain stone marking the spot where he lies is inscribed with these words :—

BENEATH THIS STONE
REST THE REMAINS OF
COLIN CAMPBELL, LORD CLYDE,
WHO, BY HIS OWN DESERTS,
THROUGH FIFTY YEARS OF ARDUOUS SERVICE,
FROM THE EARLIEST BATTLES IN THE PENINSULAR WAR
TO THE PACIFICATION OF INDIA IN 1858,
ROSE TO THE RANK OF FIELD-MARSHAL AND THE PEERAGE.
HE DIED LAMENTED
BY THE QUEEN, THE ARMY, AND THE PEOPLE,
14TH AUGUST 1863,
IN THE 71ST YEAR OF HIS AGE.

The story of Lord Clyde's life has been told. It has been seen how, beginning life without means or interest, and in spite of long waiting and sore discouragements, he eventually attained "fame, rank,



and fortune," the summit of a soldier's ambition—and what was even of greater value in his eyes, the regard of his Sovereign and the respect of his fellow-countrymen. He was not gifted with extraordinary powers. He had no pretensions to genius. He had faults, from which man's erring nature is never exempt. What, then, was the secret of his success? Possessing solid abilities, and in the enjoyment of a robust constitution, with which he never tampered, he devoted himself, from the first hour of his entry into the service, to the study of his profession, no detail of which, especially where it concerned the wellbeing and comfort of the soldier, was beneath his notice. "Duty," unbounded devotion to "duty," was the pole-star of his career. Patient during the long years when fortune frowned upon him, he bided his time; and when the opportunity presented itself, he set about the great task imposed upon him with an energy belying his years. When crowned with success, and in the enjoyment of wealth, rank, and honours, he was unchanged—the same warm, constant friend to his inferiors, and to those whom he had out-distanced in the race. His friendships were many, his resentments few.

Imbued with strong regimental feelings,¹ the result

¹ Lord Clyde, throughout his career, made no concealment of his preference of regimental to staff officers. Indeed, his impatience of or readiness to resent what he considered undue interference on the part of staff officers with his own regiment, or any body of troops confided to his care, was a marked feature in him, almost amounting to an idiosyncrasy.



of his early training in the system introduced by Sir John Moore, his ideas were not cramped by attention to the details of the barrack-square. He welcomed with eagerness the introduction of such innovations as tended to advance the theoretical and practical instruction of all ranks of the service; and when in positions of command, he seconded with all his energy the efforts of the authorities to this end. On one point, however, he held the most decided opinion. He placed unbounded faith in the old soldier, whose presence in the ranks, whether as an example of discipline to his younger comrade, or a support to him in the hour of trial, he regarded as the basis of his calculation in determining the physical and tactical value of the forces at his disposal. Those who were by Lord Clyde's side during the Indian Mutiny, will have in their recollection the relief he felt at seeing a battalion of seasoned and experienced soldiers, weak though their members might be, join his force, which was so largely composed of young regiments.

Though naturally of a quick and excitable temperament, he was, in the presence of the enemy, calm and collected, rapidly taking in the features of the ground, and in an instant accommodating himself to the varying phases of the fight. War was his element. His aptitude for it won for him from Sir Charles Napier the *sobriquet* of the "war-bred Sir Colin."¹ He was successful in all he undertook.

¹ Defects, Civil and Military, of the Indian Government. By Lieutenant-General Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B. P. 126.



Knowing the value of the British soldier, and the costly material of which our army is composed, he was careful to economise the lives of his troops; yet when the necessity demanded it, he was daring in his efforts to accomplish his purpose. All his plans were laid with deliberate care, so that when the blow fell it fell heavily.

Nevertheless there have not been wanting critics who have censured him for acting with undue caution, especially in not following up, during the repression of the Indian Mutiny, the discomfited foe with greater promptitude, under the belief that the destruction of a few thousands of the enemy, more or less, would have brought the struggle to an end. But the appellation of old "Kuberdar—Take care," so far from being a reproach to his memory, proves that he was a master of his art. It does not require a soldier's training to accept the maxim that "conquest is twice achieved when the achiever brings home full numbers." His antagonists, who were no match for his troops in the open, became formidable when under cover or in broken ground. For these reasons, and actuated by the dictates of humanity towards the foe, Lord Clyde on principle refrained from risking his troops in an unequal encounter of arms, or from exposing them unduly to the climate, for an object which he regarded as alone attainable by the occupation and gradual settlement of the revolted districts.

The consciousness of this on the part of his troops,



contributed in no small degree to the confidence they reposed in their leader; and without venturing to designate the particular niche which Lord Clyde will occupy in the temple of fame, this quality, undoubtedly one of the most important factors which produce success in war, cannot but enhance his reputation as a commander.

