

GEN. FREMONT,

(GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT.)

Engraved by
S. S. Smith

HISTORY

of the

INDIAN MUTINY.

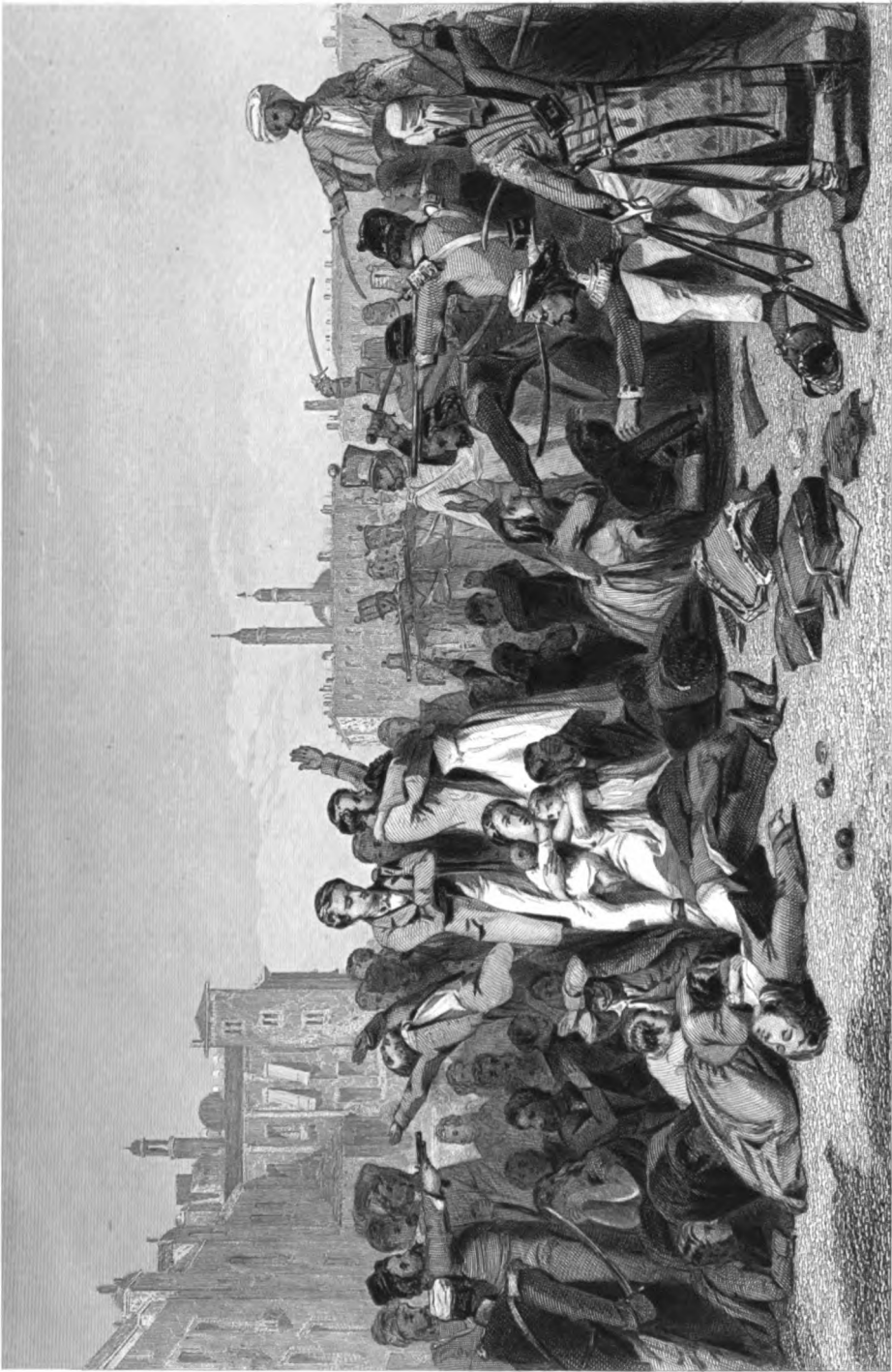
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By the Author of 'The Indian Mutiny' and 'The Sepoys'.

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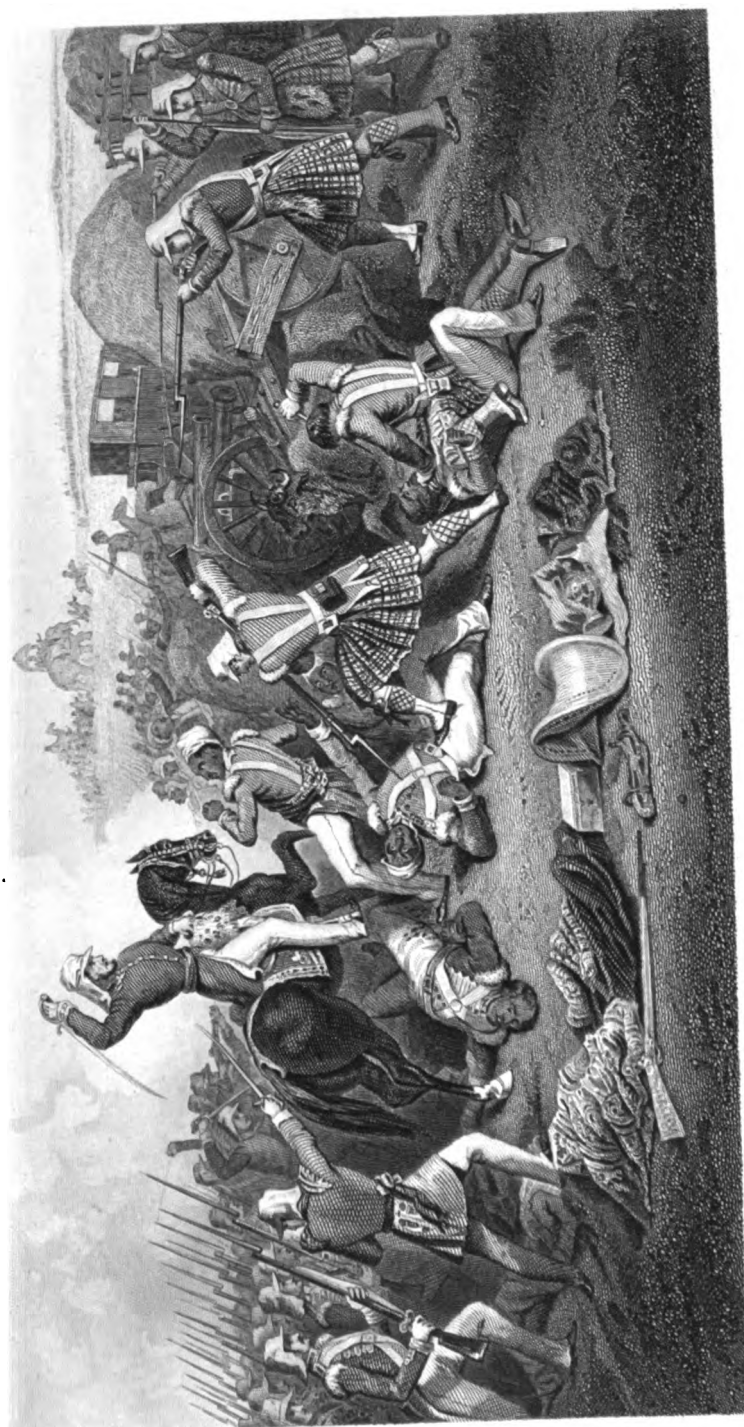
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THE BATTLE OF THE MARLBOROUGHS, 1704. THE BRITISH ARMY, UNDER THE COMMAND OF JOHN COUPLAND, DEFEATED THE FRENCH ARMY, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SEYMOUR DE LAZARIS.

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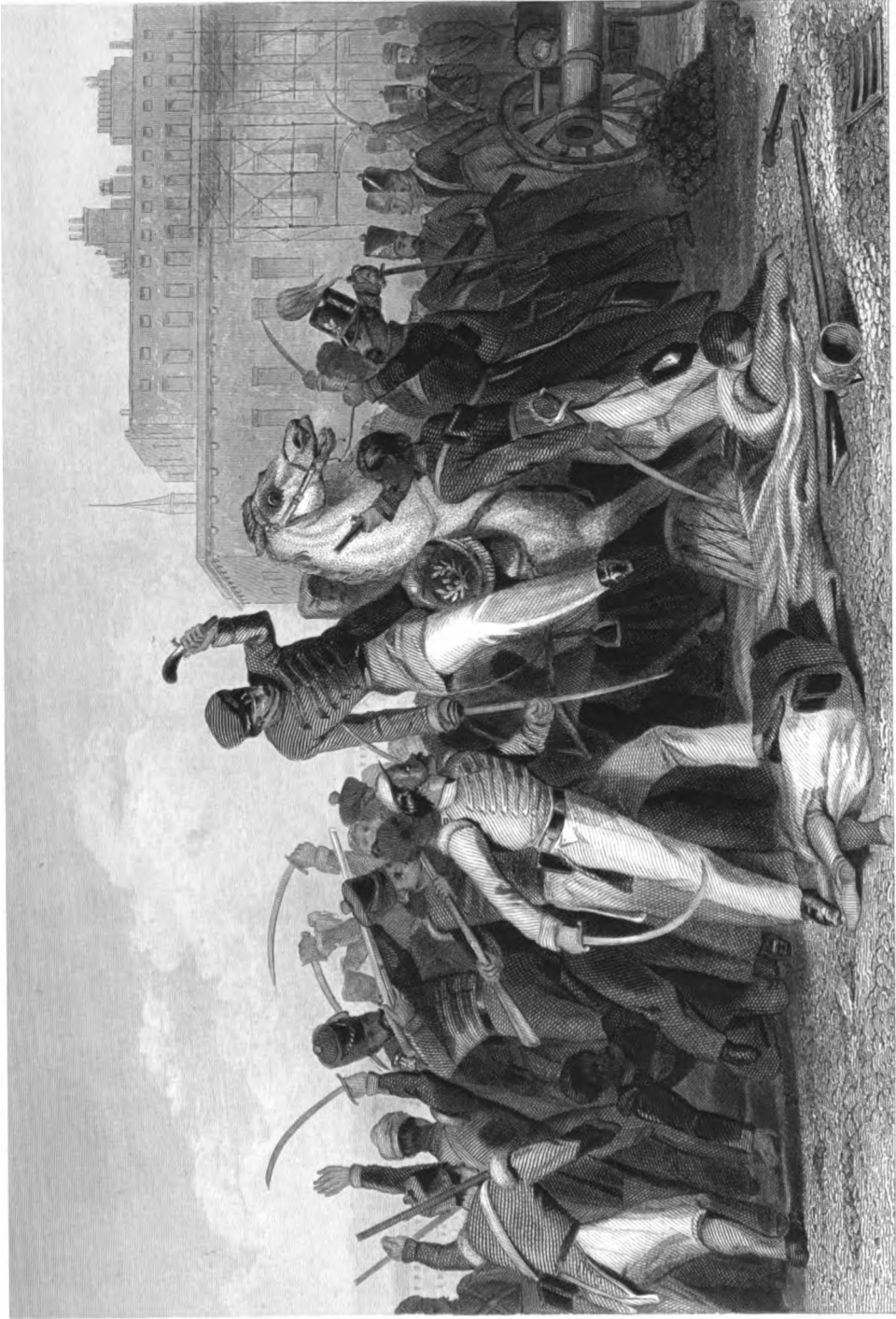


THE BATTLE OF BUNENSLANE, 1719. THE SCOTTS' HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, VOL. 10, PLATE 10.



EDWARD W. W. WOODS, ENGRAVER, AND THE LITHOGRAPHER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND

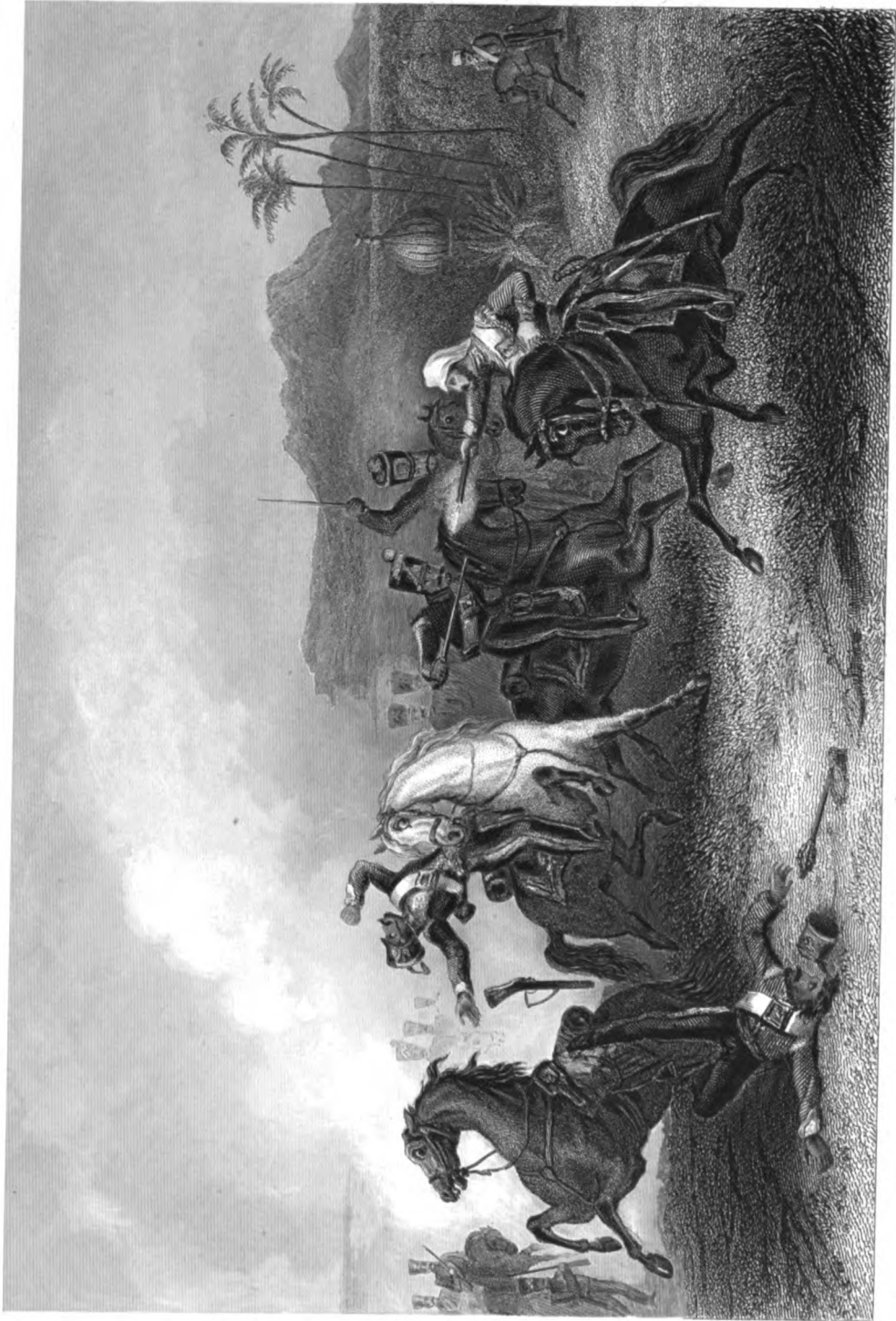


THE GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY COMPANY'S WORKMEN, WITH THEIR BUNDLES OF CLOTH, ON THE DAY OF THE OPENING OF THE GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY.

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THE ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN SQUAD AT THE BAY OF SAN PABLO, CALIFORNIA, 1846.



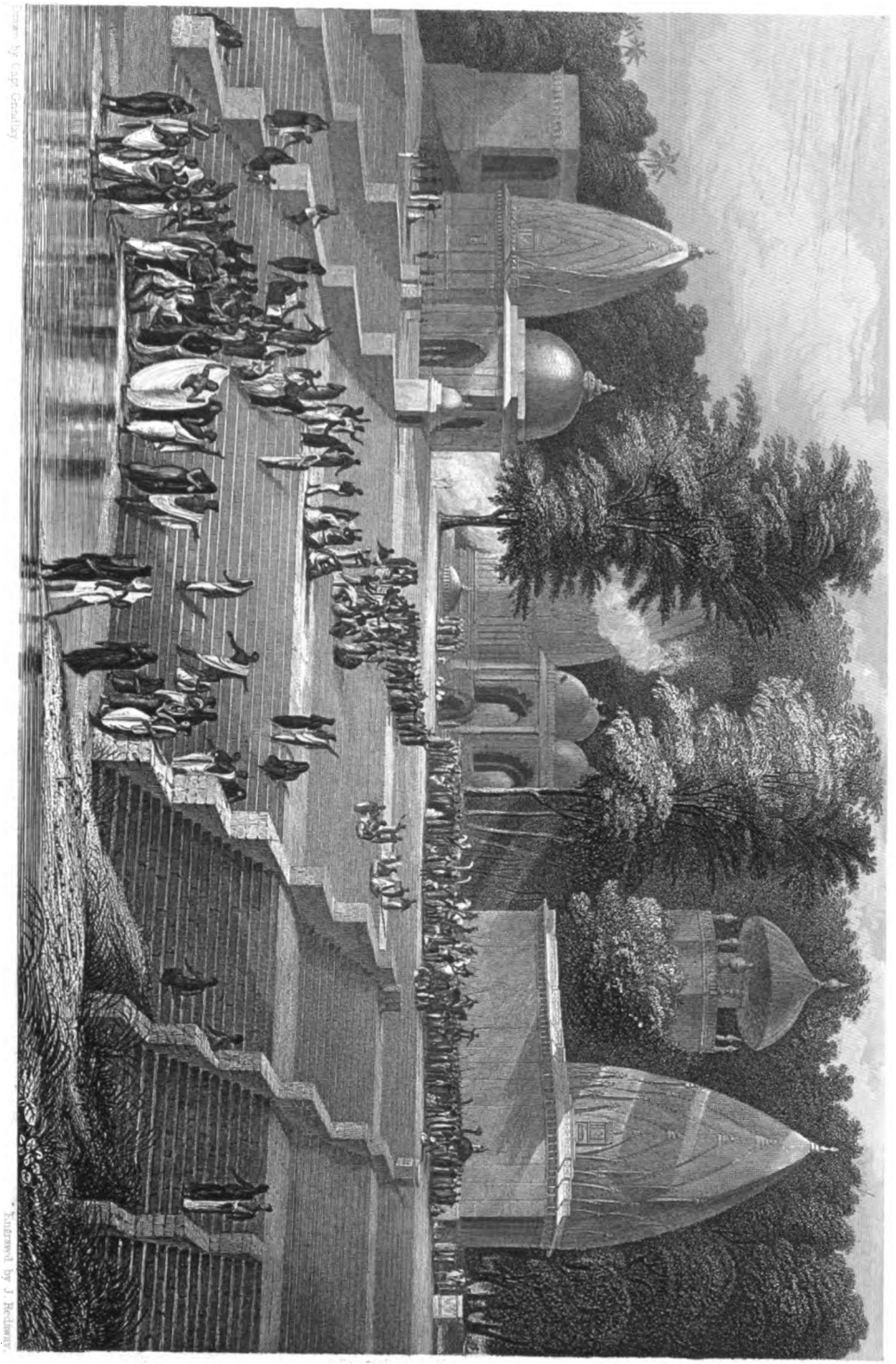


THE BATTLE OF ...



THE BATTLE OF ...

...



By Victor Gooden

Engraved by J. Redman



RELIQUARY OF A SOLDIER OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

C
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
INDIAN MUTINY:

GIVING
A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE SEPOY INSURRECTION
IN INDIA;

AND
A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE GREAT MILITARY EVENTS WHICH HAVE TENDED TO
CONSOLIDATE BRITISH EMPIRE IN HINDOSTAN.

BY CHARLES BALL, ESQ.

Illustrated with Battle Scenes, Views of Places, Portraits, and Maps,
BEAUTIFULLY ENGRAVED ON STEEL.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,
LONDON AND NEW YORK.

A GLOSSARY

OF THE HINDOSTANI AND OTHER WORDS OCCURRING IN THE FOLLOWING WORK.

A. denotes that the word is Arabic; H. that it is Hindostani; M. Mahratti; P. Persian; PORT. Portuguese; S. Sanscrit; and T. Tatar.

- Ab* or *aub*, P., water; used in composition, as *Punjaub*: five waters, i.e., watered by five rivers. *Dodh*, district between two rivers.
- Abad*, P., inhabited; in composition, a town, as *Hyderabad*, city of Hyder; Allahabad, urbs Dei.
- Abasan*, S., naked; without clothes.
- Abdal*, A., a religious person; a devotee.
- Abdul*, M., a worshipper of Siva.
- Abi-hayat*, P., the water of life.
- Abista*, P., pregnant; new born.
- Abol*, H., silent.
- A-chhut*, S., a name of God.
- Ajal*, A., death; delay.
- Ajat*, S., one expelled from his caste.
- Aparadhin*, S., a criminal.
- Aparajai*, S., victory.
- Aparajit*, S., unbending; invincible.
- Apavan*, S., defiling; polluting.
- Apsara*, S., a female dancer.
- Ata*, H., flour, meal; food of Hindoos.
- Atambar*, A., a crowd of people.
- Atan*, *Kamde-o*, S., the Hindoo god of love.
- Atish-afroz*, P., kindling fire.
- Atishistan*, P., the region of fire.
- Atish-kana*, P., a park of artillery.
- Atma*, S., self; soul; life.
- Ayah*, PORT., a female nurse or attendant; (probably a corruption of *Ayib*, A., slave.)
- Baba*, T., a father; a child; used as a term of endearment or respect.
- Baba log*, T. S., children; the preceding word and *log* from S. *log*, people.
- Baboo* (prop. *Babu*), a Hindoo title, answering to our esquire.
- Badh*, S., killing; slaying.
- Bag*, P. (prop. *bagh*), a garden. *Kudsiya bagh* is the name of a garden spoken of in letters from Delhi. It is just outside the walls.
- Baghi*, A., a mutineer; a rebel.
- Bahadoor*, P., brave; a common title of respect added to the names of military officers and others.
- Baijanti*, S., the standard of Vishnu.
- Ba, isi*, H., the royal army.
- Bakree Eed*, A. (prop. *bakari 'Id*), a festival held by Moslems on the 9th of the 12th month, in honour of Abraham's offering up Ishmael (not Isaac, as we say.) From *bakar*, an ox; *'Id*, festival.
- Bakshi*, P., a general; commanding in chief.
- Bam*, S., an interjection addressed to Siva, much used by pilgrims.
- Bamba*, H., a well. This word occurs in the plans of Delhi.
- Bandar*, P., a city; an emporium.
- Bandi-khan*, P., a prison.
- Ba-oli*, H., a large well or tank.
- Bazaar*, an exchange or market-place.
- Beebee*, H., a lady.
- Begum*, T., a princess, or lady of high rank.
- Bhaee*, S., a brother; a comrade.
- Bhang*, P., an intoxicating drink made from hemp.
- Bheestee*, P. (prop. *bihishti*), a water-carrier. Literally, an inhabitant of *bihisht*, or Paradise, from the pleasantness of the occupation in such a climate as India.
- Bhumiyawal*, H., a general plundering.
- Bhut*, S., a demon; a goblin.
- Bobachee*, T. (prop. *bawarchi*), a cook.
- Budgerow*, S. (prop. *bajra*), a travelling boat of a large size.
- Bud-mash*, P. A. (prop. *bad ma' ash*), a rogue, a villain. From *bad*, bad; and *ma' ash*, subsistence.
- Bud zat*, P. A., a bad character. From *bad*; and *zat*, essence.
- Bungalow*, H. (prop. *bangla*), a thatched house, any house.
- Burkandaz*, A. P., a matchlockman. From *bark*, lighting; and *andaz*, throwing.
- Chakra*, S., a whirlwind, a weapon used by the Sikhs.
- Chalo*, S., come on, advance.
- Cherry* (prop. *cheri*), a termination meaning village, but now often applied to towns, as Pondicherry.
- Chit*, H. (prop. *chitthi*), a note; a letter.
- Chor*, S., a thief.
- Chupatties*, P. (prop. *chapati*), a thin cake of unleavened bread.
- Chutakra*, H., defilement by touching.
- Coolie*, T. (prop. *kuli*), a porter or carrier.
- Cutcherry*, H. (prop. *Kachahri*), a court of justice; a civilian's office.
- Dacoit*, H., a robber.
- Dak*, or *dauk*, H., a post or post-office.
- Dam*, A., blood.
- Dewan*, H., a prime minister.
- Dhammal*, H., running through fire.
- Dhoolies*, H., hospital waggons.
- Dhumra*, S., battle; uproar; disturbance.
- Doab*, P., a country between two rivers.
- Dost*, P., a friend.
- Dour*, S. (prop. *daur*), a foray; a raid.
- Durwazah*, P., a door; the gate of a city.
- Eed*, A. (prop. *'Id*), a festival.
- Enam*, A. (prop. *in'am*), a gift; land granted in free tenure.
- Feringhee*, H., corruption of Frank; a European.
- Fuqueer*, A. (prop. *fakir*), a mendicant devotee; one who has taken a vow of poverty.
- Ghat*, H., steps ascending from a river.
- Ghaut*, H., a mountain or hill.
- Ghazee*, A., a true believer who fights against infidels.
- Ghubara*, P., a bomb or shell.

Ghul, P., noise ; tumult.

Golundaize, P. (prop. *gol-andaz*), literally, ball-thrower ; a native artilleryman.

Gujoors, H., a tribe in the N.W. Provinces who profess to be descendants of Rájputs by women of inferior castes. They are engaged in agriculture, but are also robbers and plunderers, and have borne a conspicuous part in the recent outrages and robberies.

Haibat, A., fright ; great awe.

Harree, H., dispersion of an army or crowd.

Havildar, A. P. (prop. *Hawaldar*), a native serjeant.

Himalaya, S., the abode of snow.

Hoolce, S., the great festival held at the approach of the vernal equinox—the song which is sung during the festival.

Humayun, P., royal ; imperial.

Hurkaru, P. (prop. *Harkara*), a spy ; a messenger.

Jadon, H., a tribe of Rájputs.

Jahan, P., the world.

Jan, P., life ; soul ; spirit.

Jata-Jut, S., the matted hair of Siva.

Jatka, S., a company ; a band.

Jawab, A., an answer.

Jawid, P., eternity ; eternal.

Jehad, A., a holy war.

Jemadar, A. P., a native officer, corresponding to our ensign or lieutenant.

Jhageerdar, P. (prop. *jagirdar*), the holder of land granted for services.

Jheel, H., a shallow lake.

Juts, or *Jauts*, a race of industrious and hardy cultivators, whose original seat is said to have been Ghazni, but who are now found in great numbers in the N. W. Provinces, particularly at Bhurtপুর.

Kabar, A., a grave ; a tomb.

Kabn, P., power ; authority.

Kar, A., an abyss ; a gulf.

Kath, A., slaughter ; homicide.

Khandar, H., desolated ; spoiled.

Khitmutgur, H., a table-servant.

Kotwal, P., the chief officer of police in a city or town.

Kuwwat, A., power ; virtue ; authority.

Lattee and *Lath*, S. (prop. *lath* or *latki*), a pillar ; a club ; a stick shod with iron.

Logue, S. (prop. *log*), people ; as *baba log*, children ;

Sahib log, English gentlemen ; *gora log*, Europeans ; fair people.

Lotah, H. (prop. *lota*), a small pot, generally of metal.