In estimating his value in this capacity, the peculiar circumstances under which the campaigns for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny were conducted must be borne in mind. Lord Clyde controlled the direction of a large number of columns operating over a vast area of country. These columns were often separated far from each other, and were of a constantly varying strength, since it often happened that two or three of them had to be concentrated into one force, or that one had to be broken up into several fractions. At no time did he succeed in manœuvring under his personal guidance a body of troops equal in strength to that of an English army-corps of the present day.¹ He had therefore no opportunity of testing his tactical powers upon fields as wide as those in which our greatest generals have secured their renown.

Any summary of Lord Clyde's character would be wanting without the insertion in these pages of the following letter from General Vinoy,² showing the

¹ The strength of an English army-corps is fixed at 36,993 of all ranks. For the operations against Lucknow in March 1858, Lord Clyde had assembled 31,000, inclusive of the Goorkha force under Jung Bahadoor.

² Whilst these pages are being penned, General Vinoy has passed

estimate formed by the latter of his friend and comrade of the Crimea. It was written in reply to a letter from the writer of this biography, when the idea of putting it forth was first mooted.

“PARIS, *Octobre 12, 1878.*

“MON CHER GÉNÉRAL,—C'est avec une agréable surprise et un bien grand plaisir que j'ai reçu la

away. Born in 1800, he was educated for the priesthood, but changing his views, entered the army. In 1830, he was promoted from the ranks for service in the Algerian campaign, and rose to the command of the 2d Regiment of Zouaves. In 1854, he joined the army of the Crimea as general of brigade. After the capture of the Malakoff, he was promoted to the rank of general of division, and in that capacity served in the Italian campaign of 1859 with the army-corps of Marshal Niel. He was created Senator in 1865. On the breaking out of the Franco-German war in 1870, he sought active service, and was nominated to the command of the 13th Corps, concentrated at Mézières. After Sedan he retreated on Paris, where his corps, which was intact, became the nucleus of the forces which defended the capital. He eventually became Commander-in-chief of the Army of Paris, and in that capacity it fell to his lot to sign the capitulation. He, however, remained at the head of 12,000 men, who were permitted to retain their arms.

Failing on the 18th March 1871 in his endeavours, as commander of the forces in Paris, to retake the guns at Montmartre, which had been seized by the insurrectionists, he quitted the capital, and was charged with the duty of guarding the National Assembly. Subsequently he was appointed to the command of the Army of Reserve, engaged in the operations on the left bank of the Seine. On the 23d May, he re-entered Paris at the head of his troops. He was then nominated “Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour,” and in that capacity opened a subscription for the reconstruction of the Palace of the Order, which had been burned by the insurgents. Only members of the Order contributed, and the sum realised amounted to 1,200,000 francs (=£48,000). On the accession of the De Freycinet Ministry, General Vinoy was removed from the post of Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, in favour of General Faidherbe. He died shortly afterwards in the spring of this year (1880).

lettre, où vous me parlez de notre cher ami Sir Colin Campbell, de glorieuse mémoire.

“La publication de ses mémoires est une bonne pensée, dont tout le monde saura gré au Général Eyre, car c’est donner en exemple la vie d’un homme de bien et d’un vaillant général, qui portait haut le drapeau de son pays.

“Les circonstances qui m’ont fait connaître le Général Campbell sont pour moi un souvenir toujours vivant, et j’ai regardé comme une bonne fortune pour moi d’avoir été désigné par le Général Canrobert d’accord avec Lord Raglan pour aller coopérer avec notre ami et ses braves Ecossais à la défense de Balaklava. C’est là où j’ai pu apprécier le vrai type de l’homme de guerre, chef actif et prévoyant, s’occupant sans cesse du bien-être de ses soldats plus que de lui-même ; les initiant avec patience au service du bivouac comme à celui des avant-postes ; toujours le premier debout et le dernier couché. Voilà ce que j’ai été à même de remarquer pendant le terrible hiver de 1854-55, où nous avons vécu, pour ainsi dire, côte à côte, causant quelquefois de nos campagnes diverses, souvent de la France et de l’Angleterre, sans oublier les mesures à prendre contre l’ennemi que nous avions à combattre ensemble, ce qui s’est présenté plus d’une fois, notamment dans la matinée du 20 février 1855, où, toutes les colonnes de l’attaque projetées contre l’ennemi s’étant trouvées arrêtées dans leur mouvement par cette tempête de neige, dont vous avez dû con-



server souvenir comme moi, le Général Campbell, qui n'avait pu recevoir le contre ordre, se crût obligé de marcher malgré la tourmente, et s'était engagé seul contre lui; mais au premier coup de fusil ma brigade partait le rejoindre au pas gymnastique, et nous eûmes bien vite obligé les Russes à se replier.