Mohurram, A. (prop. *Muharram*), literally, sacred ; name of the first Mohammedan month ; the fast held on the 10th of that month, in memory of the death of Husain the younger son of Ali, and grandson of Mahomet, who was slain on that day at Karbalá, in 'Irak, in the 46th year of the Hegira.

Moonshee, H., a linguist or writer.

Mundee, H. (prop. *mandi*), a market-place.

Musjid, A., a mosque. *Jumma Musjid* (prop. *Jum'aah masjid*), a cathedral mosque.

Nahib, A., fear ; terror.

Naik, S., a native corporal.

Nakib, A., a chief ; a leader.

Nallah or *Nullah*, H. (prop. *nala*), a brook ; a water-course ; the channel of a torrent.

Nana, M., grandfather ; a term of respect. The title given to Dhundu Pant, the adopted son of the Peishwa, and son of Chimmaji Appa, his brother.

Nisa, A., woman ; the female sex.

Nuddee, S. (prop. *nadi*), a river.

Nuwab, A. (prop. *Núwáb*), a viceroy, literally, viceroys, being plural of *náib*, vicegerent ; a nabob.

Pamal, P., devastated ; trodden under foot.

Pandu, S., name of an ancient king of India.

Parachir, S., a fine for expiation.

Pariah, an outcast from society.

Parkhash, P., war ; battle ; commotion.

Pata, S., the act of falling.

Peishwa, P., a leader ; a guide.

Peon, P., a foot-messenger.

Phakrana, H., to make fly.

Phukni, H., a firelock.

Poorbee, S., eastern. *Poorbeas*, a term applied to the Bengal sipáhís (or sepoy), by Sikhs and others.

Pore or *Poor*, S., a town ; used chiefly in composition, as Bhurtপুর or Bharatpur, the town of Bharata.

Puitun, H., corrupt for battalion.

Pu'tun, S. (prop. *pattanam*), a town, chiefly in composition, as Shri Ranga Pattanam ; Seringapatam, city of the divine Vishnu : it is the name given to 'Azimábád, and corrupted by Europeans to Patna.

Rajput, a Hindoo of the military tribe or order.

Rissalah, A. (prop. *risalah*), a troop of horse.

Rohillas, A., a people settled to the east of the Doáb of the Ganges. They are originally, as the name implies, from Afghanistan, and now inhabit the districts of Bijnour, Moradabad, Bareilly, and Rampoor.

Ryot, a peasant.

Sabit-khani, A., an armed retainer.

Sahib, A., a lord ; a gentleman.

Sawab, A., a virtuous action.

Shahzadah, P., prince ; son of a king.

Sikat, A., a trusty friend.

Sircar, H., an accountant or cashier.

Sirdar-bearer, H., a house servant.

Sowar, P., a horseman ; a trooper.

Subahdar, A., a native officer, corresponding to our captain.

Subzee munde, P. H. (prop. *subzi mandi*), a market for vegetables. Name of the spot so often taken and retaken by our troops before Delhi.

Syce, H., a groom.

Tadamk, A., chastisement.

Taj, P., a crown ; a diadem.

Taj-war, P., a prince ; a king.

Talwar, S. (prop. *Tuluwar*), a sword.

Tarsa, P., a christian.

Tarsnak, P., timidly ; cowardly.

Tashir, A., proclaiming.

Taskrif, A., honouring ; investing with dignities. &c.

Tatwa, S., truth.

Thanadars, sentinels, guardians.

Thug, H., a deceiver.

Tuppal, H., a packet of letters ; the post.

Yadz, P., God.

Yagna, A., sacrifice ; religious ceremonial.

Yak, P., one.

Yamin, A., an oath ; the right hand.

Yamni, S., foreign ; not Hindoo.

Yatra, S., a march or journey.

Ybanda, A., the discoverer of a plot.

Zafar, A., victory.

Zafar-nama, A., a congratulatory letter.

Zalim, A., a tyrant.

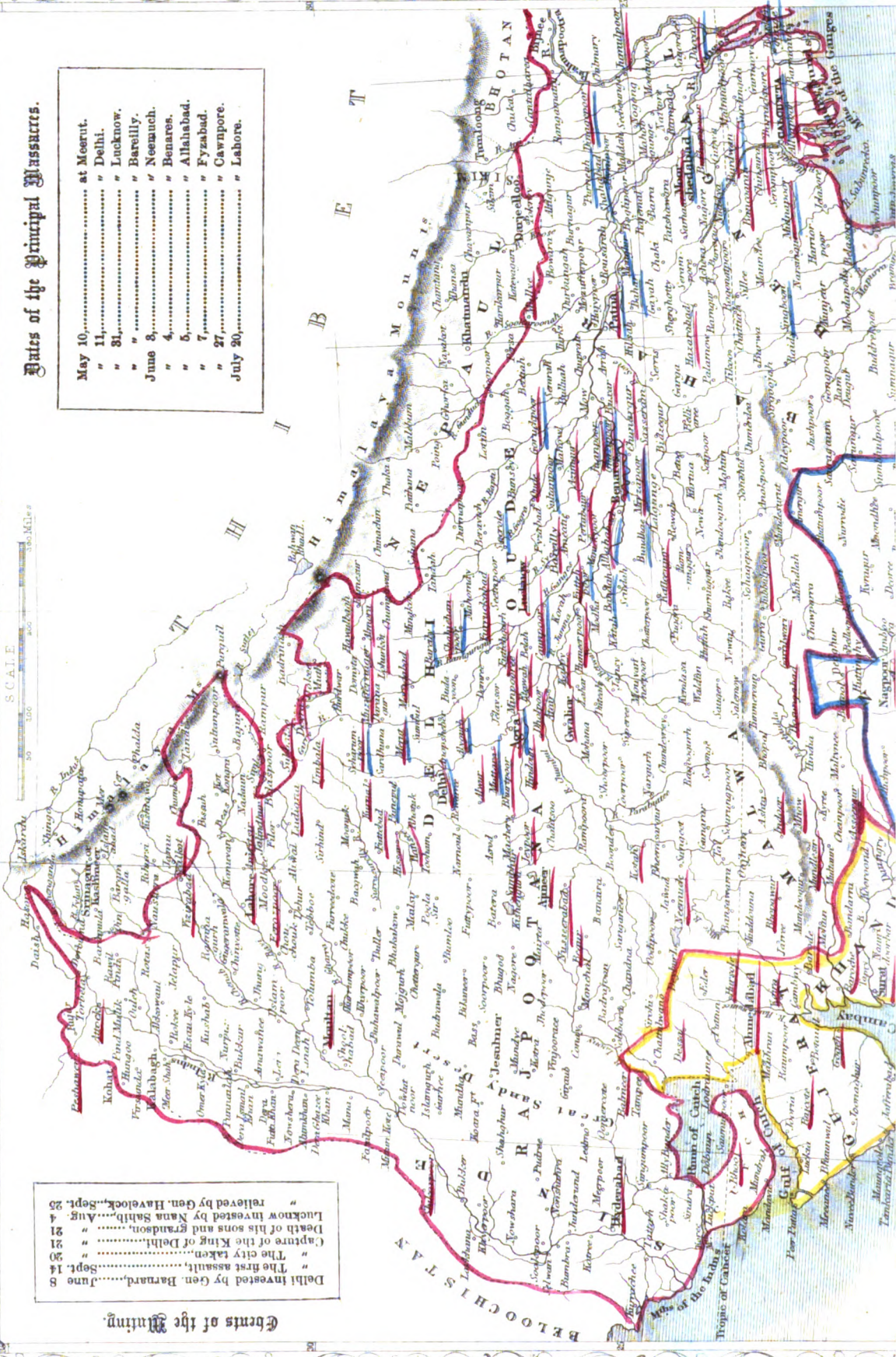
Zalmi, A., unjust.

Zann, A., suspicion ; jealousy.

Zarafat, A., beauty ; elegance.

Zemináar, P., a landed proprietor or holder.

BRITISH INDIA

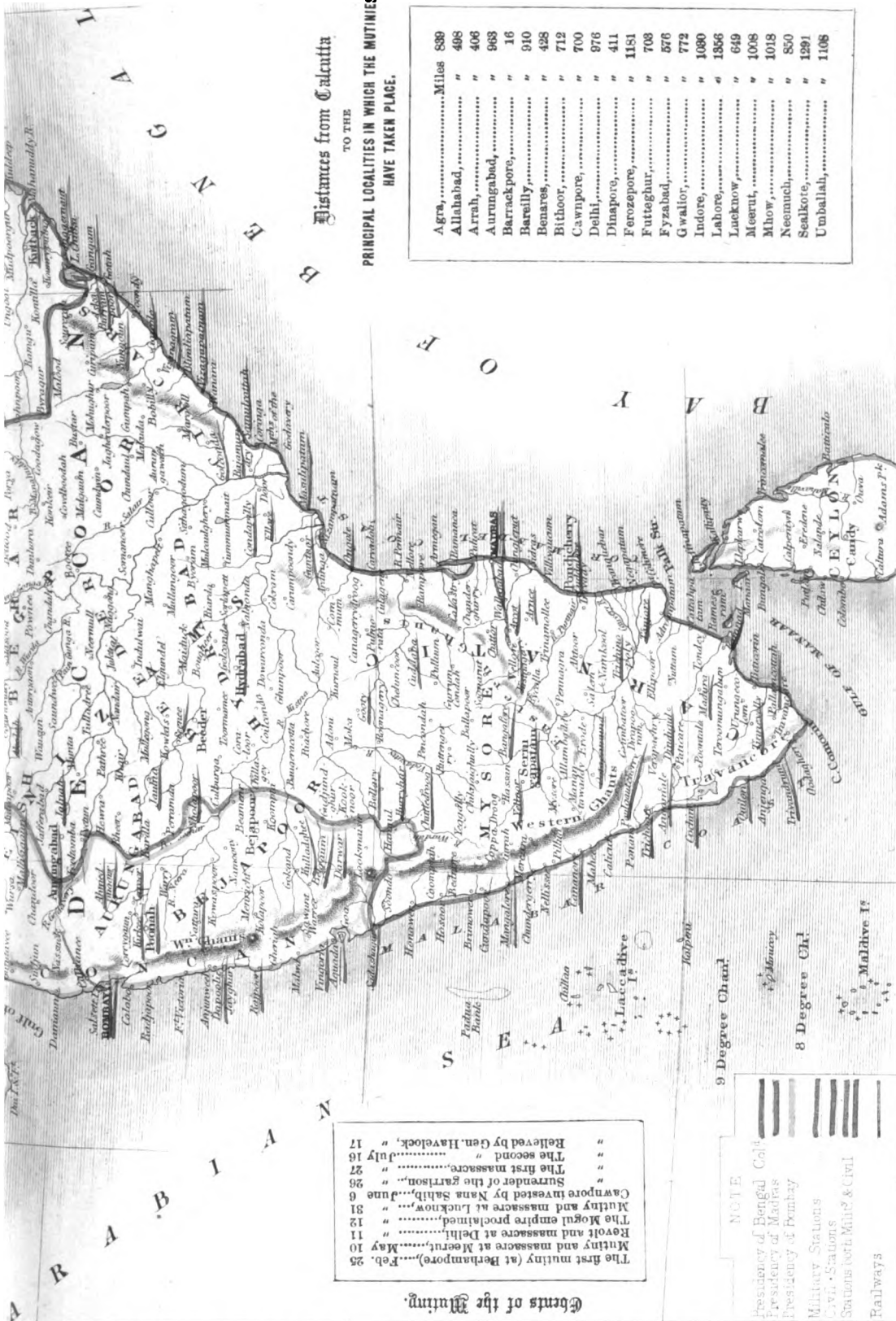


Dates of the Principal Massacres.

May 10.....	at Meerut.
" 11.....	" Delhi.
" 31.....	" Lucknow.
June 8.....	" Bareilly.
" 4.....	" Neemuch.
" 5.....	" Benares.
" 6.....	" Allahabad.
" 7.....	" Fyzabad.
" 27.....	" Cawnpore.
July 20.....	" Lahore.

Events of the Rising.

June 8.....	Delhi invested by Gen. Barnard.
" 14.....	" The city taken.
" 21.....	" Death of his sons and grandson.
" 21.....	" Lucknow invested by Gen. Havelock.
Aug. 4.....	" relieved by Gen. Havelock.
Sept. 25.....	" Lucknow invested by Gen. Saikh.



Extent of the Mutiny.

- The first mutiny (at Berhampore).....Feb. 25
- Mutiny and massacre at Meerut.....May 10
- The Royal empire proclaimed....." 11
- Mutiny and massacre at Lucknow....." 12
- Mutiny and massacre at Cawnpore....." 18
- Mutiny and massacre at Cawnpore.....June 6
- Surrender of the garrison....." 26
- The first massacre....." 27
- The second ".....July 16
- Relieved by Gen. Havelock, " 17

- NOTE**
- Presidency of Bengal Col.
 - Presidency of Madras
 - Presidency of Bombay
 - Military Stations
 - Civil Stations
 - Stations North India & Central
 - Railways

Distances from Calcutta

TO THE

PRINCIPAL LOCALITIES IN WHICH THE MUTINIES HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

Agra,.....	Miles	839
Allahabad,.....	"	498
Arrah,.....	"	408
Aurangabad,.....	"	963
Barrackpore,.....	"	16
Bareilly,.....	"	910
Benares,.....	"	428
Bittoor,.....	"	712
Cawnpore,.....	"	700
Delhi,.....	"	976
Dinapore,.....	"	411
Ferozepore,.....	"	1181
Futteghur,.....	"	708
Fyzabad,.....	"	576
Gwalior,.....	"	772
Indore,.....	"	1080
Lahore,.....	"	1856
Lucknow,.....	"	649
Meerut,.....	"	1008
Mhow,.....	"	1018
Neemuch,.....	"	880
Seakote,.....	"	1291
Umballah,.....	"	1108

Drawn & Engrossed by J. Hooper

TABLE OF DISTANCES BETWEEN DIFFERENT

To find the Distance between two places, such as Bombay and Poona, look along the column parallel to the word in the intersection show

Agra.....	460	660	200	296	1205	625	579	1019	1207	125	379	705	848	839	185	1104	1473	1060	980	984	400	120	794	836	70	98	760	1048	1052	200	830
Ahmedabad ...	388	280	625	850	320	800	640	921	600	680	245	321	1234	600	740	1183	888	681	1304	104	570	1085	903	500	550	840	678	798	490	610	
Ahmednuggur ..	610	735	602	68	1047	340	530	875	700	627	181	1038	640	400	883	440	270	321	523	965	1000	370	640	690	670	250	350	810	280		
Ajmere.....	504	1214	545	787	973	1161	335	587	400	650	1035	395	1058	1407	1058	870	1194	220	220	997	930	260	304	953	995	977	210	816			
Allahabad.....	1110	635	279	975	1026	283	80	805	977	498	143	1060	1391	965	905	690	610	429	493	934	190	238	510	1030	1099	509	735				
Arcot.....	649	1392	262	135	1312	1180	1198	722	1850	1165	273	390	145	360	1227	1125	1329	1252	323	1115	1230	685	530	209	1409	375					
Aurungabad... ..	980	428	616	782	704	596	260	963	638	513	882	513	412	1275	492	749	1210	523	610	700	630	423	440	750	315						
Bahar.....	1267	1455	509	196	1121	1236	297	400	1352	1673	1247	1237	407	889	703	230	1115	502	467	430	1312	1201	549	1017							
Ballary.....	176	1110	1045	977	455	1090	1030	85	454	149	130	1192	863	1143	1288	325	1000	1079	450	240	53	1118	240								
Bangalore.....	1324	1162	1141	632	1161	1147	138	317	155	260	1327	1011	1331	1352	428	1107	1242	753	396	176	1252	361									
Bareilly.....	345	830	1036	910	177	1195	1623	1135	1105	904	525	142	737	1175	120	82	830	1215	1151	322	967										
Benares.....	875	950	428	226	1130	1461	1035	995	559	690	503	410	873	270	321	460	1100	989	589	745											
Bhoj.....	556	1415	749	985	1510	1109	888	1639	219	669	1748	1148	699	747	1085	923	1043	600	855												
Bombay.....	1301	939	494	780	609	364	1475	452	880	1400	779	710	956	851	292	487	790	480													
Calcutta.....	700	1173	1498	997	1172	177	1226	976	233	719	768	...	369	1300	1017	1049	902														
Cawnpoor.....	1115	1446	1020	980	833	530	309	636	655	80	95	653	975	974	389	790															
Chittledroog... ..	397	190	130	1348	923	1228	1373	444	490	1164	784	257	20	1268	325																
Cochin.....	472	442	1673	1306	1597	1698	769	1396	1541	1070	467	472	1632	656																	
Cuddapah	279	1172	1005	1184	1197	268	970	1085	608	389	96	1171	220																		
Dharwar.....	1344	684	1105	1260	420	1022	1112	720	80	173	1080	265																			
Dacca.....	1140	1108	190	904	829	880	546	1505	1192	1148	1112																				
Deesa.....	450	1100	810	450	500	870	730	873	430	630																					
Delhi.....	911	960	175	185	880	1172	1125	80	900																						
Dinajepoor... ..	919	691	692	544	1620	1217	991	1137																							
Ellore.....	808	923	340	601	288	1040	208																								
Etawah.....	55	660	1033	924	210	740																									
Furruckabad.. ..	748	1134	1069	265	885																										
Ganjam.....	843	590	960	450																											
Goa.....	293	1055	393																												
Gooty.....	1020	187																													
Hansi.....	880																														
Hydrabad....																															
Islamabad																															

DISTANCES	
FROM	
CALCUTTA.	
Adoni	1030
Allyghur	803
Almora	910
Anjengo	1577
Arracan	557
Azimgur	448
Backergunge	125
Balasure	116
Bancoorah	101
Banda	560
Barrackpoor	16
Beder	980
Bednore	1290
Beerbhoom	127
Beltool	677
Bijnour	800
Broach	1228
Bhaugulpoor	268
Bhopal	790
Burdwan	74
Buxar	398
Cabool	1815
Calingapatam	480
Calpee	648
Cambay	1253
Candahar	2947
Cashmere	1564
Chunar	437

Distances from Calcutta (contd.)	
Comorin Cape	1770
Catmandoo	560
Dinapoor	411
Ellichpoor	700
Ferozpoor	1181
Futtyghur	703
Ghazeepoor	431
Golconda	907
Guntoor	867
Gwallor	772
Hoosungabad	924
Indore	1030
Jeypoor	850
Lahore	1356
Lassa	850
Midnapoor	69
Mirzapoor	448
Monghyr	304
Moorsheadabad	124
Muttra	831
Mysoor	1246
Oude	562
Purneah	283
Sironj	849
Sumbulpoor	309
Tattah	1602
Vellore	1029

DISTANCES	
FROM	
MADRAS.	
Adoni	270
Arnee	74
Azimgur	1220
Backergunge	1246
Balasure	922
Bandah	1102
Beder	470
Bednore	360
Belgaum	519
Bimhpalam... ..	518
Broach	947
Burdwan	1066
Cabool	2134
Calcut	335
Cannanore	345
Cashmere	1882
Chingleput	36
Chunar	1146
Comerlin Cape	440
Condapilly	285
Conjeveram	42
Cuddalore	100
Dindigul	247
Dowlutabad	655
Ellichpoor	600
Golconda	558
Guntoor	225
Gwallor	1154
Indore	975
Jaggurnauth	595
Kamptee	722
Kurnool	289
Lahore	1675
Moorsheadabad	1138

Distances from Madras (contd.)	
Naggery	57
Neermull	533
Negapatam... ..	160
Nundidroog... ..	196
Oojein	1009
Oude	1228
Paniput	1428
Ponany	404
Pubna	1211
Pulicat	22
Quilon	385
Raichoor	349
Ramnad	275
Rhotuk	1422
Rungpoor	1322
Ruttunpoor	903
Suharunpoor	1477
Sadras	42
Secunderabad	398
Sherghotty	1258
Shahabad	1367
Tattah	1467
Sironj	905
Tinnevely	350
Trivandrum	395
Tranquebar	147
Tuticorin	325
Vencatagberry	132
Warangul	414
Yelwall	293

NT
ord
now

PLACES IN BRITISH INDIA.—(BRITISH MILES.)

Bombay until it intersects the vertical column immediately over the termination of the word Poonah. The figures the number of Miles.

1124	628	300	916	480	156	777	202	1158	1469	1286	981	538	210	1305	454	1372	796	918	1215	920	856	250	160	1215	994	778	380	680	1400	1279	1406	1173	960	898	
1514	340	685	1145	24	480	1032	640	1049	1177	896	820	440	280	1021	820	1101	413	770	1061	860	478	400	615	941	1285	571	675	158	1161	995	1121	840	648	880	
1350	90	785	1060	384	540	858	660	613	720	503	470	360	605	580	995	682	76	520	610	550	120	440	750	800	1180	129	690	263	700	698	680	597	260	580	
1270	550	480	1037	290	310	960	445	1153	1421	1242	975	553	20	1265	747	1297	720	903	1261	910	790	305	364	1185	1197	710	580	455	1403	1150	1331	1214	920	923	
804	870	50	620	625	140	484	127	1055	1375	1244	979	405	430	1226	242	1167	788	650	1175	652	856	220	180	1149	760	735	70	765	1314	1239	1245	1075	935	923	
1310	601	1160	1218	986	1025	798	1215	73	265	360	305	705	1134	310	1540	40	1236	1128	640	1150	630	1147	440	360	1431	410	1057	170	1060	1444	1527	1566	1290	1077	600
1272	85	685	1032	353	510	774	688	689	824	697	533	293	460	720	864	739	144	470	716	490	209	380	725	640	1247	174	694	231	858	610	828	639	349	550	
547	947	190	270	840	400	455	253	1237	1637	1536	1160	717	709	1508	40	1236	1128	640	1150	630	1147	440	360	1431	410	1057	170	1060	1444	1527	1566	1290	1077	600	
1238	360	915	1210	698	890	834	1060	317	396	269	345	460	830	292	1205	242	357	370	288	400	255	770	1050	212	1413	200	1035	640	430	260	353	230	230	480	
1392	543	1146	1263	914	1011	898	1197	208	262	198	378	687	1066	120	1282	170	534	473	100	803	463	891	1181	65	1477	288	1182	809	209	160	165	110	360	522	
1059	753	270	772	605	210	940	156	1297	1577	1245	1185	575	235	1458	472	1286	940	970	1316	935	981	330	85	1381	927	810	821	842	1516	1328	1409	1235	1020	1216	
699	705	40	430	685	220	430	189	1103	1445	1314	748	475	510	1296	155	1286	930	660	1155	600	915	280	234	1170	600	815	10	906	1384	1308	1286	1180	1035	570	
1701	585	855	1349	234	669	1277	779	1167	1281	1116	1098	685	410	1125	1044	1279	620	1065	1206	1105	685	645	865	1186	1475	778	865	365	1383	1196	1306	1168	820	1125	
1531	320	1037	1312	318	660	1034	923	774	862	518	686	552	560	699	1143	805	98	705	736	740	146	555	855	622	1605	258	1120	177	674	615	845	675	270	761	
250	952	500	214	1206	600	251	649	1030	1336	1313	764	722	1106	1268	340	1120	1208	665	1122	619	1222	806	694	1170	325	934	455	1228	1226	1312	1238	1029	1202	527	
925	870	160	763	540	88	627	40	1182	1430	1199	700	460	340	1281	220	1271	841	793	1200	820	789	220	82	1204	903	709	216	738	1369	1290	1383	1120	981	1076	
1423	415	1110	1283	784	975	919	1165	345	400	184	422	655	973	220	1290	254	296	494	228	524	310	850	1195	152	1498	260	1130	671	380	188	203	220	325	614	
1709	710	1441	1580	1165	1244	1244	1456	459	250	252	751	986	1270	110	1121	360	770	790	180	820	622	1224	1524	190	1794	555	1481	1045	316	140	180	290	482	900	
1233	420	1015	1108	730	880	743	1070	165	410	380	223	660	900	285	1195	226	607	318	208	248	414	750	1000	231	1308	300	1025	726	349	331	260	110	379	438	
1452	320	955	1368	645	658	948	920	446	496	190	478	520	875	340	1475	260	268	470	360	800	180	676	976	260	1492	196	985	523	602	270	485	240	100	580	
140	1241	599	110	1120	690	429	748	1211	1429	1488	221	1011	1069	1445	447	1319	1277	842	1202	812	1109	720	816	1403	120	1109	666	1413	1028	1495	1377	1225	1462	716	
1476	280	668	1130	110	450	1052	560	1129	1269	896	848	470	220	1103	845	1206	416	840	1044	1057	581	420	560	1023	1260	664	680	261	1124	954	1166	1190	611	880	
1202	748	415	896	500	270	882	280	1295	1594	1412	1109	662	230	1485	661	448	900	1022	1402	1022	958	370	210	1355	1103	898	605	675	1533	1323	1473	1230	1098	1073	
230	970	410	80	1050	630	454	581	1236	1517	1513	964	740	920	1628	234	1324	1325	824	1317	794	1170	650	631	1428	190	1080	420	1258	1443	1528	1422	1240	1300	714	
969	400	912	840	758	718	475	705	214	588	584	45	398	828	558	945	395	681	80	425	80	510	598	1114	499	1044	378	863	735	514	599	518	310	490	160	
994	560	240	698	470	90	707	110	1114	1180	1076	853	410	260	1231	400	1220	754	755	100	770	819	210	110	1055	870	690	265	540	1319	1240	1189	1070	959	1156	
1042	605	223	727	520	140	858	111	1165	1426	1348	964	465	290	1276	481	1265	858	870	1295	796	909	250	68	1299	221	730	312	760	1424	1158	1434	1215	1049	935	
1282	590	498	579	816	570	90	637	697	938	800	370	400	940	855	445	735	720	290	813	260	742	510	690	889	624	610	455	860	889	395	660	800	170		
1545	340	1080	1385	602	933	1076	1025	589	629	215	611	625	825	375	1260	611	265	651	410	681	160	803	1148	393	1620	210	1090	469	638	305	618	487	30	761	
1550	260	1041	1128	734	834	763	1024	264	438	322	295	514	830	300	1149	290	350	338	260	368	310	714	954	230	1242	220	979	652	418	280	320	190	273	448	
1212	660	495	976	500	350	962	260	1358	1514	1313	1181	738	230	1416	741	1260	797	1023	1410	1098	980	450	290	1326	1183	924	584	665	1449	1260	1471	1244	1070	1148	
1152	250	785	1187	556	650	683	840	388	640	509	218	330	670	491	900	480	387	235	410	250	302	530	770	417	1227	170	735	565	569	500	549	320	350	320	
....	1202	729	250	1456	919	601	886	1280	1586	1563	1014	740	1199	1518	500	1280	1458	915	1442	869	1482	1056	933	1429	190	1184	704	1488	1486	1562	1488	1279	1502	807	
Jannah...	630	990	300	480	690	1600	668	756	525	468	230	470	652	865	682	168	430	643	506	310	350	650	572	1277	155	695	247	790	580	718	840	370	500		
Juanpoor...	460	678	190	470	135	1143	1425	1294	788	410	517	1276	160	1233	861	700	1196	705	840	270	185	1202	603	760	60	815	884	1584	1285	1334	1115	970	610		
Jumalpoor...	1110	640	460	609	1240	1483	1660	974	760	930	1329	300	1340	1211	820	1567	810	1190	740	659	1424	143	1120	430	1160	1446	1657	1288	1223	1240	720				
Kalra.....	460	1023	260	1025	1153	873	768	416	270	997	840	1077	377	746	1037	766	443	400	620	917	1253	513	675	122	1084	911	1064	981	572	978					
Kalah.....	583	137	1024	1290	1040	763	230	308	1147	375	1140	654	675	1070	685	690	130	170	1077	783	660	210	539	1219	1050	1209	990	859	570						
Kuttack.....	619	812	1063	1059	820	582	790	1028	570	870	1002	320	380	900	350	869	490	664	974	576	680	430	1042	988	1074	993	785	1033	260						
Lucknow.....	1222	1480	1249	750	510	380	1231	316	1221	897	777	1250	779	897	250	80	1254	752	730	165	788	1419	1180	1389	1170	979	1060								
Madras.....	289	446	265	704	1058	282	1266	88	672	370	219	294	616	918	1282	284	1255	463	1093	903	206	405	207	87	566	798									
Madura.....	266	870	970	1226	148	1605	200	764	648	127	678	676	1170	1410	236	1661	596	1435	1036	105	242	80	245	566	498										
Mangalore...	872	839	1108	198	1474	480	480	634	240	664	370	860	1160	130	1638	280	1																		

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering upon the details of a military outbreak that has, by its extent and duration, astonished the whole civilised world, and which at one time threatened seriously to affect the *prestige* of a flag that during the past century and a-half has waved in proud supremacy over the fortresses and cities of India, and proclaimed by its presence to subjugated races the irresistible power of British valour, and the wisdom of British councils, it will be necessary to refer briefly to the general history of the country—its various races, and its native governments, now for the most part tributaries to, or annexations of, British dominion in the East.

The extensive range of country now familiar to us by its Persian name of Hindostan, was early known to the Arabs by the appellation of Hind, or *Al-Hind*; from which, in their language, the words India and Hindostan are probably derived. India, from the *Indus*, the Blue or Black river, is not, however, synonymous with the Persian word Hindostan, the latter being derived from Hind, or Hindoo, *dark*, and stan, *place*; the place of the dark people or tribes, from the difference of colour between its inhabitants and its Persian invaders, by whom the term was originally applied. The name given to Hindostan by the natives of the country was Bahrat Kand, or the dominions of Bahrat. Hindoos also give it the epithet of *Medhyana*, or "Central," as well as that of Panyabhumi, or "the Land of Virtue."

This glorious land has, from the earliest records extant, been periodically the theatre of wars, tyranny, and wretchedness. The native Hindoo race appear for the most part to have been incapable of sweeping back the fierce tide of invasion and conquest that has so frequently broken over it, attracted by the extent, beauty, and wealth of the country which it populates but does not improve. Even now that the dusky inhabitants of that vast peninsula consist of many races and nations, several of whom are brave, fierce, and haughty in their natures, and amongst whom not less than fifteen millions of Mohammedans are scattered, they have proved unable to resist the European yoke, and have submitted to the dominion of an empire 13,000 miles distant, and to a power which, rising from the mere commercial *status* conferred by the possession of a few inconsiderable factories, has at length grasped, and defiantly holds in subjection, the loftiest sceptres and proudest diadems of India.

The geographical features of Hindostan have been so frequently described, that few words may suffice for such portion of the subject as merely relates to its extent and boundary; which, on the north, is formed by the Himalaya Mountains, and a prolongation of the Hindoo Koosh, a mountainous range of Affghanistan. On the east its limits are defined by the valley of the Brahmapootra and the Bay of Bengal. On the south-east by the Bay of Manaar, separating it from the island of Ceylon; by the Indian Ocean on the south and west; and by the Hala and Soliman Mountains, which divide it from Beloochistan and Affghanistan on the north-west. It extends from Attock on the Indus, in lat. 34° N., to Cape Comorin, lat. 8° N., and from the eastern limits of Assam,

in 96° E. long., to the Soliman Mountains west of the Indus, in long. 67° 30' E.; the extreme length, from the north of Cashmere to Cape Comorin, being about 1,900 miles, and its breadth in the widest part, from the western border of Sind to the eastern extremity of Assam, is 1,800 miles. Throughout this vast extent of territory there are now but two small states independent of British or European rule—namely, NEPAUL, consisting of a narrow slip of country running along the southern slope of the Himalayas; and BHOTAN, also a narrow slip, lying to the east of Nepaul. The possessions yet retained by France upon the Indian territory merely consist of the small settlement of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, and of the stations of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Caricale, on that of Coromandel; altogether covering an extent of less than 200 square miles. The Dutch also continue to hold Goa, and about 1,000 square miles of territory on the west coast; and the town of Jafferabad, in the Gulf of Cambay; but, with the exception of the two native states mentioned, and the trifling possessions of France and Holland, the entire continent, to the extent of 1,687,603 square miles, now consists of states subject to the absolute domination of Great Britain, or dependent upon it for protection and support.

The territory of the English East India Company is now divided into three presidencies—viz., Bengal, Bombay, and Madras; the former being the most extensive, and embracing the entire northern division of the peninsula. BOMBAY comprises the western side, from lat. 16° N., to the Gulf of Cambay, where it reaches the boundary line of Bengal; and MADRAS includes the whole southern portion of the peninsula with the island of Ceylon. The population of the three presidencies amounts to nearly two hundred million souls. Some of the finest rivers in the world intersect and distribute their treasures through this vast extent of country; and of those the principal are the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmapootra, and the Irawaddy, with their tributaries, and a host of smaller but yet important streams. The aspect of the country south of the Himalayas is flat, terminated by the Vindhya Mountains, which cross the peninsula from east to west. The Himalayas consist of a range of mountains, 1,500 miles in length, and their breadth varies from 100 to 350 miles; in some parts the height of this gigantic ridge obtains an elevation of more than 28,000 feet above the level of the sea, the summits being covered with perpetual snow. The climate of India is varied, as may be conceived from the vast extent of country: in the south and middle regions the heat is great; but in the north, the elevated tracts of the Himalaya afford a climate equal in temperature to that of Europe. The periodical winds, called "monsoons," prevail on each side of the peninsula, and are accompanied by heavy rains; and the Indian year has three seasons—hot, rainy, and temperate. The *hot* weather commences in March, and continues to the beginning of June; the *rainy* season follows, and lasts, with short interruptions, from June to October; and the *temperate* period then succeeds, and fills the interval of time from October to the end of February.

The climate of India is not inimical to the European constitution, although that of Bengal and other low districts is very trying, especially to those who do not adhere to a strictly temperate regimen in all things; but there have been many instances of Englishmen living for a quarter of a century at Calcutta, and, on returning to England, enjoying another quarter of a century, and even more, of healthy existence, preserving, to a good old age, a vigorous mental and bodily frame. In the hot and moist parts of India

abdominal diseases prevail; in the warm and dry, hepatic action, or congestion. Exposure at night, especially to malaria, or the effluvia arising from intense heat and decomposing vegetable and animal matter, produces a malady popularly termed "jungle fever," which operates as a poison on the human system, and becomes rapidly fatal if not counteracted by mercury, or some other poison.

The direct rays of a nearly vertical sun, and even those of the moon, cause affections of the brain, that are frequently productive of fatal results; and when not so, require removal to the temperate zone for their relief.

The diseases that prevail among the Indians vary with locality: low, continued fever is most prevalent in flat, and rheumatism in moist, regions. Leprosy and other skin disorders are numerous among the poorer classes. *Elephantiasis*, or swelling of the legs; *Berri-berri*, or enlargement of the spleen; torpidity of the liver, weakness of the lungs, and ophthalmia, are common to all ranks and places. *Goitre* is found among the hill tribes; and cholera and influenza frequently decimate large masses of the people. Numerous maladies, engendered by early and excessive sensuality, exist among rich and poor. The inhabitants of India, generally speaking, except in the more elevated districts, have not the robust frames or well-wearing constitutions which result from an improved social state, or from the barbarism which is as yet free from the defects and vices of an imperfect civilisation. Neither is their longevity equal to that of the races who dwell in the more temperate climates of the earth.

It is not unusual to speak of India as if it were inhabited by a single race; but this is a great error, as the people are more varied in language, appearance, and manners, than are those of the whole family of European nations. The languages spoken among them are twenty in number—viz. (1) *Hindoostanee*, in general use, particularly in the North-West Provinces, and usually by Mussulmauns throughout India; (2) *Bengallee*, in the lower parts of the Gangetic and Brahmopootra plains; (3) *Punjabee*, or *Seik*, in the upper portion of the Indies; (4) *Sindhee*, in Cis-Sutlej states and Sindh; (5) *Tamul*, around Madras, and down to the coast of Cape Comorin; (6) *Canarese* or *Karnata*, in Mysore and Coorg; (7) *Malyalim*, in Travancore and Cochin; (8) *Teloogoo*, or *Telinga*, at Hyderabad (Deccan), and eastward to coast of Bengal Bay; (9) *Oorya*, in Orissa; (10) *Cole* and *Goud*, in Berar; (11) *Mahratta*, in Maharashtra; (12) *Hindee*, in Rajpootana and Malwa; (13) *Guzerattee*, in Guzerat; (14) *Cutchee*, in Cutch; (15) *Cashmerian*, in Cashmere; (16) *Nepaulese*, in Nepal; (17) *Bhote*, in Bootan; (18) *Assamese*, in Upper Assam; (19) *Burmese*, in Arracan and Pegu; and (20) *Brahooi*, or *Beloochee*, in Beloochistan; besides these, Persian and Arabic are in use, with numerous dialects in different localities.

In Bengal and Orissa, the majority of the people do not eat meat, and the abstinence is attributed to a religious precept forbidding the destruction of life; but almost every Hindoo eats fish; many will consume birds and the flesh of kids, especially when it has been sacrificed and offered to idols. The Brahmins and Rajpoots of the highest *castes*, in North and Western India, can partake of the flesh of goats, deer, and wild boar, but abhor the domestic sheep and swine; others, who use the jungle cock (similar to our gamecock), would esteem the touch of our barn-door poultry pollution. In short, the capricious distributions of language, creed, and appetite, are infinitely diversified, and mingle with every act of Indian existence.

The natural productions of India embrace almost every species and variety of the earth's treasures, and the beauty and magnificence of its vegetation are without parallel. The forests are on an extensive scale, but the larger trees are almost wholly restricted to the plains; besides the species of trees common to Europe, the teak, the cedar, the palm, and the banyan, abound; the latter, called also the "peepul tree," has a sacred character, and the Hindoos plant it near their temples; its branches spread out many feet from the body of the tree, and stems bend down from them to the ground, where they take root and again shoot upward, continuously spreading and covering an immense area. We are told by Forbes, of one that stood on the banks of the Nerbudda which sheltered an army of 7,000 men under its branches! The fruits are as numerous as the timber trees; and the flowers are without rivals for profuseness and fragrance: but with all these attractions and advantages, we meet with the tiger, the panther, several varieties of the elephant, the rhinoceros, the black bear, and the boar of the jungle; the serpents that nestle amidst the beautiful foliage and shrubs of India, are numerous and deadly; the birds are of exquisite beauty and infinite variety; and the fish that swarm around its coasts have many species that are unknown to the European seas, as well as some that are common to them. The mineral products are of great beauty and value: diamonds, and most of the precious stones, known under the term *jewels*, with gold, silver, tin, and copper, are found in abundance within its bosom. It has, within the last few years, been ascertained that iron also exists in the peninsula; but the search for coal has hitherto been but partially successful.

The chief cities of modern Hindostan are Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; the first-named being the capital of British India, and the principal residence of the governor-general. CALCUTTA (*Calicata*), the principal city of the province of Bengal, is in lat. 22° 33' 54" N., long. 88° 20' 17" E. It is seated on the eastern bank of the western branch of the Ganges, better known as the Hooghly river, which is the only arm of the Ganges navigable, to any considerable distance, by shipping of heavy burden. At high water, the river in front of the town is about a mile in breadth; but during the ebb, the opposite side presents a long range of dry sand-banks. "The approach to the City of Palaces from the river," observes Miss Roberts, in her *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, "is exceedingly fine; the Hooghly at all periods of the year presents a broad surface of sparkling water, and as it winds through a richly-wooded country, clothed with eternal verdure, and interspersed with stately buildings, the stranger feels that banishment may be endured amid scenes of so much picturesque beauty, attended by so many luxurious accompaniments. The usual landing-place, Champaul Ghaut, consists of a handsome stone esplanade, with a flight of broad steps leading to the water, which, on the land side, is entered through a sort of triumphal arch or gateway, supported upon pillars. Immediately in front of this edifice, a wide plain, or *meidan*, spreads over a spacious area, intersected by very broad roads; and on two sides of this superb quadrangle a part of the city and the fashionable suburb of Chowringee extend themselves. The claims to architectural beauty of the "City of Palaces" have been questioned, and possibly there may be numberless faults to call forth the strictures of connoisseurs; but these are lost upon less erudite judges, who remain rapt in admiration at the magnificence of the *coup-d'œil*. The houses, for the most part, are either entirely detached from each other, or connected only by long ranges of terraces, surmounted, like the long roofs of the

houses, with balustrades. The greater number of these mansions have pillared verandahs, extending the whole way up, sometimes to the height of three stories, besides a large portico in front; and these clusters of columns, long colonnades, and lofty gateways, have a very imposing effect, especially when intermingled with forest trees and flowering shrubs. The material of the houses is what is termed *puckha*, brick coated with cement, resembling stone; and even those residences intended for families of very moderate income, cover a large extent of ground, and afford architectural displays which would be vainly sought amid habitations belonging to the same class in England. The Company's Botanical Gardens, the spires of the churches, the temples, minarets, and the citadel of Fort William, or rather the barracks or outer buildings of the fort, rise in view, and strongly excite the mind of the stranger on his arrival." This, it must be remembered is a "first impression"—a picture painted somewhat *en couleur de rose*.

Calcutta presents a remarkable instance of what may arise from small beginnings. In 1640, the English obtained permission to erect a factory at the ancient town of Hooghly, on the opposite bank of the river. In 1696, the emperor Aurungzebe allowed them to remove their factory from Hooghly to the petty native village of Govindpore; and in the following year, to secure it by a fort. So slow was the progress of the new settlement, that, up to 1717, Govindpore, the site of the present City of Palaces, remained an assemblage of wretched huts, with only a few hundreds of inhabitants. In 1756, it had not more than seventy houses in it occupied by Europeans. An attempt had been made, in 1742, to defend the place from the incursions of the Mahrattas, by surrounding it with a ditch—a precaution, however, which availed but little against the attack in June, 1756, by Surajah-ud-Dowlah, the subahdar or viceroy of Bengal. In consequence of this attack, apparently a surprise, the factory was deserted by the governor, the commandant, and many of the European functionaries and residents. A memorable catastrophe, of a most lamentable nature, ensued. Such of the English as had remained for the defence of the factory, were thrust into a small, unventilated dungeon, called the "Black Hole;" and of 146 individuals who were thus shut up at night, 123 perished, under the most frightful sufferings, ere the arrival of morning! The "Black Hole" was afterwards converted into a warehouse; and upon an obelisk, fifty feet high, at its entrance, were inscribed the names of the unhappy victims.

Early in the following year, a squadron of five ships of war, accompanied by 2,400 troops, under the command of Lord Clive, arrived in the Hooghly from Madras, and retook the town of Calcutta, from which the garrison of the subahdar retired, after an attack of only two hours' continuance.

The returns of the population of Calcutta, in 1822, were—Christians, 18,138; Mohammedans, 48,162; Hindoos, 118,203; Chinese, 414: making a total of 179,917. The population, however, is of a more mixed character than is thus represented; consisting of British and other Europeans, Portuguese born in India, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Persians from the coast of the Persian gulf (usually termed Parsees), Monghols, Mohammedans of Hindostan, Hindoos, &c. The aggregate population of Calcutta is now estimated at from 500,000 to 600,000; while, within a radius of twenty miles, the number is thought to be not less than from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000.

The site of Calcutta was originally considered to be extremely insalubrious. The surrounding country is flat and marshy, and extensive muddy lakes, with an immense

forest, stretch towards the town. Much, however, has been done to remove these local disadvantages. The streets have been drained, the ponds filled up, and the jungles cleared to a certain distance; but the air is still in some degree affected by the vicinity of the marshy jungles called the Sunderbunds.

The city now extends about five miles along the river, but its breadth varies greatly in different places. A large space between the town and Fort William is formed into a noble esplanade, on one side of which stands the new Government-house, erected by the Marquis Wellesley. In a line with it is a range of handsome houses ornamented with spacious verandahs. The suburb of Chowringhee, once merely a collection of native huts, is now an assemblage of palaces, extending a considerable distance into the country. The principal square, called Tank-square, is about 500 yards on each side, the middle of which is occupied by a large tank, 60 feet deep, surrounded by a wall and balustrade, and having steps on the inside reaching to the bottom. The square contains the Old Fort and the Custom-house, in front of which a handsome quay has been formed. It is called the Strand, and extends between two and three miles in length along the banks of the river. During the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, much was done to improve the ventilation of the city. A street, sixty feet wide, was opened through the centre in its longest diameter; and several squares were made, which, like the one described above, have each a tank in the centre surrounded by planted walks. The southern part of this magnificent city is inhabited chiefly by Europeans.

The part of Calcutta called the Black Town, which is principally occupied by the natives, stretches towards the north, and presents a complete contrast with the southern division. This contains about three-fourths of the city, where the streets are narrow, dirty, and unpaved. The greater number of the dwellings are either mud cottages, or huts of bamboos or other slight materials, swarming with an excess of population. From the crowded state and contemptible nature of these buildings, fires are destructive and frequent in this part of Calcutta, but they do not affect the European quarter. The mode of building there adopted, is an excellent antidote to this frequent calamity in an Indian climate. The houses are, however, often more elegant than durable, for the white ants are so destructive, that the whole beams of a house will sometimes be completely excavated, while they have the appearance of perfect solidity. More than twenty bazaars, well stored with merchandise from all parts of the world, provide an excellent supply of whatever is requisite for the support of a great city.

The Government-house is the most remarkable edifice in Calcutta. It is an Ionic structure on a rustic basement. On the north side there is a flight of steps, under which carriages drive to the entrance. On the south there is a circular colonnade, with a dome. The wings at the four corners contain the private apartments, and are connected together by circular passages so contrived as to have the advantage of the air from all quarters. The central part of the building contains some handsome rooms, highly decorated, and the council-room at the north-west corner is ornamented with several good portraits.

Fort William stands about a quarter of a mile below the town, and is the most regularly constructed fortress in India. It is said to have cost £200,000. It is an irregular octagon, and was commenced by Lord Clive, soon after the battle of Plassy, in 1757, but is considered as too extensive to be a tenable post in case of extremity. It has bomb-proof barracks sufficiently large for 10,000 men; and it requires, with 600 pieces of

cannon, as many troops to garrison it as would form an army capable of keeping the field. The works are raised but little above the level of the surrounding country, and can scarcely be perceived on the land side till a near approach. The five sides of the octagon next the land are regular, but as the others were designed to guard against an attack by water, they are so situated that the guns will bear upon all objects on the river till they approach near the town, and come within the fire of the other batteries that are placed along its banks. The interior of the fort is open, and presents large grass-plats and gravel-walks, kept in excellent order, and shaded by trees intermixed with piles of balls, shells, and rows of cannon. The fort contains only those buildings that are absolutely necessary for the purposes intended, such as a house for the commandant, quarters for the officers and troops, and the arsenal, which is well supplied with military stores. The entire cost of this noble fortress is said to have been not less than £1,000,000 sterling.

Besides the Government-house and the fort, the other public buildings in Calcutta are the Town-house, the courts of justice, and the various places of worship. Among these are two churches for the English (one of them is a handsome edifice), with others belonging to the Portuguese Catholics, the Armenians, and the Greeks, with several small Hindoo temples and Mohammedan mosques; and also a Sikh temple.

As the seat of the chief Anglo-Indian government, Calcutta is also the seat of the supreme court of judicature for the presidency of Bengal. This court is under the control of a chief justice and two puisne judges appointed by the crown, in England. The courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and Nazamut Adawlut, the former for civil and the latter for criminal causes, are courts of appeal from the provincial courts in all parts of Hindostan.

Since the year 1814, Calcutta has been a bishop's see. The Rev. Henry Heber, D.D., was the bishop first appointed, with a stipend, fixed by parliament at £5,000 per annum. The bishop's residence is in the city.

The religious, educational, literary, and scientific institutions of Calcutta are numerous, and of a high order. A Sanscrit college, a Mohammedan college, and an Anglo-Indian college, are supported by government; which affords assistance, also, to many private establishments for instructing the children of natives, and of the poorer classes of Europeans. The college of Fort William, founded by the Marquis Wellesley, is chiefly appropriated for the instruction in the languages, and other branches of study necessary for their profession, of young gentlemen who have been partially educated in the college at Haylesbury. Besides the public institutions, the residents of Calcutta support various charitable establishments and societies for religious objects.

In Calcutta and its neighbourhood, there is such a deficiency of water, that sometimes, after boring to the depth of more than 150 feet, no springs have been reached. Thin strata of coal and blue clay have been met with between fifty and sixty feet below the surface. At the same depth, trunks of trees have frequently been discovered, in an erect position, with their roots and branches perfect. In a luxurious capital, such as Calcutta, the style of living, amongst the higher classes of Europeans, is a point of considerable interest. As an illustration of this, the following *List of Servants*, deemed essential for the establishments of gentlemen from England, to engage, on or after their arrival, with what are termed moderate *rates of wages* for each, will be found on the other side. The value of the rupee may be taken at 2s.

	Rupees per Month.
A Moonshee, or linguist	16 to 20
A Sircar, accountant and cashier	10 — 12
A Khansamah, or steward	8 — 10
A Khitmutgar, or table-attendant	6 — 8
A Babarchy, or cook	6 — 8
A Durwan, or porter	5 — 6
A Hurkaru, or messenger	5 — 6
A Coachman	6 — 8
A Syce, or groom	5 — 6
A Masalchi, or scullion, &c.	4 —
A Sirdar Bearer, or house and furniture domestic	6 — 8
A Bheesty, or water-bearer	3 — 4

Calcutta is advantageously situated for both external and internal communication with distant parts. The largest vessels approach from the sea, and the merchandise they bring is readily conveyed to all the northern regions of Hindostan, by the Ganges and its tributary streams, while the valuable products of the interior are received by the same channel. This renders the capital the grand depôt of both European and Asiatic commodities. Numerous small vessels that trade to the interior, arrive daily from all parts of the country, while the large shipping collected opposite the town forms a noble spectacle, 50,000 tons being sometimes to be seen there at once.

Calcutta is the great emporium of Bengal, and the channel through which the treasures of the interior provinces are conveyed to Europe and to other parts. Its port is the resort of ships of all nations. In no part of the world is mercantile enterprise more active than at Calcutta. Some of its houses trade annually to the amount of five or six millions of pounds sterling. In 1855, Calcutta contained a resident population of more than half a million persons.

MADRAS.—This important capital of the province which bears its name is on the Coromandel coast, and has a population of 720,000: its situation is bad for trade, notwithstanding which it commands a very large share of the mercantile transactions of India.

The approach to Madras from the sea is very striking. Its low, flat, sandy shores, extending to the north and to the south, and the small hills that are seen inland, contribute to impress the spectator with an idea of barrenness, which, however, wears off on closer inspection. The beach seems alive with the crowds by which it is covered. The public offices and storehouses erected near the beach are handsome buildings, with colonnades or verandahs to the upper stories, supported on arched bases, covered with the beautiful shell-mortar or chunam of Madras—hard, smooth, and polished like marble. Within a few yards of the sea, Fort St. George presents an interesting appearance; and at a distance are seen minarets and pagodas, intermixed with trees and gardens. In the fort is a lighthouse, ninety feet above the level of the sea, and which may be seen from the deck of a large ship at seventeen miles' distance, or from the mast-head at a distance of twenty-six miles.

Notwithstanding its external advantages, it would have been difficult to select a worse site for a capital than that of Madras, situated as it is on the margin of a coast with a rapid current, and against which a tremendous surf breaks, even in the mildest weather. In the site of Pondicherry, the French had immensely the advantage of us in all respects. The boats, called masulah boats, employed for crossing the surf, are large and light, and constructed of very thin planks, sewn together with the tough grass of the country,

instead of calking the seams, which it is considered would render them too stiff; the great object being to have them as flexible as possible, that they may yield to the waves like leather. These boats require to be managed with great skill and dexterity, by men experienced in the craft. When within the influence of the surf, the coxswain stands up, and beats time with great agitation with his voice and foot, while the rowers work their oars backwards, until overtaken by a strong surf curling up, which sweeps the boat along with a frightful velocity. The boats belonging to ships in the roads sometimes proceed to the back of the surf, where they anchor on its outermost side, and wait for the country boats from the beach to convey their passengers on shore. When it is dangerous to have communication with the shore, a flag is displayed at the beach-house, which stands near the landing-place, as a caution.

Large ships, in approaching the city, "moor in from seven to nine fathoms, with the flag-staff of the fort bearing W.N.W., two miles from the shore. From October to January is generally considered the most unsafe season of the year, in consequence of the prevalence, during that interval, of storms and typhoons. On the 15th of October, the flag-staff is struck, and not erected again until the 15th of December; during which period, a ship coming into the roads, or indeed anywhere within soundings on the coast of Coromandel (reckoned from Point Palmyras to Ceylon), vitiates her insurance, according to the conditions of the policies of all the insurance offices in India."

In very rough weather, even the masulah boats cannot venture out, and all intercourse with the shipping is suspended, excepting by means of a simple contrivance, called a catamaran, used by fishermen and other lower-class natives. The catamaran is formed of two or three light logs of wood, eight or ten feet in length, lashed together, with a small piece of wood inserted between them, to serve as a stern-piece. When ready for the water, the catamaran holds two men, who with their paddles launch themselves through the surf to fish, or to carry letters or small quantities of refreshments to ships, when boats cannot venture out. When a vessel nears the shore, it is usual to send letters off to her under charge of catamaran men, who are instantly recognised by their curious conical caps, made of matting, in which they secure their letters, &c. The contents of these caps sustain no injury, howsoever often their wearers may be washed off their machine, which, in such cases, they speedily regain by swimming, unless intercepted by a shark. Medals are occasionally given to such catamaran men as distinguish themselves by saving persons in danger, or by their care in conveying papers through the surf in stormy weather.

The climate of Madras is considered to be less sultry than that of Bengal; such stations as are situated on the higher grounds of the table-land enjoying a very agreeable temperature. Exposure to the sun is less dreaded here than in most other parts of Hindostan. From the sea, the most striking object is the fort, beyond which is the Black Town, where all mercantile and other business is transacted. The chief buildings in it which face the water are—the supreme court, and the master-attendant's office and the custom-house in conjunction. There are also some large handsome establishments of bankers, merchants, &c. As all these buildings, ranging along the beach, have their upper stories adorned by colonnades resting on arched bases, the entire aspect is fine. The Black Town is very populous; the streets mostly run at right angles, and parallel with each other; the shops of Europeans and natives are situated there, and the residences of the Portu-

guese and natives, with the bazaars of the latter, occupy nearly the rest of the space. With pagodas and minarets, intermixed with trees and gardens, it contains also some splendid mansions of wealthy native merchants, built in the Oriental style.

Fort George, as it now stands, was planned by Robbins, a celebrated engineer of his day. In its centre are the remains of the original fortress, long since converted into public offices, &c. Northward of the site of the old fort stands the exchange, on which, in 1796, a lighthouse was erected, the light of which is ninety feet above the level of the sea. The present fort is strong and handsome, extensive and well defended; one portion of it, by its proximity to the sea, being almost impregnable, the heavy surf effectually preventing a landing. It is, however, open to the complaint which has been strongly and justly urged against that of Calcutta—viz., that it is too large to be properly manned in case of an attack from a powerful enemy; the garrison required for its due defence being by far too numerous for the limited resources of the country.