“Plus tard, quand il fut nommé au Commandement de l'armée des Indes, il m'en informa par dépêche, et s'arrêta à Paris pour me voir. Chaque courrier m'apportait ensuite des nouvelles de ses opérations, qui, conduites avec la vigueur et cette intelligence de la guerre que je lui connaissais, terminèrent promptement l'effervescence de ce soulèvement, qui pouvait avoir des résultats si désastreux pour vos possessions dans l'Inde.

“Après son retour en Europe, le Général Campbell vint souvent me voir à Paris. J'allais aussi le visiter en Angleterre, et nos relations n'ont fini qu'avec la mort de ce cher ami toujours bien regretté.

“Veuillez, mon cher Shadwell, offrir mes meilleurs compliments au Général Eyre, et croire à l'assurance de mes sentiments affectueux et dévoués.

“GAL. VINOY.”

Translation.

“MY DEAR GENERAL,—It was an agreeable surprise and a very great pleasure to me to receive your letter, in which you speak of our dear friend Sir Colin Campbell, of glorious memory. The pub-



lication of his memoirs is a good idea, for which every one will be grateful to General Eyre, for it will be the means of giving to the world an example of the life of a good man and brave general, who nobly upheld the honour of his country's flag.

“The circumstances under which I made the acquaintance of General Campbell will ever live in my memory; and I always considered myself fortunate to have been selected both by Marshal Canrobert and Lord Raglan to go and co-operate with my friend and his brave Scotchmen in the defence of Balaklava. It was thus that I learned to appreciate the true type of the soldier, the active and foreseeing chief, ever busied with the wellbeing of his men more than with his own; patiently initiating them in the duties of camp-life and the service of outposts; always himself the first to be up and the last to lie down. This is what I was in a position to observe during the terrible winter of 1854-55, during which we lived, so to speak, side by side, often talking over our different campaigns, and often about France and England, not neglecting the necessary measures to be taken against an enemy, whom it was our joint duty to resist—a duty we were more than once called upon to perform; especially on the morning of the 20th February 1855, when, in the projected attack upon the enemy, all the columns finding themselves checked in their advance by that terrible snowstorm, which you must recollect as well as I do, General Campbell, who had received no



countermanding order, thought it his duty to advance in spite of the storm, and had engaged the enemy singly; but at the first shot fired my brigade hastened to his assistance at the double, and we soon forced the Russians to retire.

"In later years, when he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the army in India, he sent me notice of his appointment by telegraph, and stopped in Paris to see me. Each post afterwards brought me news of his operations, which, conducted with that vigour and knowledge of war which I knew him to possess, promptly terminated that insurrection, which might have had such disastrous results for your Indian possessions.

"After his return to Europe, General Campbell often came to see me in Paris. I also visited him in England, and our connection only terminated with the death of this dear and ever-regretted friend.

"Be so good, my dear Shadwell, as to offer my best compliments to General Eyre, and receive the assurance of my devoted affection.

"GAL. VINOY."

At the conclusion of a notice of Lord Clyde's life which appeared in the 'Times' the day after his decease, the writer gracefully remarked: "Such a life, so simple, so true, so independent of all artificial, and even of all extraordinary advantages, is more honourable than more brilliant and less steady careers, and has a far higher value to Englishmen. This coun-



try has never been wanting in men of great genius at critical periods of its history, and our great names may match with those of any country and any time; but our greatness as a nation is due more to the steady ability and true integrity which are spread so largely among all classes, than to the power of extraordinary and occasional genius. The qualities which in a superior degree raised Lord Clyde to his high position are those which have been always most highly valued by Englishmen, and which every one in his degree may imitate."

Let those of the junior officers of our army whose eyes may rest on these pages, take these words to heart, recollecting that patience and common-sense—in short, the application of Lord Clyde's motto, as exemplified in his own career—command the road to success. If the contemplation of this record of Lord Clyde's life should stimulate any of them to follow in his footsteps, the biographer's labour, which has been one of love, will have met with its reward.

Immediately after Lord Clyde's death, a movement was set on foot to establish in London a memorial of his services. A general subscription, to which the armies in England and India alike contributed, resulted in the statue by the late Baron Marochetti, R.A., which stands in the gardens of Carlton House Terrace, in close proximity to the United Service Club.

His fellow-townsmen of Glasgow, in like manner,



have paid honour to his memory. A statue from the hands of the late Mr Foley, R.A., has been erected in George Square in that city, and is appropriately situated a short distance from that of Sir John Moore, himself a native of Glasgow, and of the traditions of whose school Lord Clyde was in practice so faithful an exponent.

Both are characteristic likenesses of the veteran soldier, and represent him in the simple dress he was in the habit of using in the field during the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and in which his portrait was taken by Sir Francis Grant for Lord Canning.

THE END.

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