Within the walls of the fortress are the post-office, magazines, storehouses, barracks, hospitals, and every other requirement of war. Its governor's residence is spacious, and opposite to that is a marble statue of the Marquis Cornwallis. Southward from the site of the old fort is the church, large and commodious. It contains a monument to Bishop Heber, executed by Chantrey, representing the bishop in the act of confirming two native converts. The southern exit from the fort leads to the fashionable beach-drive—the South Beach—which corresponds with the course and esplanade of Calcutta, and the Hyde-park ring of London. It is a strip of road, of about a quarter of a mile in length, on the sea-shore. At the head of the drive is an oval inclosure, consisting of a lawn and gravel-walks, in the centre of which a military band plays for about three-quarters of an hour every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings. There are several other interesting drives in the vicinity of the town; especially the Mount road, so named from its leading to the artillery station of St. Thomas's Mount, a well-wooded and delightful spot. It is to this superb road, shaded by trees of various descriptions, and of most luxuriant foliage, presenting a continued succession of villas for the six miles to which its length extends, that a recent author has alluded in terms of unqualified admiration. Most of the villas are large, many of them chaste and elegant, and all in the centre of their own grounds.

Near the Mount road is the race-course, having a circuit of a mile and a-half, with a large convenient stand, and other accommodations. On the town side of the race-course is a stone bridge, of many arches, over a wide and extensive ravine, filled with water during the rainy season. At other times, a shallow stream meanders through its bed, "while on its banks are always collected hundreds of *dhobies* (washermen) with numerous tents containing the families of this useful class of people. It is peculiarly characteristic of the exclusive and lordly pretensions of Europeans in India, that their own vehicles alone are permitted to traverse this bridge; the bullock hackeries of the natives being compelled to descend on one side, and, after wading through the water, ascend the somewhat precipitous bank on the other."

Government-house, by no means remarkable for either appearance or accommodation, is situated at the head of the Mount road. The adjacent garden, or park, is large extending to the sea-shore, where the governor has a smaller residence, named the Marine Villa.

The society of Madras is more limited than that of Calcutta, with less attention to

the luxuries, or even comforts, of life. It is of a haughty and ridiculously exclusive character, but the mode of living is similar to that of Calcutta; and fewer servants are required in Madras than in the latter city, in consequence of the *castes* being less numerous. Here, one man will attend the toilet, wait at table, and perform other duties, for which three or four servants would be required in Bengal. Madras is consequently the less expensive presidency of the two, for residence. As coolies or labourers, women are employed indiscriminately with men; and, in either case, the remuneration is very slight; about sixpence per day for each person. A personal servant for a short time, expects to be paid at the rate of a shilling per day.

BOMBAY stands upon a neck of land forming the extremity of the island from which it is named, and possesses the best harbour in India; an advantage that has made it the second mercantile emporium of the East—Calcutta being the first. Its population, in 1849, amounted to 512,656 souls, and it has since very considerably increased.

Standing principally on a narrow neck of land, at the south-eastern extremity of the island, the fort and town command a beautiful view over a bay diversified with rocky islets, and crowned by a background of picturesque hills. From its geographical features, however, "the interior of the island was formerly liable to be flooded, so as to give to the whole the appearance of a group of small islands. This flooding is now prevented by the construction of several substantial works which keep out the spring-tides; but as the lower parts of the island are ten or twelve feet under high-water mark, a great part of the interior is, during the rainy season, reduced to a swamp. The site of the new town, recovered from the sea in the latter part of the last century, is subject to this disadvantage; so that, during the continuance of the wet monsoon, the houses are separated from each other by water sometimes for seven or eight months of the year."

The fortifications of Bombay are extensive, and would require a numerous garrison for their defence: towards the sea, the works are exceedingly strong; but, on the land side, supposing an enemy to have made good a footing on the island, they would offer comparatively little resistance. "The fort, or garrison," observes a recent writer on the spot, "includes a surface of 234 acres, and contains a population of 15,000 inhabitants. On one side, between the fort and the sea, at Back Bay, is a stretch of almost level ground 387 acres in area, and about 1,800 yards in extreme length along the shore. The fortification has long been proved to be perfectly useless for the purposes of defence, and as unnecessary as useless—there being no one to assail it. An antiquated and absurd regulation has, notwithstanding this, been kept in force, to the obstruction of public improvement, to the effect, that no permanent building shall be erected within 800 yards of the batteries. The esplanade just described, furnishes the finest ground for dwelling-houses in the island; and is, indeed, the only place within a mile of the fort, where all public and private business is transacted, where houses can be built. But then, though the shore be in this quarter inaccessible, by reason of rocks and quicksands, to vessels above the size of fishing-boats, the 800 yards' regulation interferes; and, in consequence, a line of temporary erections, of about three-quarters of a mile in length, supplies the place of houses. These are constructed of wood, with trellis-work of bamboo, and surrounded with canvas, like an overgrown tent. They are thatched over with cadjaus, or the leaves of the palmyra-tree, and lined inside with curtains, or ornamental coloured

cloth. They are chiefly occupied by the highest class of military officers and civil servants of the government. Beyond this is a large encampment for officers temporarily residing in Bombay, and occupying tents. The bungalows are surrounded by ornamental railings, covered with the passion-flower, and other rapidly-growing, creeping plants; and are generally furnished with flower or vegetable gardens. The compound thus formed, opens out on the sea-beach on the one side, and on a line of road nearly parallel with the batteries on the other. The effect of the whole is highly picturesque and pleasing. These structures are not only far too slight to withstand the winds and rains of the south-west monsoon, but the garrison regulations require that they shall be removed once a year. Up to the middle of May, then, we have a line of beautiful rustic villas, which, together with the officers' tents at its extremity, extends nearly a mile along the sea-shore. All at once, as though some panic had made its appearance, or a plague broke out, the bungalows or villas of the esplanade begin to be deserted, and instantly demolished, and the materials of which they were composed removed. So rapidly does the work of destruction proceed, that in the course of a fortnight not a vestige is to be seen of the lately populous suburbs. By the first fall of rain, the dwellings have vanished, as if by magic—roofs, walls, and framework; the very tents and their occupants are gone. The esplanade for a few days presents a very unsightly appearance; the floors and foundations of houses, torn paper-hangings, the refuse of straw used for packing, fragments of broken fences, and the remains of ruined shrubberies and flower-pots, indicate the site of the departed town. A week more, and all this is changed—the first fall of rain covers everything with grass; and the esplanade, which was on the 15th of May covered by a town, and on the 1st of June presented a scene of slovenly and unsightly desolation, by the 15th of June is a bright greensward, as close and continuous as that on which the deer of some ancient manor in England have browsed for centuries. The reappearance of these temporary habitations is nearly as magical as their vanishment. The 15th of September sees the esplanade a fresh and verdant lawn: October witnesses the suburb formerly described:” and thus, from year to year, the change recurs.

Many of the residences, however, both within and beyond the walls of the fort, are commodiously constructed, particularly in the European quarter. The shops and warehouses, not only of the European merchants and traders, but of the natives, are large and handsome. On the contrary, the northern quarter of the fort, inhabited chiefly by Parsee families, is dirty and offensive. The lower classes of inhabitants live in little clay huts, thatched with palmyra leaves, outside the fort.

Bombay has only one English church, which is within the fort. There are several Portuguese and Armenian churches, both within and beyond the walls; also a number of mosques and Hindoo temples, three or four synagogues, &c. The largest Hindoo temple, dedicated to the worship of Bomba Devi, is about a mile and a-half from the fort.

The Government-house, or Castle, as it was originally designated, is a large, commodious building within the fort; but it has long been disused as a state residence, and appropriated for government offices. The governor has two other mansions for his accommodation: Parel, the one usually occupied as a town residence, at some distance northward from the fort; and another, intended as a retreat in the hot weather, at Malabar Point.

The records through which the early history of India are to be traced, point to the

Hindoos as the original inhabitants of the country. Subsequent conquests, in which the Scythians, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Mohammedans have borne part, have had the effect of intermingling foreign races with the aborigines; and now the descendants of the last of those conquerors form a distinct and governing class of the existing native population.

The Jews appear to have possessed but little information relating to India; yet it is certain that, even prior to the time of Moses, who was born 1574 B.C., the communication with India was open, and its commerce was then probably the most considerable and lucrative in the world. The Bible makes direct allusion to the caravan routes that had been formed, at an early period, for conveying the manufactures of the East into the kingdoms of the West. The spicery which the company of Ishmaelites (noticed in Genesis xxxvii. 25) were carrying into Egypt, are supposed to have been the produce of India. The 30th chapter of Exodus, and the 27th of Ezekiel (verse 24), also refer to the natural productions and manufactures of that country.

From the earliest period of which any records are extant, the Hindoo races have been divided as a people into four distinct classes, or *castes*;* designated Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. Originating with the creation of the world, *Brahmanas*, according to their mythological creed, proceeded from the *mouth* of Brahm the creator, and chief person of their theological triad, and his mission was to rule and instruct. He founded the *caste* distinguished by his name. *Kshatriyas* sprung from the arms of Brahm, and his duty was to protect: *Vaisyas* from his thighs; and the province allotted to this emanation of the deity was to trade and cultivate the earth: and *Sudras*, the most abject, as produced from the feet of Brahm, was doomed to be the servant and slave of the superior *castes*—the four forming the yet existing classes, or *castes*, of Priests, Soldiers, Husbandmen or Traders, and Labourers.

This division into four *castes* was, however, extended; and in the fourteenth century B.C., the number of mixed classes recognised by the laws of *Menu* had become considerable. Of these the most important are thus designated:—

I.—The classes which have sprung from the marriage of a man of an *upper caste* with a woman of an *inferior caste*. 1. *Múrdhábhishicta*, by a Brahmin, from a woman of the Kshatriya class. His duty is to teach military exercises. 2. *Ambastha*, or *Vaisya*, by a Brahmin, from a woman of the Vaisya class. His profession is the science of medicine. 3. *Nisháda*, or *Párasava*, by a Brahmin, from a woman of the Sudra class. His occupation is to catch fish. 4. *Máhishya*, by a Kshatriya, from a woman of the Vaisya class. His profession is music, astronomy, and attendance on cattle. 5. *Ugra*, by a Kshatriya, from a woman of the Sudra class. His duty, according to *Menu*, is to kill or confine such animals as live in holes; he is also an encomiast, or bard. 6. *Carana*, by a Vaisya, from a woman of the Sudra class. He is an attendant on princes, or secretary.

II.—The classes which have sprung from the marriage of a woman of *upper caste* with a man of *inferior caste*. The offsprings of these marriages, which are illegal, are

* The word *caste* is derived from the Portuguese *casta*, signifying race, or lineage. In Sanscrit, these divisions are called *Varnas*, that is, "colours." The most ancient portion of the *Vedas*, or sacred books of the Hindoos, alludes to such a division; and in the laws of *Menu*, and other works of antiquity, the system is fully described.

considered inferior in rank to the classes enumerated under the first division. 1. *Sûta*, by a Kshatriya, from a woman of the Brahmin class. His occupation is managing horses and driving cars. 2. *Vaidcha*, by a Vaisya, from a woman of the Brahmin class. His occupation is waiting on women. 3. *Chândâla*, by a Sudra, from a woman of the Brahmin class. He is regarded as the most impure of all the mixed classes. His business is to carry out corpses, and execute criminals, and to officiate in other abject employments for the public service. 4. *Mâgadha*, by a Vaisya, from a Kshatriya woman. His profession is, according to Menu, travelling with merchandise. He is also an encomiast, or bard. 5. *Kshatti*, *Kshatta*, by a Sudra, from a Kshatriya woman. His occupation is said to consist in killing and confining such animals as live in holes. 6. *Ayagava*, by a Sudra, from a woman of the Vaisya class, is a carpenter. There are other classes descending in the scale of impurity from mixed marriages. One of the most generally known of the impure classes is that of the *Pariahs*, as they are termed in the Deccan; or *Maliwanlu*, in Telingana; or *Walliaru*, in Carnata. They are subjected to the hardest labours of agriculture, and to the filthiest duties of scavengers; with these it was deemed pollution to have intercourse, or to entertain human sympathy for. The faith of these several *castes* centred in a triune godhead: Brahm, the creator; Vishnu, the preserver or sustainer; and Siva, the destroyer. To these a passive energy is also allied. *Brahm*, the supreme deity, always remains in holy solitude in the distance of the vast profound of measureless space, and is beyond the reach of superstition to profane by even ideal similitude. *Vishnu* and *Siva* are supposed to have been many times *Avatar*, or incarnate; and hence the imagination of the Hindoos has clothed them with a variety of visible forms, and each has become a distinct deity, to whom worship is daily addressed. The Hindoo Pantheon also includes a host of inferior divinities. Nothing can be done without supernatural intervention; in consequence of which, the elements and every variety of animated nature are placed under the immediate guardianship of one of the crowd of deities that throng the Brahminical heaven. The goodly company is further augmented by myriads of demi-gods, many of whom are of the most wretched description. Thus, a little red paint smeared over a block of wood, a shapeless stone, or a lump of clay, converts it into a deity; and a host of such monstrosities collected together, indicate a Brahminical place of worship, and invite the devotee to some act of worship, as debasing in its nature as its object is monstrous in conception. Amongst the animals which are the objects of Hindoo adoration, the cow is the most sacred in the greater part of India. This animal is frequently called the "Mother of the Gods;" and many cows are kept by the rich for the sole purpose of being worshipped. Circumstances are, however, at times, even stronger than superstition itself; and thus the poor, who derive their chief subsistence from the labour of the useful animal they venerate, do not hesitate to work it hard, and to feed it very sparingly!

Besides the peculiar notions entertained by Hindoos relative to superior beings, and the worship to be paid to them, those that refer to a future state form a prominent part of their theological system. Here the doctrine of the *transmigration of souls* is a distinguishing feature. No people appear to have formed loftier ideas of its nature, independently of its connection with matter. They carry this idea to so extravagant a height, as to suppose the souls of both men and brute animals to have been originally

portions of the supreme mind, and consequently, as participating of its eternity. The highest destiny to which a mortal can aspire is, therefore, reabsorption into the divine essence, where the Hindoo's idea of supreme felicity receives its perfection, and "the mind reposes on an unruffled sea of bliss." But to such a state only the most rigid ascetics, who have spent a life of self-inflicted torture, can aspire: the best deeds of an ordinary life cannot excite a hope of raising their author higher than one of the various heavens over which their multiplied divinities separately preside. But few are allowed to cherish the expectation of ascending to even the lowest of these; and the great body of believers have only to anticipate the consolations that flow from the transmigration of souls. As regards punishments, a series have been devised to suit the capacities of the people, and the irregular propensities of life. The institutes of *Menu* affirm, that he who steals grain in the husk becomes a rat; should he take water, he is to be a diver; if honey, a large gnat; and if flesh, he is to be transformed into a vulture. The next birth of one who steals a deer or elephant, is into a wolf; and if a carriage be the object of his theft, he will subsequently become a camel. When once sunk from the human to the brute creation, the *Puranas* assert that he must pass through many millions of births before he regains the human form. Four hundred thousand more must then be experienced among the low classes, and one hundred thousand among the Brahmins, before he can attain the supreme felicity of absorption. Their system of punishment is not, however, confined to these terrestrial transmigrations. The all-multiplying system of the Hindoo theology has created a hundred thousand hells for the punishment of those whom inferior evils could not deter from the commission of the more heinous crimes. When the fatal moment arrives which changes their present existence, they are hurried away through the space of 688,000 miles, among the frightful rocks and eternal snows of the Himalaya Mountains, to the judgment seat of *Yama*, where his messengers wait to convey them to their respective places of punishment; and here, too, the state of retribution is adapted to the nature of the crime. The murderer is fed on flesh and blood; the adulterer is to be embraced by an image of red-hot iron; and the unmerciful to be unceasingly bitten by snakes. Having endured this state of "penal servitude" for a period proportionate to the magnitude of their crimes, the first step to restoration is to pass a long series of ages in the form of some degraded animal; whence they ascend in the scale of being already described.

The chief sects among the Hindoos, apart from the Brahminical order, were the Bhuddhists and the Jains. The former have long been expelled from Hindostan, where at one time they were numerous; and the Jains are also nearly extinct. The religion of the Sikhs was founded in 1469, at a village near Lahore; and it is described as "a creed of pure deism, grounded on the most sublime general truths, blended with the belief of all the absurdities of Hindoo mythology and the fables of Mohammedanism." The entire system of Hindoo theology is preserved in the *Vedas*, or Sacred Books. They have many popular systems of moral philosophy; but the avowed design of all is, "to teach the means by which eternal beatitude may be obtained after death, if not before it."

Indian tradition refers to two ancient empires as having existed, of which the provinces of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Oude, and Allahabad formed the chief portions. Ayodha or Oude, and Pratishtana or Vitora, were the names of the capitals; and two

families, called the children of the Sun and of the Moon, whose origin is ascribed to Oude, ruled over them. Other kingdoms were subsequently founded, but have been lost sight of in the mists of remote antiquity; and thus, in any attempt hitherto made to trace the "*origin*" of most of the chief or independent states of India, the historian is lost amidst the labyrinths of uncertainty and the romance of tradition, as preserved to us by the poetry of native sages and annalists. The kingdom of **BENGAL**, the existing theatre of unparalleled barbarities, is referred to in the *Maha Bharat*, a poem of high antiquity; and another record, of equal authority, continues the succession of its line of kings, through nine dynasties, to the period of the Mohammedan conquest in 1203, when its independence was finally trampled under foot. The kingdom of **MALWA**—illustrious for its monarch Vicramadyta, the Haroun al Raschid of Hindoo-Arabic story, and of whose universal rule tradition is yet eloquent throughout India—was of less ancient foundation, but is far enough distant to be lost in the dim obscurity of the early history of the country. **GUZERAT**, from the circumstance of its having been the residence of *Krishna*, an incarnation of *Vishnu* (the preserver), would necessarily have had early existence as an independent state. **CASHMERE** is asserted by its historians to have existed, as an independent state, twenty-six centuries before the Christian era, and its last monarch was vanquished and deposed by the Sultan Mahmood, A.D. 1015. **DELHI** is mentioned in the *Maha Bharat* as subject to a Rajpoot line of princes, whose last representative was dethroned in 1050 by an ancestor of the Prithwi Rajah, who, in his turn, was dethroned by the Mohammedans in 1192. **BENARES** appears to possess the same title to antiquity as *Delhi*, with whose ruin, as an independent state, that of Benares is contemporaneous. **MITHILI** existed in the days of Rama, the ruler of a populous kingdom in Hindostan, and hero of the *Ramayana*, the oldest Hindoo epic poem now extant. Upon the death of Rama, he was acknowledged and honoured as an incarnation of *Vishnu* (the preserver), already mentioned as the second of the three persons or principles of the Hindoo Triad. **GOUR**, also mentioned in the *Maha Bharat*, existed as a state until about A.D. 1231. **SINDE**, referred to in the same metrical record, was an independent state in the days of Alexander, and, with the neighbouring territories, was also subjugated by the Mohammedans. **MEWAR**, **JESSULMER**, and **TRIPUR**, founded respectively A.D. 720, 731, and 967, also maintained their independence at the same period. **AMJEER** may be traced back through seven generations before 695, and fell with Delhi in 1192. The **PUNJAB**, or "country of the five rivers"—viz., the Behul (*Hydaspes* of the Greeks), the Chunaub (or *Ascines*), the Ravee (or *Hydraotes*), the Beyah (or *Hyphasis*), and the Sutlej (or *Hezudrus*)—has, from remote antiquity, been divided into several minor independent states; but tradition yet points to the existence of one great city or capital, which is supposed to have occupied the site of the present city of Lahore. The history of the **DECCAN** commences at a date long anterior to that of Hindostan proper; and the five distinct languages yet in use among the inhabitants, are held to denote an equal number of early national divisions, of which the country of Dravira, occupying the extreme south of the peninsula, is the most ancient. **MAHARASHTA**, or the Mahratta country, situated on the borders of the Deccan, and of vast extent, is but vaguely noticed by annalists until about 250 B.C., when Tagara, the capital of a line of kings of the Rajpoot family of Silar, is first mentioned as one of the two great marts of the south of India. An era, commencing with a new line of chiefs,

opened upon *Maharashtra* A.D. 77; and the country remained under the independent rule of native chiefs, or princes, until the several states were united under a ruler named *Sevajee*, who, early in the seventeenth century, acquired supreme authority over the whole. He made war with *Aurungzebe*, and, invading the province of *Golconda* with 40,000 horsemen, placed *Mahratta* governors in all the towns and fortresses. At his death, in 1682, his territory extended 400 miles in length, and 120 in breadth. The independence of the entire country was ultimately destroyed by the result of the battle of *Paniput*,* which occurred in 1760.

The first recorded invasion of the countries beyond the *Indus*, after the incursions of the *Scythians*, of which merely tradition remains, was undertaken by the *Greeks*, led by *Alexander the Great*, about 327 years prior to the *Christian era*. This monarch entered the country with an army consisting of 120,000 infantry and 15,000 horse; and the progress of the vast body of invaders was quickly to be traced by its conquests, and the memorials of triumph scattered on its route, consisting of cities and military stations or colonies. The *Greek* host did not meet with any effectual resistance to its advance, except in that division of the country now known as *Affghanistan*, on the high lands of which the campaign was signalled by the determined resistance of the mountain tribes, and the sanguinary barbarity of their invaders. Having crossed the *Indus*, after many severe conflicts with the native armies, *Alexander* arrived at the banks of the *Jhelum*, where he was met by a chief, or prince, named *Porus*, who gave him battle, but was defeated, with the loss of 21,000 men. The conqueror hereupon founded two cities as memorials of his success—one near the field of battle, named *Nicea*; the other at the spot where his army crossed the *Jhelum*, naming it *Bucephala*, in honour of his horse, which had died of fatigue, and wounds, and old age, in the hour of his master's triumph. From this place the conqueror pursued his aggressive course through rich and populous districts north of the territory of *Porus*, to the river *Chenab*, anciently called *Chandra bagha*, "the *Moon's Gift*;" receiving on his way the submission of thirty-seven cities, each containing more than 5,000 inhabitants; and he at length reached *Sangala*, a city of great strength and importance, which appears to have occupied nearly the same site as the modern capital of the *Sikh* monarchy—*Lahore*. In front of this city a tremendous conflict ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the *Sangalans*, with a loss of 17,000 slain and 70,000 prisoners: the victory cost *Alexander* 1,200 killed and wounded; and the determined resistance he met with so enraged the conqueror, that the city was levelled with the ground, and its inhabitants distributed as slaves among the victors. *Alexander* proceeded hence in a south-eastern direction, receiving the submission of the native princes and people as he advanced towards the *Ganges*; but having, after a succession of difficulties, at length reached the river *Hyphasis* (the *Gharra*), just above its junction

* *Paniput*, fifty miles north by west from the city of *Delhi*, possesses an historic interest, from having been the scene of two of the greatest battles ever fought in *Hindustan*, and each of them decisive of the rule of the country. The first was in the year 1525, between the army of *Baber* and that of the *Delhi* *Patan* emperor, *Ibrahim Lodi*, in which the latter was slain, and his army totally routed. With him the *Affghan* dynasty of *Lodi* terminated, and that of *Timour* commenced. The second of these battles occurred in 1760, between the combined *Mohammedan* army, commanded by *Ahmed Shah Abdalla*, the sovereign of *Cabul*, and that of the *Mahrattas*, commanded by the *Bhow Sedasiva*. Of all descriptions of men, women, and children, there were said to have been 500,000 in the *Mahratta* camp, of whom the greater part were killed or taken prisoners; and of those who escaped, many were killed by the *zemindars*.

with the Hesudrus (Sutlej), his army, disheartened by the hardships and fatigue they had been subjected to, refused to proceed, and demanded to be led homeward. After ineffectual efforts to prevail on the soldiers to attempt further conquests, Alexander was necessitated to retrace his steps; and having embarked with his light troops in vessels built for him during the interval the army remained inactive, he descended the Hydaspes to the Indian Ocean, on his way home. Some two years after this period, while planning a magnificent capital for his Asiatic empire, the Macedonian hero was suddenly stricken down by the combined influences of fever and the wine-cup, and his career was closed by death, at Babylon, in the thirty-second year of his age, 323 years B.C.

After the death of Alexander, and the division of his conquests, India fell to the lot of Seleucus Nicator, one of his generals, who resuming arms, penetrated to the Ganges, and established himself in the capital of Sandoacothis, king of the Prasii, whom he had vanquished, and whose territory he added to the conquests of Alexander.

Beyond the partial invasion and transient occupancy of the Persians, little is known of the history of Hindostan from the time of Seleucus until the Mohammedan invasion, A.D. 664. The cities or military colonies founded by Alexander, deprived by his premature death of the stimulus attendant upon his successes and his name, soon languished and fell into decay; but the impulse given to commerce by his conquests, through the distribution of the rich and varied productions of the country, will always stamp the epoch in which he lived, and the achievements of his armies, with singular importance. At this time India was frequented by traders from all parts of Europe—adventurers who sought, by a long and tedious route, the great marts of commerce he had newly opened and re-established in the far-distant East. The principal articles of commerce brought from India at that remote period, consisted of ivory, precious stones, cotton and silk fabrics, gums, spices, and costly dyes, which were exchanged for the precious metals in the shape of European coin, which the natives melted down for the purpose of adorning their temples and public buildings, and enriching the shrines and altars of their deities; in which condition much of it was preserved, until temples, altars, and gold became the booty of Mohammedan captors. During the interval between the conquests of Alexander and the invasion of the Sultan Mahmood (A.D. 1001), the general condition of the independent states of Hindostan and the Deccan is represented as prosperous, the people contented, and the arts of civilised life as being widely diffused over the country.

The invasions of the Arabs and the Affghans commenced in the seventh century, and their successes were chiefly owing to the discipline of the soldiers and the weight and mettle of their horses. The country at this time was, for the greater part, apportioned among various tribes of a people designated Rajpoots, who, by reason of physical inferiority and the feeble breed of their horses, were unable to encounter the hardy mountaineers of Affghanistan, or the subtle and ferocious children of the Desert. The soldiers of Mahmood therefore obtained an easy conquest; and the beautiful provinces of Hindostan fell progressively into the hands of new and more energetic masters.

Among the numerous incursions of the Moslem armies over the plains of Hindostan, the expedition of the Sultan Mahmood, in 1024, was the most important and productive. This invasion was set on foot for the single purpose of destroying a magnificent temple at Somnauth in Guzerat, esteemed as the most wealthy and celebrated throughout India.

The edifice was dedicated to *Siva*, by his title of "Swayan Nath," or "the Self-existent," and it contained an idol of black stone, of prodigious dimensions, for the ablutions of which water was daily brought by the worshippers from the sacred stream of the Ganges 1,000 miles distant; its priests, dancing-women, and musicians, were numbered by hundreds; kings devoted their daughters to the service of the temple, and several princes contributed together the revenues of 2,000 villages for the maintenance of the idol and its attendants. The priests had vauntingly asserted, that "the sins of the people of Delhi and Kanouze had occasioned their subjection to the fury of Mohammedan conquerors; whereas *their* god would have blasted the whole army of the tyrant Mahmood in the twinkling of an eye." Enraged at the insolence of this boast, and to prove its utter insignificance, Mahmood determined upon a perilous expedition; for, besides other difficulties in the path, his troops had to march nearly 400 miles through a desert of loose sand and clay, that was destitute of forage or water; and the temple itself stood on a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a fortified isthmus, vigilantly guarded by soldiers dedicated to the service of the idol, who were animated by a belief that the huge array of the Mohammedan invader was only permitted to approach the vicinity of the temple, that it might be offered to their god as an atonement for the desecrated shrines that marked the progress and ravage of the Sultan's former invasions. Upon the assault being made, the Mohammedans, who had advanced with their war-cry of "*Alla hú Akber!*" (God is great), were twice beaten back, and the worshippers of *Siva* were exultant in the power of their idol: but a third and desperate assault was given, and it was irresistible; the Hindoos were driven from the walls with immense and indiscriminate slaughter, and a general rout ensued, leaving the assailants masters of the position. When Mahmood, attended by his sons, and surrounded by his chief officers, at length entered the temple, they were dazzled by the magnificence that was presented to them on every side. The priests piteously besought the conqueror to spare their idol, offering its weight in gold for its preservation; but he sternly refused their prayers and their offers, and himself gave the signal for its destruction by a blow with his mace. The example of the Sultan was instantly followed by his attendants; and the figure, which was hollow, was battered to pieces: it contained treasure to a fabulous amount, in diamonds and other costly jewels—a circumstance that accounted for the tenacity with which the Brahmins clung to the desire for its preservation. The spoils of this vast temple far exceeded any acquired by the Moslems on any previous occasion; and the building, after being thoroughly ransacked by the soldiers, was destroyed; its magnificent gates of sandal-wood, 16½ feet high, and 13½ wide, being removed by the captors to Ghuzni; and upon the death of the Sultan Mahmood, in 1030, they were affixed to a splendid mausoleum erected over his remains; and continued so attached until the year 1842, when they were recaptured by English troops, and carried back from the Affghan city to their original station at Somnauth, by order of Lord Ellenborough, the then governor-general.

The empire of Mahmood extended over a much larger territory than had been governed by any Asiatic conqueror before his time; from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean, and from Georgia and Bagdad to the Ganges, the various populations were submissive to his authority. It is during the reign of this powerful monarch that we first trace the existence of the rajahs of Delhi, or Indraput, the founders of a dominion afterwards famous as the empire of the Moguls.

Of the immediate descendants of Mahmood, and the conquests of his successors on the throne of India—the sanguinary policy by which a long line of Mogul emperors achieved absolute dominion—the rebellions and assassinations by which the greater number of them consummated the one object of their ambition and treachery—it is not the purpose of this epitome to dilate upon. It may suffice briefly to record that, upon the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe, in 1707, the empire was, by his command, divided between his three sons. The consequence of this partition was a succession of civil wars between the brothers, and the ultimate extinction of the Mogul rule. In 1738 the country was invaded by the Persian emperor, Nadir Shah, who entered Delhi, the capital, without resistance; but a rumour having arisen, on the second day of the occupation, that the Shah was dead, the populace took up arms, and treacherously massacred nearly 7,000 of the Persian soldiers and their followers within the city. For this act of violence the conqueror immediately took ample revenge: the whole city was given up to pillage; the inhabitants to slaughter; and, in a few hours, utter desolation spread over the place. Many thousands of the people were destroyed; and it is stated that, upon this occasion, “more than 10,000 women threw themselves into the wells and tanks of the city, to escape the merciless fury of the conquerors; and that some of them were taken out alive, after being secreted among the dead bodies of their less fortunate countrywomen for two or three days.” This fearful visitation upon the doomed city occurred on the 15th of February, 1739; and, after remaining among the ruins and the slain for fifty-eight days, the conqueror withdrew his army, sated with revenge and laden with spoil. The total value of the property carried away upon this occasion, was estimated, at the time, at seventy millions sterling.

The victory that led to the capture of Delhi put an end to the power of the Mogul emperors, although a dynasty of the imperial house nominally filled the throne until the year 1760, when the reigning emperor, Alum Shah, became a tributary of the English East India Company.

ENGLISH DOMINION IN INDIA.

The rise and progress of British domination in India affords a theme for the historian that it would be impossible to discuss satisfactorily within the limits proposed for this Introduction. We shall, however, glance at some of the more prominent features of this portion of Eastern history, for the purpose of connecting the periods and events to which reference have already been made, with the recent supremacy of a company of English merchants, over the vast empire it has acquired by progressive steps, and by the union of consummate ability with indomitable perseverance and resistless valour.

In the reign of Henry VIII., one Robert Thorne, an opulent merchant of Bristol, who had become acquainted with some of the advantages obtained by the Portuguese through their intercourse with India, memorialised the king upon the subject, and obtained permission to fit out two vessels for the purposes of discovery and traffic: the king also furnished other two vessels on his own account, to accompany the expedition, which sailed from this country in 1527; but the result did not meet the expectations of the projectors—one of the king's vessels being lost, and the other three returning without having effected anything. Other attempts were made, during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, to discover a north-west passage to the Indies; but they also ended

in disappointment, until, in 1591, one vessel out of three dispatched by some London merchants, reached the island of Sumatra. In 1596, another expedition, which produced no advantageous result, was sent out; but the merchants of England, stimulated by the successes of those of the United Provinces, were not to be deterred by these repeated failures, and, on the 22nd of September, 1599, the Lord Mayor presided at a meeting of the merchants at Founders' Hall, and a company was formed for the purpose of opening and carrying on trade with India. Under the first charter granted, the company was formed into a corporation for fifteen years, under the title of "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies;" and the capital subscribed for the purpose amounted to £30,000, divided into 101 shares. The public did not at first look favourably upon the project, and some difficulty arose in getting the shareholders to pay their subscriptions. Ultimately another effort was made, under more auspicious circumstances, and a second association of adventurers came forward with funds to the amount of £88,773, with which they joined the original projectors; and, with the united capital, five ships were speedily fitted out, and placed under the command of Captain James Lancaster, who sailed from Torbay on the 22nd of April, 1601, with (as it afterwards proved) the foundations of a mighty empire in his charge. The little fleet, after surmounting the perils of the almost unknown seas, reached Acheen (a port in the island of Sumatra) on the 5th of June, 1602, having occupied nearly fourteen months on the voyage out. The sovereign of Acheen gave his stranger-guests a cordial reception, with permission to erect a building for a factory, or store, and to make exports and imports free of duty. Captain Lancaster completed his homeward cargo at Bantam, in Java, where he also obtained leave to establish a factory, which, in point of date, was the first actual possession of the English in the East Indies. The ships under his guidance reached home in safety; and the result of the voyage having been eminently favourable to the adventurers, other ships were dispatched, and were productive of the like auspicious results. The hostile interference of the Portuguese and Dutch traders who had long preceded those of England in the intercourse with India, was the only drawback upon the rising prosperity of the English Company, whose profits, during the last twelve years of the term granted to it by the original charter, reached 138 per cent.

In 1609, the united Company obtained a second charter from James I., which confirmed their privileges, and granted the exclusive liberty of trading to the East Indies, to the governor and members for ever, instead of for fifteen years, as in the first instance. Three years after this the Company obtained permission to build a factory at Surat, in the Gulf of Cambay, under a treaty entered into with the governor of Ahmedabad, which was confirmed in 1613. This factory was the first possession of the East India Company on the peninsula of Hindostan; and it became the chief seat of its government in India for many years. In 1615, James I. dispatched an ambassador (Sir Thomas Roe) to the Mogul Jehanghir, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with that potentate. The ambassador was received courteously; and, at the expiration of two years from his arrival, returned to England, having accomplished the main objects of his mission. In 1617, the capital of the Company was augmented by a new subscription, amounting to £1,629,040; in raising which all classes of the people eagerly joined. The massacre of some individuals composing the English factory at Amboyna, by the Dutch, in 1622, and the virulent hostility of the Portuguese settlers, with the newly-awakened rivalry of

a French company of merchant adventurers, in some degree for a time impeded the prosperity of the Company; but it nevertheless continued to flourish, and gradually acquired a footing and importance in the land. In 1624, the East India Company assumed, and, for the first time, exercised the functions of an independent government, under a grant from the king, of authority to govern its several establishments by civil or military law, at its discretion. In 1634, the Shah Jehan granted permission to the Company to trade with Bengal; and, five years afterwards, a tract of land on the Coromandel coast, extending five miles along the shore, and one mile up the country, was obtained from the Hindoo authorities at Chandernagerry. Upon this piece of ground a fort was afterwards erected, and designated Fort St. George, which soon became the nucleus of a densely inhabited district, and formed the cradle of the present magnificent city of Madras, which, in 1653, became the capital of the presidency called by its name. In 1652, the Company obtained a large accession to the advantages and privileges already possessed, through the good feeling of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the disinterested conduct of Mr. Gabriel Boughton, a physician in its service, who, having restored the daughter of the Shah to health, requested the only recompense for his skill might be—leave for his employers to trade throughout the dominions of the emperor, exempt from all duties or taxes; and also to be allowed to build and establish factories at their discretion. Soon after this event a settlement was made, by permission of the emperor, at Hooghly, on the Ganges, about twenty-three miles above Calcutta, which was then considered subordinate to the government of Surat. In 1698, that government was removed to Calcutta; a factory was established; and a fort—named, in compliment to the English sovereign then upon the throne, “Fort William”—was built for its defence. A few years subsequently (1709), the seat of the chief government of the East India Company was transferred from Surat to Calcutta, “the City of Palaces,” where it has since remained.

The island of Bombay, upon which the town of that name has been built by the English, had been granted by the Mogul government to the Portuguese in 1630, and was transferred by them to the English crown in 1662, as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine upon her marriage with Charles II.; who, in 1668, sold it to the Company in perpetuity. Sixteen years afterwards Bombay was declared an independent settlement; and in 1687 it was made the capital of a presidency, and the government was removed from Surat. The first governor of Bombay, Sir John Child, by bad government and treacherous policy, involved the Company in a short war with the Emperor Aurungzebe, and embarrassed its affairs to such an extent, that the dividends of the Company had to be reduced; and the difficulties could only be surmounted by the formation of a new association, which, after a great deal of contention, was grafted upon the original stock; and a charter, incorporating the two, was granted in 1702. By this act, the management of the affairs of the Company was placed in the hands of proprietors of a certain amount of stock, who chose from among themselves the Executive Directory. The now important business of the Company was arranged under various heads of departmental authority; and the three presidencies were severally governed by a president, assisted by a council—each being independent of the other; but all subject to the control of the supreme authority in England.

In 1711, Madras—which, of all the Company’s possessions, appeared then to be the most important as a commercial and populous city—is described by a local historian as

“a port of the greatest consequence to the East India Company, for its strength, wealth, and the great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslin.” The same writer states, that it was “divided into two cities—the English city and the Black city; both being strongly fortified with plenty of guns and much ammunition, which rendered it a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it, whose singular decorum is highly praised.”

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Mogul empire had already been materially reduced from its limits, when at the zenith of its prosperity, by the disjunction of many of its most valuable provinces. Cabul, Sindh and Moultan, Cashmere, the Punjab, Malwa, and Oude, had each asserted their independence, and were governed by their own chiefs. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were united under one ruler, Ali Verdi Khan; and the six provinces of the Deccan—an extensive tract of country between Hindostan proper and the peninsula—were subject to the rule of the Nizam Ool-Moolk. The Rohillas had asserted their right to self-government in Rohilkund; and the Mahrattas, who by their restlessness and hostile incursions among the states around, kept the whole of them in an insecure position, were busily planting themselves for a permanency wherever they could find ground for an encampment. The native powers were thus enfeebled by divisions and disruptions among themselves, when the struggle commenced between the two greatest European monarchies, that ultimately gave to England not only the victory over her Gallic rival, but also over the whole Hindoo and Moslem races of the Indian peninsula, the Mogul empire, and all the minor states that had once acknowledged its supremacy. At this time, however, it would seem that the mere acquisition of territory was not an object of solicitude on the part of the Company, as, in the instructions forwarded from London to the three presidencies, in 1716, it was said, “as our business is trade, it is not politic for us to be encumbered with much territory.” And again, in 1721, some five years subsequent, the Court of Directors wrote to the president and council of Bengal—“Remember, we are not fond of much territory!” It would be indecent to doubt the sincerity of the honourable Company in this respect at the period referred to; but the fact supplies a melancholy instance of the contradictions and mortifications that afflict self-denying humility; while the history of the involuntary aggrandisement of the Company illustrates the idea of the poet—“Some men are born to honours; some have honours thrust upon them.”

In the year 1773, the imperial legislature considered it expedient that the home government should have some right of interference with the management of the colossal possessions of the East India Company; and consequently an act was obtained placing the administration of the government of India in the hands of a governor-general, nominated by the crown, and approved by the Court of Directors. By this act, Calcutta was declared to be thenceforth the seat of government, and of the high courts of judicature; the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay being declared subordinate to that of Bengal. The first and only governor-general appointed by the crown under this act, was the celebrated Warren Hastings, whose successors have been nominated by the Board of Directors, subject to the approval of the government; and the absolute and irresponsible power of sovereignty over nearly one hundred millions of people was retained by the Court of Directors until the year 1784, when the “India Bill” of Mr. Pitt was passed, which gave to the crown a right of interference in the management of

an immense and powerful empire, acquired by a small portion of its subjects, and hitherto independent of its control or right of interference. By this measure, the Board of Control for the affairs of India was established, and through it the government of the sovereign is exercised. Although the Company was deprived of its monopoly of the trade with India in 1833, and in 1853 the constitution of the Court of Directors was materially altered, the act of 1784 still forms the basis of the actual constitution of British India, and is the source of the existing powers by which the affairs of that rich, populous, and extensive empire are directed.

The appointment of the governor-general is now virtually in the hands of the minister for the time being; for although by the act of 1774 the assent of the Court of Directors is necessary to render the appointment valid, that assent is never refused to a nominee of the crown. In 1844, the Company, by an unprecedented act, asserted its right to interfere in this important appointment, by recalling Lord Ellenborough from his post, not only without the sanction or concurrence of the government, but even in direct opposition to its expressed wish that his lordship should continue to execute the high functions of his office.

The supreme court of justice in British India was established by the act of 1774, and consists of one chief and three puisne judges. Its seat is at Calcutta, and its civil and criminal jurisdiction extends over all British subjects, as well as over all other persons in the employ of the Company. Courts of justice are also established in each of the other presidencies; and tribunals for the administration of the Hindoo laws are scattered over the country.

The members of the civil service in the employ of the Company are divided into two classes—the *Covenanted* and *Uncovenanted*; the first-mentioned being the highest in rank; its members being trained for their employment under the immediate supervision of the Company in England, and are appointed, according to their efficiency, by the Court of Directors. The uncovenanted servants of the Company in India are principally natives and half-castes—a mixture of the native and European populations.

For facilitating the administration of justice, and the collection of revenues, &c., British India has been divided into 160 judicial districts, each comprising, upon an average, 4,000 square miles, and 700,000 inhabitants. In each district, there are ten or twelve revenue divisions; and the number of civil servants, of each class, in the employ of the Company, including the police establishment, ranges from 130,000 to 150,000 persons. By an act of the legislature, the service of the Company is now open to all classes among the subjects of the crown of England, who can show their competency for appointment.

The declaration of war by Louis XV., in 1744, aroused the energies of this country, and gave rise to hostile movements in India, as well as in Europe, that continued for nearly half a century, and eventuated in the signal triumph of the British nation over its antagonists in every quarter of the globe.

The military power of the Company since 1654-'5, when from economical motives the garrison of Madras was reduced by order of the Board of Directors to ten soldiers only, has been progressively augmented, until, at the commencement of 1857, it had attained the enormous aggregate of 350,000 men, of which 44,000 only were Europeans; the bulk being composed of sepoys and other native soldiers. The whole of this immense

body of troops has been drilled and led through successive fields of victory by English officers, and was considered to be in a high state of efficiency. The governor-general for the time being is the supreme head of this vast native army, which is also governed by a commander-in-chief, as in England.

In the rivalry that sprung up between France and England, in the early part of the eighteenth century, both kingdoms lavished unsparingly life and treasure, deeply injuring each other's resources, and grievously retarding their mutual growth in Christian civilisation and commercial prosperity. Spain, then a great colonial and naval power, sided with France, while England had to withstand their united force, and, at the same time, to bear up against the disturbances connected with the Hanoverian succession, and the long struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States. Sea and land witnessed the strife. In *North America*—at Quebec, Louisberg, and on the Mississippi; in the *West Indies*—at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the Caribbee Islands; in *Africa*—at Goree and Senegal; in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic*—at Minorca and Belleisle; and on the *European continent*, prolonged hostilities were waged: while in India a contest commenced which lasted sixty years, the prize there fought for being nothing less than the establishment of a powerful European dominion in the very heart of Asia. It is not to be supposed that the trading societies who first gained a footing amid the confusion of falling dynasties and usurping chiefs, foresaw from the commencement of the conflict the marvellous results with which their operations were to be attended. None of the officers of the old-established English Company had any desire for the acquisition of sovereignty, nor had they the inducement which might have been afforded by an insight into the actual condition of India. The general indifference manifested by the servants of the various European companies towards the attainment of Asiatic languages, long tended to prevent their acquiring this knowledge, even when the course of events plainly demonstrated its importance. Moreover, the English and French associations were both poor, and extremely unwilling to enter upon a costly warfare, respecting the issue of which no reasonable conjecture could be formed. The representatives of the latter body became first inspired with an irrestrainable desire to take part in the strife and intrigue by which they were surrounded; and the connection which subsisted between the government and the French Company, enabled two great speculators to obtain, through the influence of the minister, a sanction for their daring adventures, which the partners of a purely mercantile association would, if they could, have withheld. Even had the two states in Europe continued at peace, it was next to impossible that their subjects in India should bear a share in the disputes of neighbouring princes without soon coming to open hostility with each other; but the national declarations of war brought matters to an immediate crisis.

The English were the first to receive reinforcements from home. A squadron of four vessels appeared off the coast of Coromandel, in July, 1745, having previously captured three richly-laden French vessels on their voyage from China. The garrison of Pondicherry contained only 436 Europeans, and the fortifications were incomplete. Dupleix, the governor, fearing that the place would be taken before he could obtain succour, made earnest representations to the nabob, Anwar-oo-deen, and succeeded in inducing him to interfere for the protection of Pondicherry, by threatening to revenge upon Madras any injury which should be inflicted upon French possessions within the

limits of his government. At the same time, the nabob declared his intention of compelling the French, in the event of their acquiring additional strength, to abstain equally from offensive proceedings. Mogul power had not yet lost its *prestige*: that of England was still to be won; consequently the determined language of the nabob intimidated the Madras presidency, and induced them to prevent the fleet from attacking Pondicherry, and to confine their operations to the sea. In the June of the following year a French squadron arrived in the Indian Ocean, under the command of La Bourdonnais, who had equipped the ships with great difficulty at the Mauritius, and, when afterwards dismantled by a hurricane, had refitted them at Madagascar. An indecisive action took place between the rival fleets, after which the French commander proceeded to Pondicherry, and there requested a supply of cannon, wherewith to attack Madras; and having at length obtained a scanty reinforcement of guns, he set sail for Madras, against which place he commenced operations on the 3rd of September, 1746.

The fortifications of the city had been neglected, owing to the financial embarrassment of the East India Company. There was little ammunition in store, and the soldiers were few, and of a very indifferent description. The total number of Europeans in the settlement did not exceed 300, and of these about two-thirds were included in the garrison. As might be expected, no very determined resistance was offered. The town was bombarded for several days, and four or five of the inhabitants were killed by the explosion of shells, after which a capitulation was agreed upon, by virtue of which the assailants entered Madras as victors, without the loss of a single man, but on the express condition that the settlement should be restored on easy and honourable terms. Among the persons included in the capitulation of the city was Robert Clive, then a writer, or civil servant, in the Company's service, who some years subsequently exchanged the pen for the sword, and, at the head of the Company's armies, carved out an empire for his masters, and, for himself, a colossal fortune and a title.

This extraordinary man appeared on the scene as the avenger of an unparalleled atrocity, and as the founder of the British empire in the East. In the year 1756, a vicious and despotic youth, named Surajah Dowlah, ascended the viceregal throne. Entertaining an implacable hatred against England and the English, he invested and captured Calcutta, chiefly with a view to obtain the wealth he believed the merchants to have accumulated. The governor and military commandant fled; and when the fort was captured, the Englishmen taken prisoners amounted only to 146. The nabob consented to spare their lives; and after complaining of the smallness of the treasure he had found, retired to rest.

"Then," to quote the unrivalled description of Macaulay—"then was committed that great crime, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards, and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the 'Black Hole.' Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was 146. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers

were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them. Nothing in history, or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was, that nothing could be done without the nabob's orders—that the nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if any one awoke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies—raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, 123 in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.”

The horror and excitement of the English at Madras (which had again reverted to their possession), on hearing the news of this terrible deed of wanton tyranny, was intense, and they sent a military and naval force, under Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, to attempt to punish the nabob, and save the British settlement at Bengal. They had selected the right man to avenge the fate of his unhappy countrymen, and to teach the dusky and capricious tyrants of the East that English blood could not be unjustly shed without the exaction of a terrible retribution. The bravery of Clive (who had won from the natives the name of Sabat Jung, “the daring in war”), and, probably, his treachery also, enabled him to succeed beyond the most sanguine expectations. Triumph followed triumph; and at the memorable battle of Plassy, Clive, at the head of 3,000 men, of whom less than one-third were British, in one hour completely routed an army of 55,000 men, led by Surajah Dowlah. The young savage was deposed, and Meer Jaffier, his vizier, was rewarded for treachery to his late master by the vacant throne. This irresolute and feeble-minded man being raised to the supreme power in Bengal by the English, became little more than their instrument. In reality, they governed in his name. Surajah Dowlah, who had fled on his swiftest elephant from the field of battle, was discovered some nights afterwards, in a famishing condition, in a deserted garden. Some women who had accompanied him were endeavouring to prepare a dish of rice and pulse, when they were discovered and betrayed by a man whose ears the despot had caused to be cut off about a twelvemonth before. Meeran, the son of Meer Jaffier, confined the tyrant in a chamber, where he was shortly after murdered.

The directors of the East India Company, on receiving news of Colonel Clive's success, appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, and Meer Jaffier came to regard him with slavish awe and as an instrument of destiny. Shah Alum, the eldest son of the Great Mogul (for that potentate yet retained a shadow of power), collected an army of 40,000 men, with the design of overthrowing Meer Jaffier and expelling the English. It was in vain; the genius of Clive was in the ascendant, and this army melted away at the mere terror of his name. After defeating an attempt, on the part of the Dutch, to wrest from the English their ascendancy in India, Clive returned in 1760, with an income of £40,000 a-year, to England, where he was received with honours, and raised to the peerage. Great confusion arose in Bengal during his absence; and at the solicitation of the Company, Clive (then Lord Clive) sailed again to the shores of India, and reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Such had been the corrupt conduct of the Company's servants, and the misery they had brought upon the natives, that on his arrival he exclaimed, "I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrevocably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt." His commanding will destroyed oppression, preserved peace, and still further extended the British power. When, after a stay of eighteen months, he returned for the last time to England, he left the representatives of the Company the actual rulers of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. The right to collect the revenues of these districts was purchased from the feeble Mogul; and the son of Meer Jaffier, thus deprived of a power he was unable to wield, was consoled with a pension. On his return to England, Lord Clive experienced the ingratitude of a nation that had once covered him with honours: he sunk into a desponding state, and, in his forty-ninth year, terminated his existence by suicide.

We may not here pause to trace the career of Warren Hastings, who rose from a clerkship at Calcutta to be the first governor-general of India. Endowed with a large mind and a cold heart, calm, scheming, and unscrupulous, this extraordinary man preserved and extended the dominion Clive had won. The kingdom of Mysore, an extensive tract of Southern India, whose lofty table-lands, swept by the cooling breezes of the Indian Ocean, bred a more hardy and manly race than the lower plains of Hindostan, was governed by an able Mohammedan adventurer, named Hyder Ali. This man, originally only a common soldier, and so illiterate as to be unable either to read or write, impelled by a daring ambition, and sustained by great capacity, seized the kingdom of Mysore, and seated himself upon the throne of Seringapatam. War arose between Hyder Ali and the English presidency of Madras, and the latter found him the most formidable enemy with whom they had to contend in effecting the conquest of India. In the month of June, 1780, he led an army of 20,000 regular infantry and 70,000 horsemen into the Carnatic, and gave towns and villages, in every direction, to the flames. The wretched inhabitants were slaughtered, without respect to sex or age, and thousands who escaped the sword perished by famine, or were driven away before the goading spears of their captors, to be sold as slaves. Hyder interposed his living torrents between the two small English armies commanded by Colonel Baillie and by Sir Hector Monro, and then overwhelmed

the former with numbers, and compelled the latter to retreat. Bodies of the wild Mysorean horse dashed up almost to the gates of Madras, and the British empire in Southern India trembled on the verge of ruin.

The news speedily reached Calcutta, and the emergency brought the great genius of Warren Hastings into action. It has been truly observed that it is invariably in a crisis of this kind that the really great acquire an ascendancy. The timid shrink from responsibility, the multitude clamour for submission, but the brave and intrepid stand forth as the deserving leaders of mankind. He dispatched the brave veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, with a small force to the assistance of his countrymen; and superseding the incapable council of Madras, took upon himself the supreme direction of affairs. The ability and wisdom of his master-mind soon made itself apparent. The progress of Hyder Ali was checked; siege after siege was raised; and at length the forces of the Mohammedan chieftain were, after a struggle of six hours' duration, driven in wild, disorderly flight from the battle-field of Cuddalore. Hyder Ali died in December, 1782, at the advanced age of eighty-two, bequeathing to his son, Tippoo Saib, his kingdom and his hatred to the English.

In consequence of the severe censures cast upon his conduct in England, Mr. Hastings resigned his office as governor-general, and returned to England early in 1785. He was impeached by the House of Commons, and then followed that extraordinary trial, lasting 130 days, and extending over a period of seven years, which will ever be famous as one of the most remarkable judicial inquiries on record. Political motives, of an exceptionable character, on the part of the ministers, favoured the promoters of the trial; and after many tedious preliminaries, Warren Hastings appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and knelt before the tribunal of his country, in presence of one of the most remarkable assemblages ever convened in the great hall of William Rufus. Of the brilliant aristocracies of rank, talent, wealth, and beauty, of which England then boasted, few members were absent. The queen and princesses had come to witness the impeachment of a subject known to have enjoyed no ordinary share of royal favour, and to listen to the charges urged against him by the thrilling eloquence of Burke, the solid reasoning of Fox, and the exciting declamation of Sheridan. The trial commenced with a strong feeling on the part of the public against the accused; but it dragged on, like most state proceedings, until people ceased to care how it ended. At length, after seven years spent in law proceedings of a most tedious character, the wrongs inflicted in a distant clime, and at a distant period, became almost a matter of indifference: a sort of sympathy, such as is often felt for acknowledged criminals, took the place of lively indignation; and when the inquiry ended in the acquittal of Hastings, he was generally believed to have been sufficiently punished by the insuperable obstacles which his peculiar position had imposed to prevent his selection for any public office, and by the ruinous condition to which his finances had been reduced by the costly expenses, legitimate and illegitimate, of the painful ordeal through which he had passed. The law charges alone exceeded £76,000: so that Hastings, when finally dismissed, turned from the bar of the House of Lords an absolute pauper—worse than that—an insolvent debtor. The Company came to his relief with an annuity of £4,000 a-year, and a loan of £50,000, nearly half of which was converted into a gift; and they continued to aid him at intervals, in his ever-recurring difficulties, up to the period of his death, in 1818, aged eighty-six.

Lord Cornwallis succeeded to the rank of governor-general of India and commander-in-chief, in 1786, and the affairs of that vast Eastern peninsula were subjected to a department of the English government called the Board of Control. Cornwallis was directed to act in a pacific manner, but still soon found himself involved in a war with Tippoo Saib, who was intriguing with other native powers for the subversion of the English dominion. Tippoo was the aggressor; but he was defeated, and compelled to purchase peace with half his kingdom; to pay £3,500,000 as the expenses of the war; and to surrender his two sons as hostages. On the return of Lord Cornwallis to England, he, who had been sent out in the interests of peace, had added 24,000 square miles to its Eastern dominions.

Lord Cornwallis was succeeded as governor-general by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man whose abilities were respectable rather than great, and who also was partly chosen on account of his pacific disposition. During his four years' rule the scourge of war was rather delayed than averted. The English in India were to experience the truth of the observation of a French writer, that "in the light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility." They had no alternative but to go on conquering until their dominions were bounded by the snowy heights of the Himalayas, and the dark rolling waters of the Indus.

The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) was the next governor-general of India, and arrived at Madras in April, 1798. His attention was soon called to the intrigues of Tippoo Saib, who was negotiating with the French for the expulsion of the English from India, and for the assistance of a European force to aid in the accomplishment of that design. The elder brother of the "Iron Duke," the latter then a young and undistinguished soldier, was also a man of commanding talent. The illustrious and world-wide reputation since acquired by the younger brother, has thrown that of the elder one somewhat into the shade. When the latter entered on active life, his talents for business soon introduced him to the notice of government; but his predilection was so strongly evinced from the first for Oriental affairs, that nature appeared to have expressly formed him for the command of the East. At an age when most of his contemporaries were acquainted with the affairs of India only through the uncertain medium of distant report, or the casual hints of private conversation, he was fully master of the politics of Hindostan, and had already formed those clear and luminous views of the condition and situation of our power there which enabled him, from the very outset of his career, to guide with so steady a hand the complicated mazes of Indian diplomacy. He had for several years been an active member of the Board of Control, then under the able direction of Lord Melville, and had acquired, from his remarkable proficiency in the subject, a large share in the confidence of government.

The duplicity of Tippoo Saib was met by a declaration of war; and on the 5th of March, 1798, the British force, under General Harris, together with that of an allied native power, entered the Mysore territory and pressed forward upon its capital, Seringapatam. The storming of that famous city, the death of Sultan Tippoo, the overthrow of his dynasty, and the annexation of the territory of Mysore to the British dominions, demands a more lengthened notice than the limits of an Introduction will afford.

The new possessions of the British brought them into contact with a new enemy, the

Mahrattas, a powerful confederacy of northern native chieftains, of warlike and predatory habits, and who, when united, could bring no less than 200,000 horsemen into the field. These fierce tribes, but for their constant feuds with each other, would no doubt have subdued the whole of India, and founded a Mahratta dynasty. The most renowned of them were the rajahs of Berar, Scindia and Holkar, each of whose standards were followed by nearly 60,000 horsemen. The head of their confederation was styled the Peishwa, who, though his authority was little more than nominal, yet from his seat of government at Poonah, professed to execute treaties and issue orders binding on the whole allied states. That these wild and fierce warriors should view the approaches of the conquering strangers with feelings of alarm and bitterness, is not calculated to excite surprise. A more extensive war than had hitherto existed was commenced on the 4th of September, 1803; the fort of Allyghur was taken by storm, and the British colours planted on its walls. On the 11th of the same month, General Lake defeated 20,000 of the enemy, commanded by French officers, at the battle of Delhi, and captured that famous city, the ancient capital of Hindostan, and seat of the Mogul emperors. Further successes followed at Agra, at Ahmednuggur, at the noble city of Aurungabad; and at length the united powers of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, numbering 50,000 men, and supported by above a hundred pieces of cannon, were attacked and overthrown at Assaye, by Wellesley, with a force not exceeding 8,000 men, of whom not more than 1,500 were British troops. The Mahratta power thus shaken at Assaye, was completely humbled on the plains of Argaum. A few fortresses stood out for a while, but they fell before the warlike genius of General Wellesley, and Scindia and the Rajah of Berar were compelled to sue for peace. This was granted them at the price of an enormous territory; and the influence of the British was rendered paramount through the whole north of Hindostan. With this ended General Wellesley's career in India; and he returned to England in the March of 1805, to win still brighter laurels from more noble foes.

Passing from the crimsoned records of these mighty triumphs of the sword, there is much we may refer to, in the history of British domination in India, at which humanity rejoices, and which reason and Christianity recognise as their own work. The abolition of the cruel and soul-destroying rites of *Suttee*, by which women of all ages, in a state of widowhood, were compulsorily subjected to immolation upon the funereal pile of a deceased husband, was abolished. A restraint was put upon the fierce and absurd tortures to which ignorance and fanaticism had condemned the benighted inhabitants of India, when seeking to propitiate their gods; and the sanguinary and merciless sacrifices of human life that characterised the festivals of the demon idol Juggernaut, were prohibited. The unnatural practice of infanticide was repressed by the operation of a protective law, and a value was attached to human life that it never had possessed through the successive ages of native rule. The horrible practices of Thuggee were revealed, and the perpetrators of crime for crime's sake, were brought under the restraining and reforming influences of laws that were equally able to protect and to punish. Great as have been the triumphs of war upon the soil of Hindostan, those of peace, since its vast territory has owned the rule of Britain, may justly vie with them for the enduring nature of their benefits, and the humanising tendency of their influence over the impulsive and unreflecting races that inhabit it.

It is time to close our Introductory chapter, and we will not now stay to recapitulate

the contents of those dark pages of Anglo-Indian history, on which are inscribed the memories of blood-stained aggressions, the triumphs of systematic treachery, and the renown of those hard-won battle-fields, by means of which, severally and collectively, the territorial acquisitions of an association of the merchant princes of England have, between the days of Plassy and the middle of the nineteenth century, been extended to dimensions far exceeding those of the mightiest of the kingdoms of Europe, and have contributed to their treasury, wealth beyond calculation, and to their government, power without limit. Neither is it requisite we should stay to scrutinise in its details the morality of that successful diplomacy by which the gigantic power has been consolidated, or the influences by which, until within a few months past, the mental and physical energies of two hundred millions of people have been held in subjection to the rule of a government established many thousand miles away from them, and separated by vast oceans from the numerically feeble band of Europeans, by whose instrumentality the imperial policy of the "Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies," has been hitherto successfully carried out. It may suffice for the present purpose, to have briefly traced the more important steps by which India has progressively and continuously descended from a state of haughty independence and imperial splendour, until it has fallen to the position of a mere dependency upon an Island Empire, not equal in geographical extent to many of the kingdoms included within its own boundaries, and whose whole population amounts, in numbers, to less than one-sixth of the living inhabitants of its tributary empire.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN MUTINY.

CHAPTER I.

PREPONDERANCE OF NATIVES IN THE BENGAL ARMY; THE INCONVENIENCES OF "CASTE;" ALLEGED CAUSES OF DISCONTENT; THE GREASED CARTRIDGES; CONCESSION TO SEPOY PREJUDICES; MYSTERIOUS COMMUNICATIONS BY CHUPATTIES; AN INCENDIARY PLACARD; CONTEMPLATED OUTBREAK; LORD CLANRICARDE'S MOTION ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

WE shall now proceed to inscribe upon the pages of history the frightful details of a series of catastrophes, among which the lavish outpouring of innocent blood is the least evil to be deplored; to record acts of atrocity that compel manhood to blush for the species to which it belongs, and that have indelibly stained the annals of India and its people with crimes that disgrace the name of humanity. But, before opening the volume descriptive of events that have spread ruin over some of the fairest portions of the Anglo-Indian empire, and poured the blood of its women and children like water through the streets of its cities, it will be necessary to glance briefly at some of the probable causes that have led to such a succession of calamities, and to trace the earlier ebullitions of those feelings, on the part of the Hindoo and Moslem native soldiery, that have been developed by the perpetration of horrors that civilised human nature recoils from contemplating.

The germ of the late native army of Bengal sprang into vitality exactly a hundred years ago. In the month of January, 1757, when the atrocity of the Black Hole at Calcutta had been avenged by the defeat and signal punishment of Surajah Dowlah,

* As a proof of the dependence placed upon his native auxiliaries by the founder of the Anglo-Indian army, it may be observed, that the total European force with which Clive undertook the conquest of the great kingdom of Bengal, amounted but to 900 men; the remainder of his entire force of 3,100 being

and the authority of the English government had been firmly established by Lord Clive, the first battalion of Bengal sepoy was raised, and officered from a detachment that had accompanied him from Madras. The establishment of the new force consisted of one European captain, with a lieutenant and ensign, who acted as field-officers; a native commander and adjutant, one *subahdar* (captain), and three *jemadars* (subalterns), to each of the ten companies. The company consisted of five *havildars* (sergeants), four *naiks* (corporals), two *tom-toms* (drummers), one trumpeter, and seventy sepoy; and each company was distinguished by a colour, bearing the device or badge of recognizance of its *subahdar*. Upon such a foundation, and with such a slender European establishment for its *nucleus*, the vast military superstructure represented by the late native armies of Bengal had been progressively raised and perfected, by leaders who guided those armies from triumph to triumph, until the victor flag of England floated in proud supremacy over the strongholds of the most powerful of the native sovereigns of India.*

The religion prevalent among the sepoy composed of native troops; and yet with this mimic army in point of numbers, the crowning fight of Plassy was won, and a force of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and a strong train of artillery, was scattered like chaff before the wind. By this victory the imperial sceptre of India was ultimately obtained.

of the Bengal army, must necessarily be referred to in connection with events that have rendered it a prominent feature in their history. Brahminism and Mohamadanism have both their head-quarters within the extensive provinces of Bengal—the former among the fertile plains and settled populations of the provinces along the course of the sacred Ganges; the latter in the higher portions of the country in which the Moslem invader originally established his empire: but neither faith has ever pervaded the whole of India. In the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the older worships of the aboriginal or immigrant populations exist to this time, and are adhered to by more than sixteen millions of people. The consequence is, that the native armies of those presidencies are comparatively but little affected by religious questions; while that of Bengal, recruited for the most part from the very cradle of Brahminism, and principally composed of its two superior *castes*, has demanded, and obtained, a consideration for religious scruples, which gradually had impaired its discipline, and, ultimately, has led to its destruction.

The Brahmin sepoy, springing from a class which regards the profession of a soldier as only second in honour to that of a priest, occupies a position infinitely superior in pay, and all material comforts, to the native cultivator or the mechanic. In the field and in cantonment, he has been treated by his English employers, not merely on a par with, but, in many points, with superior consideration to that accorded to the European soldier in the same service. Indulged with regular furloughs to visit the shrines of his deities or the home of his family; entitled, as of unquestioned right, to a decoration for meritorious service; rising by seniority to preferment; and, finally, assured of a competent provision on retirement—no private soldier in the world enjoyed the advantages of his profession to the same extent, or with so few of its discomforts, as the Bengal sepoy. It is true, that through years of arduous struggle and well-fought campaigns, he has evinced his sense of the advantages of his position, by faithful service and a noble emulation of European heroism. But great as the loyalty—signal as the valour of the native armies of India has been since their first organisation and submission to British rule, instances of mutiny and desertion have not been wanting in their history. Occa-

sionally, a question of pay or provisions has supplied the motive for insubordination; but the most frequent and formidable ground of discontent has been that which presents itself at the present crisis, namely, a suspicion of meditated interference with the inviolable immunities of their faith and the privileges of their *caste*. Notwithstanding this, however, for part of the last century the confidence of the Anglo-Indian government in the loyalty of its native troops has been implicit; and it was but natural, therefore, that as territory became progressively acquired, and necessity arose for an augmentation of troops for its protection, that the native element should be largely absorbed in the consolidation of military strength. The result has followed, that, by degrees, the single battalion of Clive, in 1757, had swollen and spread over the country until, at the commencement of 1857, it was represented, in the presidency of Bengal alone, by an armament of upwards of 150,000 men, divided into seventy-four regiments of foot, and eleven of light cavalry; four troops of horse artillery, and two battalions, of six companies each, of foot artillery: this force being further augmented by irregular troops, to the extent of twenty-three regiments of cavalry, seven battalions of Sikh infantry, and upwards of twenty other corps of various arms. This vast military establishment was again increased by the contingents of several native states, raised for local service in Assam, the Punjab, Nagpore, and Oude. The whole European force acting with, and, to a great extent, looked up to as giving a tone to the military spirit of this vast mass of heterogeneous material, as regards races and creeds, consisted, in January, 1857, of thirteen regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, belonging to the English government; and three regiments of infantry, three brigades of horse, and six battalions of foot artillery, in the service of the East India Company. This force was distributed in about a hundred military stations, over a tract of country stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to Afghanistan, and from the Himalayas to Nagpore; equalling in extent, and greatly exceeding in the numerical amount of its population, the united territories of France, Austria, and Prussia.

An unfortunate recognition of the privileges of *caste*, by the Anglo-Indian government, at the commencement of its triumphs, has, doubtless, in a very great

degree, encouraged the isolated pride and religious prejudices of the high-caste sepoys, of whom the bulk of the Bengalese army consisted; and a dread of interfering with the visible mysteries of their idolatrous faith, has led from time to time to concessions and indulgences that were at last looked upon as the rightful privileges of their order, to the serious obstruction of military duty, and the lax enforcement of proper discipline. The inconvenience resulting from this state of the Bengal army, at length rendered it expedient that a stop should be put to further concessions, and that, in some minor instances, the privileges already enjoyed should be curtailed, if not entirely withdrawn; thus, the *dâk* letters of sepoys, that had hitherto passed free of postage-tax, became chargeable. Tolls were exacted when they travelled, although formerly they had been exempt from the imposition of them, and they were deprived of the privilege they had enjoyed of purchasing their provisions in the markets at a lower price than other consumers. The sepoys had also been granted the right to choose whether they would, or would not, go beyond sea on active service; and this most inconvenient and dangerous discretionary power was sought to be withdrawn. Promotion among them, which had gone by seniority, without reference to merit or ability, and which, moreover, was in a great degree subject to the dictation of the men themselves, was also to be henceforth in the hands of the military authorities only. The pride of *caste*, which had been absurdly encouraged for the purpose of conciliating the people and recruiting the ranks of the army, it was now found necessary in some measure to discourage; the preponderance of Hindoos in the army having become so great, that in some of the regiments of 1,000 men, from six to seven hundred were Brahmins, combining the priestly with the military character, and exercising peculiar influences over the minds of their comrades of inferior *caste*. The European officers attached to the native regiments, had seen their power to control by the enforcement of discipline, gradually reduced, until even trivial questions connected with regimental duty, could only be settled by a reference to head-quarters, or to the supreme council at the seat of government. Officers in charge of companies had little, if any, power to punish or reward their own men; and the colonel had as little power to pro-

mote, or punish, in the regiment under his command, and, consequently, was without that summary and effective control over his men that the efficiency of military discipline requires: besides these disadvantages, not more than two or three of the whole staff of European officers attached to each native regiment, were able to speak or understand the language of the men they commanded; who were necessarily accustomed to look to their native officers of the same or higher *caste* than themselves for direction and guidance, while their European officers were regarded with indifference, and obeyed only mechanically. These several causes operating together, through a period of some years' duration, and being strengthened by the adverse influence of the agents of the *Dhurma Sobha*, a Hindoo association, established at Calcutta for the avowed purpose of defending the religious customs of Brahminism from encroachments by the government, had at length rendered the sepoy arrogant, self-sufficient, and independent of his officers; and the evil has been encouraged, and the men petted, until, as in the case of spoiled children whom parental authority lacked nerve or resolution to correct, the mischief grew into a settled habit, and its eradication from the system became a work of great difficulty and of danger. There can be no doubt, also, that a species of fanaticism was largely auxiliary in working up the real, or assumed, grievances of the native troops to the dangerous magnitude they had acquired.

It has been remarked by a high military authority in India, "that in the Bengal army there is a constant studying of many *castes*, which *the European appears to think as much of, and to esteem as high, as do the natives themselves*; and the sepoys, instead of looking on the European officers as superior beings, are compelled to consider them as bad Hindoos! Instead of being taught to pride themselves on their soldiership and discipline, the sepoys are trained to pride themselves on their absurdities of *caste*, and think that their power and value are best shown by refusing to obey any orders which they please to say do not accord with their religious prejudices. It is a grave mistake to suppose that religious feelings have any real influence on these occasions; it is a mistake, which would be ridiculous if its consequences were not so serious; but it is certain that the Bengal sepoy is a stickler for his imaginary *rights of caste, for the sake*

of increased power: he knows well that government never intend any insult to his creed, however absurd it may be; but he knows that, by crying out about his *caste*, he keeps the power in his hands, saves himself from many of the hardships of service, and makes his officers afraid of him. This is proved by what takes place in the armies of India. In the army of Bombay, even a Purwarree may, and does, often rise to the rank of subahdar by his own merit: in Bengal such a man would not even be admitted into the ranks, for fear of his contaminating those fine gentlemen the Brahmins; yet, in the Bombay army, the Brahmin (father, brother, or son may be, of him of Bengal) stands shoulder to shoulder in the ranks—nay, sleeps in the same tent with his Purwarree fellow-soldier, and dreams not of any objection to the arrangement. If this subject be mentioned to a Bombay Brahmin sepoy—as it is, sometimes, by Bengal officers—the ready answer is, ‘What do I care? is he not the soldier of the state?’ The reply speaks volumes, and shows a state of affairs which the officers of the Bengal army cannot conceive.”

Of this privilege of *caste*, the late General Sir Charles Napier has expressed the following deprecatory opinion in his despatches to the home government. He says—“The most important thing which I reckon injurious to the Indian army, is the immense influence given to *caste*; instead of being discouraged, it has been encouraged in the

Bengal army: in the Bombay army it is discouraged; and that army is in better order than the army of Bengal, in which the Brahmins have been leaders in every mutiny.” Connecting the fact, as stated by Sir Charles Napier, with subsequent transactions, we may not greatly err in attributing much of the mischief that has occurred in India to the baneful and mysterious influences of this peculiar distinction, and the absurd and frequently mischievous privileges claimed by those who enjoy it.

Among other notions inculcated by the Brahminical theology, is a belief that certain things are so innately impure, as to defile those who taste or handle them; and the consequence of any such defilement is a loss of *caste*; the most fearful and humiliating infliction that can be imposed upon a worshipper of Brahma. It was affirmed to be in connection with a dread of such defilement, and its consequences, that the earliest symptoms of the existing mutiny were manifested.

At Dumdum,* an artillery station about eight miles from Calcutta, a depôt had been established for the instruction of native troops in the use of the Enfield rifle, the cartridge for which is made with a different material from that used in preparing the case of the ordinary cartridge, and is required to be greased.† To touch or taste the fat of animals, is, to the Hindoo, defilement, and loss of *caste* is the inevitable

* At Dumdum, the cantonment selected for the head-quarters of the Bengal artillery, the lines occupy an extensive plain, but without presenting any remarkable feature. “Handsome houses are scattered irregularly about, with pleasure-grounds around them, which are generally planted with care and taste. The mess-room and its accompaniments form a very superb building, affording suites of apartments upon a far more magnificent scale than those belonging to any European barrack. The splendour of Woolwich fades before the grandeur of Dumdum; but the balls which are given in the latter place every month, are not kept up with the same degree of spirit which characterises the parties at Woolwich, and even when the dulness which frequently pervades Calcutta might be supposed to render them of great importance, are very ill-attended by visitors from the presidency.” At the grand reviews and field-days of the artillery, a fair proportion of the beauty and fashion of Calcutta may sometimes be seen; but these military shows do not attract so large a concourse of spectators as might be expected. As there is a theatre at Dumdum, the drama occasionally engages the attention of its inhabitants. There is also a good station-library, freely supplied with new publications as they arrive from England. In the neighbourhood is a menagerie

of some interest, kept up by one of the retired rajahs.

† The subjoined description of the obnoxious cartridges has been furnished by an officer of the Madras army. He says—“The cartridge used with the Enfield Pritchett-rifle consists of a piece of lead called a ball, one inch in length, and rather more than a quarter of an inch in diameter at the base, which is concave, the point being convex. This fits so closely to the inside of the rifle, that the whole force of the powder being expended at the concave end, produces a slight expansion filling the grooves and effectually preventing a windage, or loss of the exploding power. In consequence of this it has been found necessary to have one end of the cartridge, which is 2½ inches in length, greased for three-quarters of an inch, the object of which is simply to lubricate the bore and prevent the adhesion of any portion of the lead to the groove. Indeed, the rifle would be useless without it. In using this cartridge it is necessary to bite off the end as heretofore, and pour in the powder; but instead of tearing the greased part, the cartridge is reversed when put into the barrel, and forced down three-quarters of an inch to the point where the grease terminates, the remaining part of the cartridge being torn off, so that it is not necessary for the fingers to come into contact with it at all. I say this from experience.”

consequence. The offender becomes an outcast, and disinherence follows; for the Brahminical law says, "No outcast can inherit property." This is, however, a British as well as a Hindoo law; for it was enacted by the 21st George III., cap. 70, "That inheritance in the case of Gentoos (Hindoos) shall be determined by the laws and usages of Gentoos." Another effect of the forbidden act is excommunication, such as formerly was practised among Christians, but carried to a point of infinitely greater severity. The intercourse of a sepoy so circumstanced, even with his wife or family, is visited, according to Hindoo law, by mutilation and death. The stain inflicted is, in some cases, capable of being removed from the family of the offender by a series of penances, that are crowned by passing over a burning mass of red-hot charcoal, nine yards square, and twenty-nine inches deep, vehemently fanned during the operation; and this purgation can be accomplished on one day of the year only.

In the month of January, 1857, a workman of the lowest *caste* (a sudra attached to the magazine at Dumdum), asked a Brahmin sepoy of the 2nd grenadiers to give him water from his "lotha" (a small brass pot for drinking from); the sepoy refused the favour, on the ground of his superior *caste*, and because his "lotha" would be defiled by the touch of the sudra: the latter, incensed by the refusal, observed, that "the pride of *caste* would soon be brought low; for the sepoy would presently have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of cows and pigs!"—the former animal being an object of special veneration; the latter of abhorrence and hatred. The Brahmin soldier reported the language of the sudra to his high-caste comrades in the barrack, by whom it was listened to with disgust and indignation, and the alarm quickly spread through the depôt. Intelligence of the occurrence having reached the ears of the officer in command, the native troops were paraded, and asked if they had any complaint to make? Upon this, the whole of the non-commissioned officers, and the larger portion of the men, stepped to the front, and stated their objection to the new cartridge; respectfully suggesting the use of a substitute in the making-up, that would not interfere with the peculiarities of their religion, and render them liable to the deprivation of *caste*. The appeal of the men, thus urged, was

listened to by the colonel in command of the depôt, and immediately reported to head-quarters; and upon the representation of General Harsey, then commanding the presidency division—who remarked, that "though totally groundless, it would be most difficult to eradicate the impression from the minds of the native soldiers, who are always suspiciously disposed when any change of this sort affecting themselves is introduced"—the required concession was promptly made by order of government. The colonel was also authorised to procure from the bazaar unobjectionable ingredients for greasing the cartridges, and the men were to be permitted to make them up themselves in their quarters, that they might be satisfied there was no desire to interfere with their prejudices.

By a despatch dated February 7th, the governor-general in council informed the directors of the East India Company of the display of feeling on the part of the sepoys, relative to the use of grease for the cartridges. He writes:—

"Fort William, February 7th.

"We have the honour to transmit, for the information of your honourable court, copy of a correspondence relative to an uneasiness which first manifested itself amongst the men attached to the depôt of musketry at Dumdum, in consequence of a report having reached them that the grease used in the arsenal for preparing the cartridges for the Enfield rifles, was composed of the fat of 'pigs' and of 'cows.'

"The men were appeased on being assured that the matter would be duly represented; and, at the suggestion of the inspector-general of ordnance, we have, as a present measure, authorised the issue of cartridges without grease, the men being permitted to apply, with their own hands, whatever mixture they may prefer.

"As it appears, however, that service-ammunition requires to be bundled, and to be greased previously with a composition that should last for a considerable time without renewal, we have requested his excellency the commander-in-chief to cause some experiments to be made at Meerut, where the presence of a rifle corps (her majesty's 60th) offers means which do not exist at any other station, for the purpose of ascertaining the best ingredients to be used in greasing the cartridges, with reference both to the feelings of the native soldiery and to the requirements of the

service. We have desired that we may be favoured with his excellency's advice on this subject as early as may be conveniently practicable. We would suggest to your honourable court the expediency of obtaining some information on this subject in England, where, doubtless, many experiments have been made.

"Your honourable court will observe that the matter has been fully explained to the men at Barrackpore and at Dumdum, and that they appear perfectly satisfied that there existed no intention of interfering with their *caste*; and also that proper measures will be taken to remove the cause of their objection to the composition of the material used for greasing the cartridges.

"At the suggestion of the inspector-general of ordnance, we beg to recommend to your honourable court that no more ready-made ammunition for the Enfield rifles be sent to this presidency."

The directors, in reply, expressed their entire approval of this order, and added,

* Barrackpore is an irregular-built town, or station, on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, sixteen miles above Calcutta. It has been the policy of the Indian government to separate soldiers and citizens from each other; the forces, therefore, which are considered necessary for the defence of Calcutta, are stationed, the infantry at the distance of sixteen miles, and the artillery at eight, from the seat of government. Fort William—a stronghold to which the governor-general may retire in case of invasion from abroad, or rebellion at home, considered by experienced engineers to be impregnable, and which will contain provisions and stores to withstand a siege as long as that of Troy—in times of security is garrisoned by a single Queen's regiment, or a part of two at the most; the sepoy duties being performed by a detachment from Barrackpore, relieved at stated periods, while the guard employed in Calcutta is composed of the city militia. Many of the houses at Barrackpore are as splendid as those of Calcutta; but the larger portion of the residences are bungalows, considerably smaller than those of the upper provinces, but completed in a superior style. A few look upon the river, but there is no broad esplanade, as upon the opposite bank, where Serampore's proud palaces are mirrored on the glassy surface of the stream. Such, however, as do command the fresh breezes from the water, are delightfully cool; and the views from their balconies are superb. Without any architectural display, the buildings of Barrackpore are mostly embosomed in trees; and, with the exception of the palace of the governor-general, which occupies a commanding site, only peep out amongst the branches of luxuriant groves. This edifice, one of the Marquis Wellesley's splendid projects, was originally designed to be a most magnificent structure; but an authoritative mandate from the court of directors, whose notions were less aristocratic than those of the projector, prevented its completion. Enough, however, had been done to render the mansion a very elegant and commodious resi-

"no more cartridges will be sent from this country. In making them up in India, there will not, we are persuaded, be any difficulty in your prescribing a composition which, whilst sufficient for the purpose, will be unobjectionable to any of the *castes* in our native army."

But while matters seemed thus to be progressing satisfactorily at Dumdum, another cause of dissatisfaction, arising from an alleged design of the English government to Christianise by compulsion the entire native army, had shown itself in operation at the military station of Barrackpore,* near Calcutta. The first indications of an unquiet feeling were shown by incendiary fires, that broke out in various parts of the cantonment, and by one of which the telegraph station was purposely destroyed.

Contemporaneously with these transactions, a singular, and, at the time, incomprehensible, incident occurred at Cawnpore,† a town in the north-western division of the presidency of Bengal; which occasioned

denance; and the gardens attached to it are unrivalled both in beauty and stateliness, combining the grandeur of Asiatic proportions with the picturesqueness of European design. A large stud of elephants is kept here, and these noble animals, decorated with flowing *jhools* of scarlet cloth edged with gold, and bearing fair freights of ladies belonging to the vice-regal court, may be seen pacing along the flowery labyrinths—to European eyes, strange guests in a private garden. The approach to Barrackpore, from Calcutta, on the land side, is by one of the finest roads in the world, very broad, kept in excellent repair, and well shaded by trees. The cantonments and their vicinity present a flat surface; yet the combinations of wood, water, and greensward, in numberless vistas, nooks, and small open spaces, yield scenes of tranquil beauty, which eyes, however cold, can scarcely contemplate unmoved. The garrison usually consists of several regiments of sepoys, under the command of a major-general. The staff is exceedingly numerous, embracing appointments peculiar to the place. As a military station, Barrackpore is in bad odour with the officers of the Bengal army; the climate of the upper provinces is esteemed of superior salubrity; and the very sound of *half-batta* is of itself sufficient to render it distasteful. The cemetery, occupying a cheerful site near the park, is kept in better order than most places of a similar kind in India.

† Cawnpore, which has obtained a frightful notoriety in consequence of the unparalleled brutalities perpetrated upon women and children within its walls, is the capital of a district of the same name, in the province of Allahabad. It is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, which is here 500 yards wide when lowest, and about a mile across when swollen by the periodical rains, which commence in July; the river is navigable, downwards to the sea, 1,000 miles; and upward, from Cawnpore to Sukertal, about 300 miles: the area of the city covers 690 acres; and the total population, exclusive of the military, amounted, in 1855, to upwards of 100,000 souls.

much surmise, and no inconsiderable degree of apprehension. It was reported to the authorities, that the chowkeydars, or village policemen, were speeding from Cawnpore through the villages and towns of the peninsula, distributing on their way a symbol, of the origin of which no European could at the time form an intelligible idea, or conjecture the purpose. The manner of effecting this singular movement—which later events have shown to be somewhat analogous to that of the Fire-cross of our own Highland clans in earlier times—was as follows:—One of the chowkeydars of Cawnpore ran to another in Futteghur, the next village, and placing in his hands two *chupatties* (small unleavened cakes about the size of a gingerbread-nut, and similar in composition to the ordinary food of the poorer classes), directed him to make ten more of the same kind, and give two of them to each of the five nearest chowkeydars, with instructions to perform the same service. He was obeyed; and in a few hours the whole country was in a state of excitement, through these policemen running from village to village with their cakes. The wave spread over the provinces with a velocity of speed never yet equalled by the bearers of government despatches. The English officials in the districts through which this extraordinary and mysterious operation progressed with the rapidity of light, were bewildered; some of the messengers were arrested, and themselves and the cakes examined by the magistrates and superior police, who looked at, handled, and tasted the latter, but could arrive at no satisfactory conclusion respecting them. The chowkeydars professed to be ignorant of the source

* The following official letter endeavours to explain the mystery, but leaves it very much as it originally stood:—

(No. 68 of 1857.)

“From Major W. C. Erskine, Commissioner, Saugor Division, to C. B. Thornhill, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government, North-West Province, Agra.

Jubbulpore, 5th March, 1857.

Sir,—Observing in the *Mofussilite* newspaper of the 27th ult. a notice of certain small baked cakes of atta having been distributed, through the chowkeydars of certain districts, in the North-West Provinces for some unknown purpose, I have the honour to report that the same signal has passed, in the same way, through the districts of Saugor, Dumah, Jubbulpore, and Nursingpore, in my division.

2. I first heard of it in Nursingpore, and on making official inquiries, found that it had extended to other districts, and although the deputy-commissioners have used their best endeavours to find out

whence they originated, or of the object in view by their transmission and distribution over the country, which they believed to be by the order of government. The magistrates thereupon reported the occurrence as a strange but harmless affair;* and no further notice was taken by those in authority, nor does it appear that any subsequent effort was made to discover the object of the parties with whom the movement originated. The circumstance occasioned much conversation; but no one appeared capable of elucidating the mystery in which it was involved. Some thought it might be a superstitious act of Hindoo faith to propitiate Vishnu (the preserver), that the deity might be induced to avert the cholera: others, who, more penetrating than their neighbours, ventured to suggest the possibility of a plot against the government, were laughed at for their apprehensions; and at last the novelty lost its attraction as a topic for conversation, and the fact was for a time forgotten.

Another incident had then recently occurred, that, viewed in possible connection with the above mysterious affair, might reasonably have generated suspicion of impending evil. It had been made known to the government, that early in January, an incendiary address, written in Hindostani, was placarded at Madras, calling upon “all true believers to rise against the English infidels, and drive them from India. It declared that the English had now abandoned all principles of justice, and were bent on appropriating the possessions of the Mohammedans, and that there was but one way of resisting their encroachments—a holy war! He who fell in such war

the purport, nothing has yet been discovered beyond the fact of the spread of the cakes, and the general belief that such distribution, passed on from village to village, will prevent hail falling, and keep away sickness.

3. I also understand that this practice is adopted by ‘dyers’ when their dye will not clear properly; and the impression is, that these cakes originally came from Scindia’s or the Bhopal States.

4. Certain it is that no attempts were made at concealment, several of the kotewars, or chowkeydars, having brought the cakes to the deputy-commissioners.

5. Inquiries are still being made, and should any further information on the subject be received, I will inform the government.

6. There appears to have been no harm intended, and I inclose one of the cakes in question.

I have, &c.,

W. C. ERSKINE, Commissioner.
Jubbulpore Commissioner’s Office, 3rd March, 1857.”

would be venerated as a martyr. He that held back would be execrated as an infidel and a heretic." As a proof that the smouldering fires of the volcano were not yet apparent to the authorities, the Indian journals of January and February describe the whole country at that time as "profoundly tranquil."

On the 17th of the same month, the tranquillity into which Oude had subsided since its annexation, was broken in upon in consequence of a Maulavi, named Sekunder Shah, arriving with some armed followers at Lucknow, and preaching war against the infidels; at the same time distributing proclamations calling upon the faithful, and even the Hindoos, to arise, or be for ever fallen. The Maulavi and his people were arrested after a conflict, in which Lieutenant Thomas, of the 22nd regiment of native infantry, and four sepoys, were wounded; and three persons were killed, and five wounded, belonging to the seditious preacher, himself being among the latter.

Whatever may have been the positive, long cherished, but hidden grievance of the native soldiers, it is more than possible that the alleged insult offered by the greased cartridges, and the dread of conversion to Christianity, gave the main impulse that roused the discontented spirit of the troops into mischievous activity. On the 6th of February, 1857, a jemadar (lieutenant) of the 34th regiment of native infantry, stationed at Barrackpore, disclosed to his colonel some proceedings in which he had taken part on the preceding night, and which afforded ample ground for believing that the sepoys contemplated an outbreak—during which they intended to kill the European officers at the station, and, after plundering it, to destroy the place, and retire towards Delhi. The communication was duly reported to the general commanding the district, but no serious notice appears to have been taken of it at the time.

While the mischief was yet "looming in the distance," and before the discontent that pervaded the native population of India had developed itself by military outrage, the Marquis of Clanricarde had called the attention of the imperial legislature to the system under which the government of India was administered. His lordship, on introducing the subject to the House of Lords, in February, 1857, declared that, when we assumed the government of India, we took upon ourselves a heavy respon-

sibility. He believed our power in that country might be used to its advantage; but it could only be done by showing a capacity to govern them, by the constant supervision of parliament, and its prompt interference whenever interference was necessary. The noble marquis deprecated the slow progress of improvement in India, and attributed it to the system under which it has been governed, which was neither satisfactory, wise, consistent with reason, maintainable in argument, or really and substantially advantageous. He observed, that "the mode of administration introduced by Mr. Pitt, considering the great difference of times and circumstances, was, on the whole, a wise one, and it worked well for a certain time; but we had totally abolished that system in its integrity and substance, and were keeping up a shadow which, at the present moment, was utterly absurd and untenable. The East India Company had been lords of the soil and territorial proprietors; but parliament had totally deprived them of all such rights and powers. By the Act of 1833, the Company was really and virtually in its substance at an end. In that year, however, the public mind of this country was still disturbed by the contest which arose out of a great reform. It was impossible that the minds of men should be properly directed to the analysis and rectification of the Indian government at such a moment; and, on the whole, he did not think it unwise on the part of Lord Grey's government, to avail themselves of a machinery which they found ready to their hands, and (although they took away really the substance and property of the East India Company) to continue the court of directors, and allow them to carry on, with the same modifications, the government of India. But the very modifications then introduced, showed the feeling entertained on the subject. In 1853, parliament was unfortunately again not in a condition to deliberate calmly upon the subject, because there had been changes of government which disturbed the administration; and no man could say that the bill which passed in that year was intended as a final settlement. The committee appointed at the instance of the noble earl's (Lord Derby's) government, instituted their inquiry, as he believed, with a sincere desire to elicit information and facts upon which a decision might be based. It was, however, indisputable, that long before the labours of the committee were

brought to a conclusion, it was determined by the government to continue for the nonce the Indian government pretty much in the state in which it then existed. 'Oh, but,' it was said, 'the evidence taken was, as far as it went, in favour of a continuance of the existing government!' Of course it was; because that evidence was given by men whose whole lives, so to speak, were bound up with the existing system; but the inquiry ought to have extended much further before any satisfactory decision could be come to as to the form of government required. Parliament, however, determined to continue the board of directors and what was called the court of proprietors. Now, if it was wise to allow the court of proprietors to elect eighteen gentlemen to consult upon the affairs of India, and to interfere with the deliberations of her majesty's government, he wanted to know why parliament took away from them the power of electing six more, and why six nominees of the crown were introduced? The reason given for the direct nomination of these six gentlemen by the crown was, that men best fitted to act as directors would not submit to the canvass which was necessary to secure their election. Now, it was known that this canvass was anything but a pure one, and that nothing in the world could be more absurd, than to place the election of directors, intrusted with the government of India, in the hands of a constituent body simply because they happened to hold East India stock; a body of men who had no more interest in the welfare of the people of India than had the proprietors of any railway company. The electoral body consisted of a number of old ladies, and others, residing in the suburbs of London and on the continent; and what did they know of the merits of the candidates? A gentleman might represent to them that he had lived twenty years in India; but he till might know no more of the real requirements and condition of the people, than a man who had passed all his life in London. Then, the way in which parliament had connected the directors with the public service was ridiculous. They were allowed £500 a-year, the chairman and deputy-chairman receiving £1,000. Could anything be more absurd than to suppose that for such sums the services of efficient men could really be retained? According to a return moved for by the late Mr. Hume, giving an account of the salaries of those Indian officials

who received £1,000 and upwards, it appeared that one gentleman had earned in his office the sum of £23,000 a-year. Was he to be told that, after residing, perhaps, for many years in a country where such a sum might be honourably earned—where the interest of money was notoriously high, and where a rapid fortune might therefore be accumulated—the services of such men, when they returned home, could be secured for such a sum as £500 a-year? The thing was a perfect farce, and threw ridicule upon the whole proceeding. Again, with regard to the bankers and merchants who accepted places in the direction, was it to be supposed that men of their wealth and position would give their time and attention for such a salary? No. Then, why did they covet the situation? Because of the patronage it bestowed; and this had been really at the bottom of all the misgovernment of India. It was the power and patronage in the hands of the directors which had really retarded the improvement of the country, and had excluded the natives from any fair share in the government in a manner unknown in any other country. He was not disposed to say, upon mere theory alone, that the present system should be abolished, if the results of it were satisfactory; but in reality they had been quite the reverse, and had not been caused by the individuals connected with the government of India, but by the system itself. One of the most important functions of a government was the regulation of financial operations in accordance with the condition of the people of the country; and another was to levy a becoming and proper amount of revenue from the people with the least possible pressure. Neither of those functions was easy. On the contrary, they required skill, judgment, and discretion, for their performance; and how had they been carried out by the government of India? With regard to the financial expenditure of the East India Company, what could be more ridiculous than the cost of the establishment in Leadenhall-street? The cost of the Board of Control amounted to £29,421. The salaries of directors, £10,000; contingent expenses, £32,063; salaries of officers, &c., £94,387; law charges, £14,200: making a total of £180,071. Now, the whole cost of the Colonial-office was £28,421, making a difference of £151,650; and supposing, therefore, the expense actually necessary for the government of India to amount to

double that of the whole Colonial-office, the sum at present expended exceeded that sum by £123,060. He did not mean to say, that by altering the present system of government, the whole of that expense would be saved; but he believed that the cost need not exceed £50,000, and thus over £100,000 would be saved, which, considering the condition of Indian finance, and the state of the inhabitants of that country, might prove of great advantage in providing for the proper administration of law and the security of life and property. The public debt of India was at present about £54,000,000—a sum which might be provided for with tolerable ease, but that only in the case of the government being carried on in an economical and discreet manner; yet during a series of years, when that debt ought to have diminished, he found that it had actually increased, and that that increase had not been occasioned by any extraordinary expenses, but from the want of a proper adjustment of expenditure to income." After referring to some financial statistics, the noble marquis proceeded to say, that "a new code of laws had been promised for India, but as yet no such code had been introduced, and meanwhile the administration of justice remained in a state of confusion and uncertainty that was positively disgraceful. Could it be believed, that in India there was a large body of her majesty's subjects who had no legal protection whatever for their property? The rights of property as respected the natives, were in a state of utter confusion, and had been so ever since we took possession of the country. In these remarks he excepted, of course, the supreme courts at the presidencies, which were administered by persons trained to the exercise of the law, and by whom justice was dispensed with as much care as in this country. But their lordships would be enabled to judge of the gross partiality with which the law was put in force in India, when he stated, that if an Englishman murdered or inflicted serious injury upon a native, no matter in what part of the country, the relatives of the deceased native, or the native himself, should he not be killed outright, would obtain no redress without going to the supreme court of the presidency. The consequence was, that if an Englishman murdered a native in the Punjab, 1,500 miles from Calcutta, or made a murderous assault upon a man there, no

redress could be obtained unless the witnesses were taken the whole distance of 1,500 miles to Calcutta to be examined. But if a native committed any crime, he could be brought at once before a court of judicature on the spot; the magistrate presiding in which was, in almost every instance, utterly unfit for the discharge of the duties intrusted to him. The character of these magistrates was such, that the whole of the European community were rising up against the idea of being placed under the same code as the natives; not that they objected to this in itself, or thought the natives ought to be treated hardly, but because the character of the magistrates who were to be intrusted with the execution of the new code was such, that they could not submit to their jurisdiction. He (the Marquis of Clanricarde) considered that the chief causes of these evils were the system of double government, and the manner in which the patronage of the East India Company had been exercised. It was true, that the civil service was now thrown open to public competition, and that appointments were given to persons who passed a prescribed examination; but he wished to know what measures had been adopted to insure the qualification of young men of twenty years of age, who were appointed to judicial offices, and who decided questions affecting, not only the property, but the lives, of the native population. This system was defended on the ground, that out of 140,000,000 of natives, not one could be found who was fitted to fill an office of real responsibility; but the truth was, that the whole system by which India was governed tended to degrade the natives, and to render them cunning, sordid, and deceitful; whereas, if they were treated as friends and allies, and employed in the public services, as had been recommended by some of the greatest men who had been in India, including the Duke of Wellington, they would be found to be valuable servants and faithful friends. The Mohammedan conquerors found no difficulty in administering government, combined with justice, towards the natives of India. But instead of acting upon that principle, the very opposite system was adopted, even in the army; and how could it be expected that the natives of India could be contented with British rule, when that rule rested upon a base which no Englishman could justify? Within the last few days, he saw in a newspaper, that there

was a question of removing two European regiments to the Persian Gulf; but that it was found to be impossible; because, if it were done, the sepoys would be left without control, and without a sufficient number of European officers. He, however, would suggest, that the people who in former times furnished not only large armies but able officers, could be relied upon again to supply men to whom we might intrust command. At present, those men were condemned almost to the ranks, and could not rise beyond the grade of *subahdar*—equivalent to captain; but even then, a native captain was inferior to the youngest ensign fresh from college in this country. How was it possible to depend upon the fidelity of an army thus constituted? He would abstain from reading extracts from the works and correspondence of the most eminent Indian authorities, including Sir T. Monro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Lord Metcalfe; but they all concurred that native Indians might, and ought, to be employed in the public service, and attached to it by the hope of honours and rewards. If, however, such a plan were to be tried, the whole Anglo-Indian press and community would be in arms. He had heard that, in one of the presidencies, the governor wished to appoint a native to an office in the uncovenanted service as secretary; but the whole civil service rose in a body, and the governor was forced to forego

his intention. He (the Marquis of Clanricarde) repeated, that so long as the system continued of confining the civil service to a select body, making it a close service, and repudiating the assistance of able, honest, and learned natives, they could not expect the government to be served in a manner worthy of the queen and parliament of Great Britain." The noble marquis said, in continuation, that he could not see any difficulty in drawing up a scheme of government that should be a vast improvement on the present system; and he concluded by moving a resolution, to the effect, "that the system under which the government of the Company's territories is administered, is no longer suitable to the condition and prospects of that vast empire, or the development of its resources and the improvement and welfare of its inhabitants." The Duke of Argyle briefly replied to the statement of the noble marquis; he defended the existing system of Indian government, and asserted that discussions on Indian affairs ought to be taken on substantive propositions, and not on abstract resolutions, such as that produced by Lord Clanricarde, which were not calculated to produce any practical good either to India or to this country. The motion, finding no support, was then withdrawn, and the discussion ended, leaving the prospect of Indian reform as indefinite and unsatisfactory as ever.

CHAPTER II.

MORE ASSUMED GRIEVANCES; MUTINOUS CONDUCT OF THE 19TH REGIMENT OF NATIVE INFANTRY; THE CARTRIDGES REFUSED; ANOTHER UNFORTUNATE CONCESSION; DISCONTENT OF THE 2ND AND 34TH REGIMENTS; THE SEPOY MUTINEER, MUNGUL PANDY.

On the 24th of February, a detachment of the 34th native infantry arrived at the station of Berhampore, in the district of Moorshedabad, and about 100 miles from Calcutta, *en route*, and, on their dismissal from parade, the men were entertained by the sepoys of the 19th regiment, who naturally sought intelligence of their comrades at Barackpore. The 34th were not slow to communicate all they knew or surmised, and repeated to their eager and excited hosts the

intelligence respecting the cartridges—the animal fat—the alleged determination of the government to deprive the Brahmin sepoys of the privileges belonging to their *caste*, and to destroy the religion of Brahma, with many other assumed grievances of the cantonments. Nothing was omitted by the narrators that could tend to exasperate the feelings of their auditory, and the pernicious effect of their eloquence will be shown in subsequent proceedings.

On the following day (the 25th), Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, commanding the 19th regiment, ordered a parade with blank cartridge for the next morning. The cartridges were directed to be given out that evening; but when the native sergeants proceeded to distribute them, they were peremptorily rejected by the sepoy. The 19th irregular cavalry was then ordered to parade on the spot, with a view to intimidate the refractory men, and the guns of the station were placed in position to command the native lines. After a short delay, in which sullen defiance and culpable irresolution were exhibited on either side, the men were dismissed to their quarters; but between eleven and twelve o'clock, the sepoy of the 19th regiment made a rush upon the bells of arms (little houses in which their weapons were kept), and possessing themselves of their muskets and ammunition, carried them into their lines. When, on the following morning, the European officers reached the parade-ground, they found the men in undress, but armed and formed in line. As they approached, the sepoy shouted tumultuously, and threatened violence if they came near them. The cavalry and artillery were again paraded, and the mutineers were commanded to lay down their arms. Another pause ensued, and the native officers, after conferring with the men, informed Colonel Mitchell that they would not lay down their arms until the whole of the cavalry and artillery were withdrawn. This dangerous concession to open and undisguised mutiny was unfortunately made by the colonel, and then, but not till then, the refractory sepoy submitted to the command of their officers.

It is possible that this unmilitary compliance with the demands of a mutinous soldiery, when the means for enforcing submission and preserving authority were at hand, may have encouraged, if it did not hasten, the explosion that followed throughout the presidency. The colonel perhaps dreaded the responsibility of a conflict between armed men in the same service, and

* Vizianagram is a military station in the presidency of Madras, situated about 82 miles north-east of Golconda, and 989 miles from Calcutta. Though large, the town is meanly built; the principal edifice is a stone fort, with the palace of the rajah inclosed.

† Kurnool, a strongly fortified town, at the southern extremity of the Nizam's dominions, is situated on the river Toombudra, about 110 miles S.S.W. of

may have had no desire to witness the destruction of his own regiment.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence at Barrackpore, great agitation became visible among the sepoy of the various regiments at the station, and more especially it was remarked among those of the 2nd and 34th regiments. The men obeyed orders with sullen and threatening indifference, which they took no pains to conceal; nightly meetings for conference took place in their lines, when the conduct of the 19th sepoy was discussed and openly applauded. Those meetings were reported to the general commanding the district, but they were not further noticed or prevented.

The elements of mischief were now at work in another quarter. The 1st regiment of Madras native infantry, recently arrived from Burmah, and subsequently engaged in the Kimeedy campaign, was in cantonment at Vizianagram,* a town in the Madras presidency; and, on the 28th of February, the men were under orders to march to Kurnool† without their families. One and all, while on parade, decidedly refused; and when remonstrated with by their colonel, raised shouts of derision and defiance. As there was no force at hand to compel obedience, the colonel was obliged to submit to the mutinous spirit of the men without attempting to make a single arrest. The regiment, however, quietly left on the 3rd of March; but, in the meantime, its destination had been changed to Secunderabad‡—another unfortunate concession to military insubordination.

At length, on the 23rd of March, it was announced in garrison orders, that government had resolved to punish the men of the 19th regiment for their mutinous conduct at Berhampore, and the regiment was ordered to march to Barrackpore preparatory to its being disbanded. In military circles the intended punishment was deemed wholly inadequate to the offence committed; but the authorities appear to have been anxious to restore a proper state of subordination, and a better feeling among the disaffected troops, without re-

Hyderabad, and 1,012 from Calcutta. It was acquired by the English in 1815.

‡ Secunderabad is a town of importance in the Deccan, and had been the head-quarters of the British subsidiary force in the Nizam's dominions. It is situated three miles N. of Hyderabad, and 358 N.N.W. of Madras. At this place and Bolarum (a contiguous and more healthy station), 12,000 men of the Madras army were generally quartered.

sorting to extreme measures. At the same time the sentence was severe enough to be sensibly felt by those on whom it fell; as, by disbanding the regiment, every native officer lost his position, and every sepoy his pension for service; and as recruits for the Bengal army are not accepted after a certain age, many of the men who had attained it, and were of high caste, were deprived of the means of procuring a future livelihood. As it was generally believed that the blame rested chiefly with the officers and old soldiers of the regiment, the punishment was upon the whole deemed not inequitable, though possibly too lenient in some individual cases.

At the time this order was promulgated, there were about 5,000 sepoys at the station of Barrackpore, and it was thought possible that, emboldened by the presence of so many of their co-religionists, the 19th might again refuse to obey orders. The men of the 34th regiment were known to be in active correspondence with them, and the 2nd grenadier regiment, though not in a state of actual mutiny, was suspected to be well acquainted with their plans, and friendly to their proceedings. It was therefore considered necessary to provide against any possible danger from those quarters by concentrating upon the station some of the European regiments then in and near Calcutta: the Queen's 84th regiment was accordingly brought in from Chinsurah, and a wing of the 53rd was ordered to Barrackpore. The native body-guard (cavalry) were removed from the city in the course of the night of the 28th of March, and two troops of artillery, with twelve pieces of cannon, were brought from Dumdum into the cantonment. Orders were privately issued to the chief civil magistrate, to place strong bodies of police upon the bridges and avenues leading into Calcutta; and, to perfect the whole arrangement, should a conflict turn out to be inevitable, Major-general Hearsey was ordered to act with vigour in suppressing the mutinous spirit, and, if necessary for the purpose, to use the European troops under his command for the utter extermination of the three refractory regiments.

The 19th accordingly received the route for Barrackpore, and, upon the arrival of the regiment at Barrasset (about eight miles from their destination) on the 29th of March, the men found a deputation from the 34th regiment waiting their approach, with a proposal—the result of deliberations

of the previous night—to the effect that they should, the same evening, kill all their European officers; march, during the night, into Barrackpore, where the 2nd and 34th were prepared to join them; fire the bungalows; surprise and massacre the Europeans at the station; and, having secured the guns, march into and sack Calcutta! For this nefarious proposition it appeared the sepoys of the 19th regiment were not yet sufficiently ripe.

In the course of the same night, the officer in command at Dumdum received intelligence that the 19th were marching upon the station for the purpose of taking possession of the artillery. In consequence of the departure of the two troops for Barrackpore, he had but thirty men at the station effective for duty; but with these he hastily prepared for defence, and ordered the families of the officers to provide for their own safety by repairing to Calcutta.

An occurrence that transpired at Barrackpore about this time (the 29th of March), showed the intensity of the adverse feeling that had grown up among the native troops. A sepoy of the 34th regiment, named Mungul Pandey, rushed out upon the parade-ground of the regiment, shouting, "Come out, men! come out, men! You have sent me out, why don't you follow me? You will have to bite the cartridges! Come out for your religion!"—and he called upon the bugler to sound the assembly. This scene took place about a hundred yards from the quarter-guard, which did not interfere, the jemadar in charge remaining a silent spectator of the whole proceeding. The sepoy, who had with him his musket loaded, suddenly levelled it at the sergeant-major, Hewson, and fired; the latter, on being wounded, called upon the officer to turn out the guard and seize the man; but the jemadar gave no orders, and the guard remained inactive. By this time, Lieutenant Baugh, the adjutant of the 34th, had been informed of the outrage, and repaired to the parade. Upon his approach, Mungul Pandey concealed himself behind a gun in advance of the quarter-guard, and as the adjutant came near, deliberately took aim and fired. The ball struck the horse on which Lieutenant Baugh was riding, in the flank, and brought it and its rider to the ground. The lieutenant, however, disengaged himself from the struggling animal, and taking a pistol from one of the holsters, advanced towards the sepoy, who, being un-

able to load a second time, had grasped a sword he brought with him. The adjutant fired at the fellow and missed, and before he could disengage his sword from its sheath, the sepoy sprang upon him, and with one stroke brought him to the ground. At this instant the wounded sergeant-major rushed toward the mutineer to rescue his officer, but was felled to the earth by a blow with the butt-end of a musket, given by a sepoy behind him. The cowardly perpetrator of this ruffianly act, on returning to his post at the quarter-guard, with the wounded man's blood upon his clothes, was merely desired by the native officer, "to change his pantaloons." Four men of the guard made an effort to seize the assassin; but the jemadar ordered them to desist, saying, "If you kill *that* man you will be hung for it."

Colonel Wheler, in command of the regiment, now made his appearance, and ordered the jemadar to turn out the guard. He obeyed; but after advancing a few paces, the men halted, and the officer informed the colonel that they would not interfere because the mutineer was a Brahmin. The colonel appears to have been satisfied with this reply, and certainly took no steps to enforce obedience to his orders. When called upon for an explanation of his conduct, the gallant officer said, "I felt it was quite useless going any further with the matter; considering it might involve a sacrifice of life to order a European officer with the guard to seize him. So I left the ground, and reported the matter to Brigadier-general Harsey, then at his quarters."

The general, upon receiving intelligence of the outrage, instantly summoned his two sons and his aide-de-camp, and rode to the scene of disturbance. Mungul Pandey was still at large on the parade, energetically upbraiding his comrades for their cowardice in not turning out to support him, and defend their religion. Upon seeing this man, General Harsey rode up to the quarter-guard, his sons and Major Ross following closely. As he drew near, an officer shouted, "Beware, sir! his musket is loaded" "D— his musket!" exclaimed the general, at the same time rapidly near-

ing the assassin, who levelled his piece as if about to fire. Observing this, the general looked round to his son, saying, "If I fall, John, rush upon him, and put him to death." Happily, at the last moment, the mutineer appears to have changed his mind, and, instead of firing at the general, he discharged the contents of the musket into his own body. Upon the instant, the general drew a revolver from his belt, and turning to the men of the quarter-guard, who were standing near, he ordered them back to their post, declaring he would shoot the first man that hesitated to obey him. This determined conduct produced the desired effect upon the guard, which at once returned to its duty.

The extraordinary and unsoldier-like behaviour of Colonel Wheler, who, in addition to his professional duties as commander of a native regiment, had taken upon himself the functions of a zealous Christian missionary among the Hindoos and Moslems in his vicinity, became a subject of investigation, in the course of which, it was elicited that the gallant officer had been in the habit of circulating tracts, and addressing the men both of his own and other native corps (but not within the lines), with the declared object of converting them to the Christian religion.* It was not then alleged that any visible ill effect had ensued from his preaching, beyond a laxity of the rigid course of discipline inseparable from the management of a well-conducted regiment; although the consequence of such relaxation was, that, by his own admission, "the state of the corps was so questionable, that if it had been ordered on field service, he could not have placed himself at its head in full reliance upon its loyalty and good conduct."† It is true that two officers of the regiment ventured to declare, that the feelings of the sepoys, with one or two exceptions which they could *not* name, were good; and that their own confidence in them was unbounded, notwithstanding the fact that, several months before the dissatisfaction regarding the cartridges had birth, the regiment, in coming down the river, had encountered a gale, in which three boats

* In the course of the evidence given by this officer before the governor-general, he said—"During the last twenty years I have been in the habit of speaking to natives of all classes—sepoys and others, making no distinction, since there is no respect of persons with God—on the subject of our religion, in the highways, cities, bazaars, and villages (not in the

lines and regimental bazaars.) I have done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected, or rather commanded, by the scriptures, to make known the glad tidings of salvation to his lost fellow-creatures."

† See proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, in Parl. Papers, Appendix, p. 143.

were wrecked, and not a single sepoy came forward to assist the European officers in their struggle for life. However, the whole circumstances connected with this affair were of so serious a nature, that a report was immediately forwarded, by the general commanding the district, to the governor-general in council; and his excellency, in referring to the occurrence, said—"Were it necessary to come to an opinion upon this evidence alone, I could come to none more favourable to Colonel Wheler, than that he is entirely unfit to have the command of a regiment. But the occasion is so grave, and the misconduct of Colonel Wheler bears, *prima facie*, so serious an aspect, that I do not think any decision upon that officer's case will be satisfactory

which is not founded upon a full inquiry specially directed to his conduct, giving him of course opportunity of explanation and defence. I therefore propose that the commander-in-chief be requested to submit the conduct of Colonel Wheler, on the 29th of March, to an investigation by court-martial, or to such other investigation as his excellency may think proper."*

The attempt of the sepoy, Mungul Pandey, to escape the punishment due to his crimes, was not successful. He was removed from the ground, and after his self-inflicted wound had received attention from the regimental surgeon, he was, with the jemadar who had abetted his outrageous proceedings, placed under arrest to await trial by court-martial.

CHAPTER III.

THE 19TH N. I. REGIMENT DISBANDED; EXECUTION OF THE MUTINEER, MUNGL PANDY; SPREAD OF DISAFFECTION; A NEW CAUSE OF OFFENCE AT LUCKNOW; DECISIVE CONDUCT OF SIR HENRY LAWRENCE; INSUBORDINATION AND DISARMING OF THE 7TH NATIVE INFANTRY; GRAND MILITARY DURBAR; THE 34TH REGIMENT DISBANDED

At daybreak on the morning of the 31st of March, the whole of the European force in cantonment at Barrackpore, assembled on the parade-ground. The two regiments of the Queen, with the artillery and cavalry, occupied one side of the area, the native regiments being drawn up on the other side. The 19th, which during the night had been halted outside the cantonment, was then marched into the vacant space between the forces. After a short interval of impressive silence, the major-general, surrounded by his staff, advanced to the front of the delinquent corps, and read aloud the following order:—

"The 19th regiment of native infantry has been brought to the head-quarters of the presidency division, to receive, in the presence of the troops there assembled, the decision of the governor-general in council upon the offence of which it has been guilty. On the 26th of February, the 19th regiment of native infantry was ordered to parade on

the following morning for exercise, with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition for each man. The only blank ammunition in store was some which had been made up by the 7th native infantry, the regiment preceding the 19th regiment at Berhampore, and which had been left at that station on the departure of the 7th regiment. This ammunition had been used by the recruits of the 19th regiment up to the date above-mentioned. When the quantity of ammunition required for the following morning was taken to the lines, it appears that the men objected to the paper of which the cartridges were made, as being of two colours; and when the pay havildars assembled the men to issue the percussion-caps, they refused to receive them, saying that they had doubts about the cartridges.

"The men have since stated, in a petition addressed to the major-general commanding the presidency division, that, for more than two months, they had heard rumours of new cartridges having been made at Calcutta, on the paper of which the fat of bullocks and pigs had been spread, and of

* The result of this investigation may be understood from the fact, that Colonel Wheler received leave of absence from military duty in April, 1857.

its being the intention of the government to coerce the men to bite these cartridges; and that, therefore, they were afraid for their religion. They admit that the assurance given to them by the colonel of their regiment satisfied them that this would not be the case; adding, nevertheless, that when, on the 26th of February, they perceived the cartridges to be of two kinds, they were convinced that one kind was greased, and therefore refused them. The commanding officer, on hearing of the refusal, went to the lines, assembled the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and explained that the cartridges were unobjectionable, and had been left at Berhampore by the 7th regiment. He instructed them to inform their men that the cartridges would be served out in the morning by the officers commanding companies, and that any man who refused to take them would be tried by a court-martial and punished. This occurred at eight o'clock in the evening. Between ten and eleven o'clock a rush was made by the sepoy to the bells of arms; the doors were forced open; the men took possession of their arms and accoutrements, and carried them to their lines. On learning what had occurred, Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell ordered out the 11th regiment of irregular cavalry and the post guns.

"When the cavalry reached the parade, the men of the 19th regiment rushed out of their lines with their arms, shouting, and assembled near to the bells of arms, where many loaded their muskets. Upon Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell and the European officers approaching the men, they were warned not to go on, or the men would fire. The native officers were assembled, and Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, after addressing the men, directed the officers to separate the companies, and to require them to give up their arms. The men hesitated at first, but eventually gave up their arms and retired to their lines. These are the principal features of the outbreak at Berhampore, on the 26th of February.

"The men of the 19th regiment have refused obedience to their European officers. They have seized arms with violence. They have assembled, in a body, to resist the authority of their commander. The regiment has been guilty of open and defiant mutiny. It is no excuse for this offence to say, as has been said in the before-mentioned petition of the native officers and men of

the regiment, that they were afraid for their religion, and that they apprehended violence to themselves. It is no atonement of it to declare, as they have therein declared, that they are ready to fight for their government in the field, when they have disobeyed and insulted that government in the persons of its officers, and have expressed no contrition for their heavy offences. Neither the 19th regiment, nor any regiment in the service of the government of India, nor any sepoy, Hindoo, or Mussulman, has reason to pretend that the government has shown, directly or indirectly, a desire to interfere with the religion of its troops. It has been the unvarying rule of the government of India to treat the religious feelings of all its servants of every creed with careful respect; and to representations or complaints put forward in a dutiful and becoming spirit, whether upon this or upon any other subject, it has never turned a deaf ear.

"But the government of India expects to receive, in return for this treatment, the confidence of those who serve it. From its soldiers, of every rank and race, it will at all times, and in all circumstances, enforce unhesitating obedience. They have sworn to give it, and the governor-general in council will never cease to exact it. To no men, who prefer complaints with arms in their hands, will he ever listen. Had the sepoy of the 19th regiment confided in their government, and believed their commanding officer, instead of crediting the idle stories with which false and evil-minded men have deceived them, their religious scruples would still have remained inviolate, and themselves would still be, as they have hitherto been, faithful soldiers, trusted by the state, and laying up for future years all the rewards of a long and honourable service. But the governor-general in council can no longer have any confidence in this regiment, which has disgraced its name, and has lost all claim to consideration and indulgence. It is, therefore, the order of the governor-general in council, that the 19th regiment of native infantry be now disbanded; that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates be discharged from the army of Bengal; that this be done at the head-quarters of the presidency division, in the presence of every available corps within two days' march of the station; that the regiment be paraded for the purpose; and that each man, after being deprived of his arms, shall receive his arrears

of pay, and be required to withdraw from the cantonment. The European officers of the regiment will remain at Barrackpore until orders for their disposal shall be received from his excellency the commander-in-chief. This order is to be read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service."

Up to this moment it was felt to be very doubtful if the refractory corps would quietly submit to the degradation it had brought upon itself; or whether a shout of defiance, and some mutinous effort, would not compel the general to open fire upon the regiment. Fortunately for themselves, perhaps otherwise for the country, the men listened to the sentence with silent attention; and when the general had concluded his painful duty, two of the native officers, in the name of the regiment, asked his permission to again petition the governor-general for forgiveness, offering to serve in any part of the globe, so that the regiment might be retained in the Company's service. They were told the time for petitioning had passed; that nothing now remained for them but unconditional submission, and to lay down their arms and disperse.* The formidable preparations made to enforce obedience, left the repentant mutineers no alternative between instant compliance or total annihilation. The instinctive terror felt of old by the Hindoo races, when opposed to European resolution, revived; and, without attempting further remonstrance, the entire corps grounded arms and retired

* The following is given as a correct translation of General Hearsey's address in Hindostani:—

"Native officers and men,—The government you have served is just; I will consent to receive your petition and lay it before the governor-general. I cannot give you any hope, but I will make known that you are penitent. I have always been your friend as well as your commander; and in consequence of your good behaviour since the night of the 26th of February, when you were misled by your enemies and committed mutiny—the night on which the act of securing your arms, and standing with those in defiance of your officers; since that night you have behaved well. In consequence, the just government has been merciful; you have been punished; no vindictiveness has been shown. You are permitted to leave this parade with your uniform, and thus your honour as soldiers is left you though this horrible calamity has befallen you. In consequence of your good behaviour on the march down from Berhampore, I am directed by government to inform you, that the expenses incurred in carriage by land of your baggage, and in the hire of the boats on which some heavy baggage and families of some of you have been sent, will be paid by government. [On hearing this the men were visibly affected, and blessed the government.] By this act you will know that a just and stern government

several paces, their officers actually shedding tears of grief or rage during the degrading ceremonial. No further humiliation was offered; both officers and men were allowed to retain their clothing; and, after a short delay, the whole were escorted by a detachment of cavalry to Chinsurah, at which place they were ordered to disperse, bearing from thence the germs of treason and revolt, to be presently scattered over the whole presidency.

At this time no lack of vigour or of moderation had been exhibited on the part of the government. Every possible effort was made to remove the unfounded and unreasonable suspicion of the sepoy; and if indeed there had been some error at first, in allowing cartridges to arrive from England, greased with a composition of which the materials could not be positively defined by the troops, the mistake was rectified before a single native could be really affected by it. The matter was carefully and clearly explained by General Hearsey and the commanding officers of the several regiments; and the general orders issued on the occasion of each disbandment, and read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service, contained the most explicit assurances of protection and regard.

To show the anxiety of the Company's officers, that the religious prejudices of the troops should not be offended even by accident, the following incident, which occurred on the very day the 19th regiment knows how to be merciful in its anger. You will be paid the uttermost farthing that is due to you. You must settle with the purveyors of the regiment the sums you owe to them. The clothing, the property of the state, must be given up agreeably to the clothing regulations, as laid down in respect of sepoy dismissed the service. You will be escorted by five companies of her majesty's 84th regiment, and the body-guard of cavalry, to Pultah Ghat, and then be crossed over on steamers and ferry-boats to Ghyretty. All your European officers will go with you. Tents to shelter you have been sent. The surgeon and native doctor, and the hospital establishment of your late regiment, will accompany you, for I am told cholera has broken out in your ranks; and every care will be taken of the sick, for a just government is not vindictive, and is careful of its subjects. You will be permitted to stay at Ghyretty a day or two, until your officers can see all accounts properly settled; you will then go on six miles to Chinsurah, from whence you will be permitted to go to your homes, to *worship* at the temples where your fathers worshipped before you; and those Brahmins or other Hindoos who wish to do so, can visit the Thackoor at Juggernaut Gya, or any temples deemed holy by them. It is thus I give the lie to the infamous reports that the government wish to interfere with your castes or your religion."

was disbanded, may be referred to:—Her majesty's 84th regiment was landed from a steamer at the Barrackpore ghat, adjacent to which is a small temple, having a space around it wherein the sepoys were accustomed to range their household deities—small, ugly images of brass, stone, or earth. As the first impulse of a European soldier, when he sees one of those frightful idols so much venerated by the Hindoo population, is to knock off its head for the mere love of mischief, General Hearsey (who knew that any insult of the kind would exasperate the sepoys to madness), in order to prevent the chance of it, received the troops himself on landing, and ordered the first two soldiers that ascended the steps of the ghat to stand sentry over the idols. Thus, on the parade-ground, a short distance off, there were European troops prepared to put down a mutiny originating in the sepoy's dread of conversion, while at the ghat there were also European soldiers actually mounting guard for the safety of the sepoy's idols!

The sepoy Mungul Pandey, who had attacked and wounded the adjutant and sergeant-major of his regiment, having been tried by court-martial for the mutiny and outrage, was sentenced to be hung for his offences; the morning of the 3rd of April being appointed for his execution. The gallows was erected in the centre of the parade-ground at Barrackpore, and at gun-fire the troops were drawn up, forming three sides of a square. The 70th, 34th, 43rd, and 2nd grenadiers, native infantry, formed separate squares on one side of the area, faced by the governor-general's body-guard and her majesty's 53rd regiment in line. On the third side of the square were her majesty's 84th regiment in line, flanked by two batteries of the Company's artillery. The culprit was carried to the ground accompanied by a detachment of the guard, and followed by the prisoners of the mutinous quarter guard, also under escort. Upon taking up the positions assigned to them, the four regiments of native infantry were marched up in front of the gallows. The preparations being now complete, General Hearsey addressed the men of the 34th regiment on the melancholy fate of their comrade, and reminded them of the obligation they lay under by the articles of war, which they had sworn to observe. At the conclusion of his address, the prisoner, who had become exhausted, and made no effort to speak, was placed under the gallows. He

had previously declared that he had no personal feeling against either of the persons he had injured; but he would reveal nothing that might tend to implicate his comrades in the offence for which he was to suffer death. At a signal the platform was withdrawn, and the body of the mutineer—whose name has become a recognised distinction for the rebellious sepoys throughout India—swung trembling in the air.* The native troops were then marched past the gallows on their way to quarters; the men of the 34th appearing glad to be relieved from any further contemplation of the spectacle, but offering no demonstration of offended feeling. The prisoners of the quarter guard, to the number of nineteen, with the jemadar in charge of the post at the time of the outrage for which this expiation was required, were marched back to their place of confinement, under a European escort, to await their trial and meditate upon their probable punishment.

The effect of the melancholy display on the 3rd of April, was to render the men of the 34th regiment more sullen and insolent than before; and it was at length felt by the military authorities, that nothing short of disbanding the corps could satisfy the requirements of martial discipline. While the 34th remained in this unsatisfactory state at Barrackpore, it became known at the seat of government, that a native regiment stationed at Dinapore was only restrained from breaking into open mutiny by the presence of her majesty's 10th regiment. At the same time, the soldiers selected for practice at the Umballah and Sealkote riding-schools, were loud in their complaints that they should lose *caste* and be degraded if they were compelled to use the defiling cartridges; and the men of the commander-in-chief's escort actually proceeded to excommunicate some of their comrades for the offence of having only touched them. A suspicion now became prevalent, that nearly all the native regiments of infantry belonging to the presidency were ready to take part with the 34th, in the event of its revolting from its allegiance. On the other hand, all the irregular troops, the Sikhs, the Ghoorkas, and the cavalry, professed unshaken loyalty to the English

* Some difficulty had arisen, on the previous day, in procuring a hangman for the occasion, and four low-caste natives were obliged to be sent from Calcutta, that there might be no disappointment at the last moment.

government, and affected to treat the discontent of the 34th and other regiments with disdain and indifference.

The jemadar of the 34th regiment, in charge of the quarter-guard on the 29th of March, was now brought to trial. The charges against him were—"That while officer of the guard, when the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, made his mutinous attack upon the adjutant and sergeant-major of his regiment, he refused to allow any of the guard to interfere for the protection of his superior officer, or the arrest of the assailant. That he had encouraged sedition in the lines of the 34th native regiment, by telling the men, that if any of them brought him one of the new cartridges, he would cut his head off. That he had warned the men of the 34th native infantry to hold themselves in readiness for a general revolt on the night of *Hoolee*; and, lastly, that he had held a meeting in his quarters for the purpose of organising a general revolt of the sepoys against the government."

The misguided man, who relied upon the commiseration of his superior officers for a commutation of the sentence pronounced upon him, expected mercy until the rope was actually placed round his neck; and then, seeing that his doom was inevitable, he addressed the men of his regiment as follows:—"Sepoys! listen to me. I have been a traitor to a good government, and I am about to be punished for my crime; I shall be hanged, and I deserve it! Sepoys, obey your officers, for they are your rightful and just rulers; or else, like me, you will be brought to the gallows. Listen to your officers, and not to evil advisers. I listened to evil advisers, and you see what I am come to! I call upon God to bless the governor-general and all the great gentlemen, the general, and all the *sahib loge* (gentlemen) here present. Seeta Ram! Seeta Ram! Seeta Ram!"

The arrangements for the execution of this native officer were similar to those adopted in the case of the sepoy, Mungul Pandy; and, contrary to the expectation of many, the affair passed over without any ebullition of feeling on the part of the native troops assembled on the occasion.

The mutinous spirit thus promptly suppressed at Barrackpore and Berhampore, was supposed, in the early part of the month of April, to have received an effectual check: the fate of the 19th regiment appeared to have disheartened men

who, by the dignity of *caste*, had no choice for the means of subsistence but to remain soldiers. The men of the 34th, although sullen and careless, appeared to be without energy, thoroughly dispirited, and unwilling to risk the chances of further quarrel with their European officers. Some sepoys of the 36th native infantry, who had taunted the pupils in the Umballah school of exercise, were put under arrest, and ordered for trial by court-martial, without exciting any visible feeling among their comrades; and several regiments suspected of being undecided between duty or revolt, had by this time ranged themselves under the banners of discipline and loyalty, and remained passive. Thus everything connected with the native troops appeared to be in an improving and satisfactory state, when suddenly, and simultaneously, symptoms of discontent burst out with fearful earnestness at several stations of the Bengal presidency. At Agra, numerous incendiary fires heralded the approach of greater calamities. At Sealkote, inflammatory letters from the sepoys at Barrackpore were intercepted; and at Umballah, the conflagrations became so frequent and destructive, that a reward of 1,000 rupees was offered by government for the discovery of the incendiaries.

Towards the end of April, indications of disaffection and revolt became apparent at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, which speedily assumed a formidable aspect. The grievance of the obnoxious cartridges had of course been adopted by the sepoys stationed there; and, in addition, they had adopted a private wrong, which was especially their own. The European surgeon of the 34th regiment, in cantonment at Lucknow, had inadvertently tasted a bottle of medicine before handing it over to a sick Brahmin soldier. The act was immediately construed into a flagrant violation of the privileges of *caste*, and a premeditated attempt to break down its distinctive barrier; and the sepoys of this ill-conditioned regiment forthwith revenged the insult by burning down the doctor's bungalow. They also began to hold nightly meetings, and conflagrations were of frequent occurrence. Sir Henry Lawrence, the British resident at Oude, was fortunately upon the spot at the time, and took effective means to trample out the smouldering fire. He applied, by electric telegraph, to the governor-general in council for enlarged authority. "I

want," said he, "unlimited powers; I will not abuse them:" and in a few seconds he received the desired grant. Thus armed, he prepared to put down any attempt at insurrection the instant it should become apparent.

On the 3rd of May, a letter addressed by the men of the 7th Oude irregular infantry to the sepoy of the 48th regiment, was brought to his notice under the following circumstances. The writer, in the name of the 7th regiment, said—"We are ready to obey the directions of our brothers of the 48th in the matter of the cartridges, and to resist either actively or passively." This communication was handed to a Brahmin sepoy of the 48th, for the purpose of being read to his comrades; but the man being "true to his salt," and an exception to his class, at once made known its purport to his havildar, who, in his turn, reported it to his subahdar; and these having consulted together, it was decided to bring the matter to the notice of the commissioner, and the letter was accordingly placed in his hands. In the course of the same or the preceding day, some men of the 7th had displayed an offensive temper; and among other outrageous acts of insubordination, four of them had forced their way into the quarters of the adjutant of the regiment (Lieutenant Meham), and ordered him to prepare for death. They informed him that, personally, they had no quarrel with him, but that "he was a Feringhee, and must die!" The adjutant was at the moment without any means of defence; his visitors were armed to the teeth; and resistance being useless, the unfortunate officer resolved to meet his fate calmly and with dignity. The mutineers having paused, that he might speak to them, he said—"Men! it is true that I am unarmed, and you can kill me; but that will do you no good. You will not ultimately prevail in this matter; another adjutant will be appointed in my place, and you will be subjected to the same treatment you have received from me. Why, then, should you desire to destroy me?" The expostulation had a fortunate and unexpected effect upon the intruders, who turned and left the place without further attempting to molest the astonished officer.

Information of this mutinous outrage having been forwarded to Sir Henry Lawrence in the course of the same evening, he, without a moment's unnecessary delay,

ordered out her majesty's 32nd foot, the 13th, 48th, and 71st native infantry, the 7th cavalry, and a battery of eight guns, manned by Europeans, and proceeded to the lines of the mutineers, about seven miles from the city. Darkness had set in before he arrived, and his movement had been so sudden, that the men of the 7th regiment were completely taken by surprise. Within five minutes after his troops had reached the parade-ground, the bugler was ordered to sound the assembly; and the men, on making their appearance, were commanded to form in front of their lines. In the presence of a force so overwhelming they saw they had no choice but to obey. The infantry and cavalry then formed on either side of them—the guns, within grape distance, being ranged in front; and with this energetic demonstration before them, the 7th, completely baffled, awaited their doom, whatever it might be. They were simply ordered to lay down their arms, and they obeyed without a moment's hesitation. At this juncture the port-fires of the artillery were lighted: a sudden panic seized the whole regiment; the men shouted, as if frantic, "Do not fire! Do not fire!" and, breaking from the ranks, rushed into their lines for shelter or concealment. So far the object of Sir Henry Lawrence had been accomplished without bloodshed; the ringleaders, and many of their most active followers, were discovered and put under arrest the same night, and the remainder of the regiment was relieved from duty and confined to its lines, pending further measures.

Having thus promptly succeeded in quelling the first open attempt to excite mutiny among the troops at Lucknow by the agency of the 7th regiment, Sir Henry Lawrence hoped to remove the groundless dissatisfaction that prevailed among the native regiments, by explanation and conciliatory treatment. He consequently directed that every possible effort should be made to undeceive the sepoy, in regard to the pretences upon which their religious prejudices had been awakened, and to excite a soldierly indignation against the treachery and disloyalty of the regiments that had disgraced themselves by mutinous conduct. He held, also, a grand military *darbar*, or audience, at which he publicly acknowledged and rewarded the fidelity of those men of the 48th regiment who had shown their high sense of honour and

loyalty by not only resisting the temptation to join the mutineers, but who, by apprising their officers of the impending mischief, had enabled the authorities to act in time for the protection of the faithful and well-disposed. Everything was done to give effect to the proceedings, which were conducted in the presence of the whole garrison, and the principal native and European inhabitants of the city. After an energetic address to the native troops, in the course of which he positively disclaimed, on the part of government, the slightest intention or desire to interfere in the most remote degree with the free exercise of the Brahminical religion, or the privileges of *caste*, he compared the tyranny and oppression to which their fellow-countrymen had been subjected under former rulers, with the mild and tolerant government under which they now lived with their families in peace and security; and then, after alluding to the glorious triumphs and high reputation of the Bengal army, and threatening signal chastisement to all who should dare, by mutinous conduct, to tarnish that reputation, he concluded thus:—"And now, soldiers, it is my pleasing duty to reward, in the name of the government, those who have served it well and honourably. Advance, Subahdar Sewak Tewaree; come forward, havildar and soldiers; and receive from the government, which is proud to number you among its soldiers, the gifts I am delighted to present to you. Accept these swords of honour—you have won them well—long may you live to wear them! Take these sums of money for your families. Wear these robes of honour at your homes and your festivals; and may the bright example that you have so conspicuously shown, find, as it doubtless will, followers in every regiment and company in the service."

Sir Henry Lawrence then himself presented to the subahdar and havildar a handsome sabre each, a pair of rich shawls, a splendid *chogah*, or cloak, and four pieces of embroidered cloth; the sepoy, two in number, were each presented with a handsome sword and turban, and pieces of cloth; 300 rupees, in a purse, were also given to each; and the commissioner, at the close of the ceremony, cordially shook the hand of each recipient of these merited rewards.

* The distribution of *caste* in the 34th regiment at this time, was as follows:—Brahmins, 335; Rajpoots, 257; Hindoos of inferior caste, 231; Mussuimans,

Notwithstanding the storm of revolt had been thus happily for a time averted from bursting over Lucknow, the official report of Sir Henry Lawrence respecting the occurrences that had taken place, aroused the government at Calcutta to a sense of the gathering danger, and of the necessity for vigorous measures to arrest its progress. As a first step in the right direction, the governor-general ordered that the 34th regiment of native infantry, part of which was yet in cautions at Barrackpore, and the other part at Lucknow, should be immediately disbanded;* a correspondence having been discovered in the possession of a native officer of the corps, which proved the existence of a conspiracy for organising a general revolt of the native troops throughout the presidency; and accordingly, on the 7th of May, the seven companies of the regiment at Barrackpore were reduced. It will be recollected that the notorious Mungul Pandey was a sepoy of this corps; and it should be remarked, that during the hand-to-hand conflict that ensued after his attack upon the adjutant, some hundreds of sepoys in undress, and others in uniform, looked passively on, while several took part in the struggle, and attacked the European officers with the butt-end of their muskets. As it was found impossible to procure evidence to identify these men, and the general conduct of the regiment had been conspicuously bad, it was selected upon this occasion for an example of the determination with which the government had resolved to crush the mutinous spirit prevailing throughout the native army. The order was carried out under all necessary precautions; but the men exhibited a most daring and insolent tone of defiance throughout the whole proceedings.

From the beginning of May, it was suspected that the mutinous feeling which had been exhibited by the different regiments throughout Bengal, had its origin in the 34th native infantry. The disbanded 19th persistently accused the 34th of having planned and counselled the mutiny for which they were disbanded. Recent discoveries proved, that some of the native officers of this regiment had been in communication with nearly every native regiment in Bengal; and that a conspiracy had been set on foot with a view of organising

200; Sikhs, 74; Christians (drummers, &c.), 12; total, 1,089. The 19th regiment, at the time of its disbandment, contained 409 Brahmins and 180 Rajpoots.

a general and simultaneous rising of the entire native army, who were to murder all Europeans in the country. A considerable mass of this correspondence was discovered in the possession of the principal native officer of the 34th; and these documents fully proved the complicity of a large number of the highest grade of native military officers throughout Bengal. The discovery naturally occasioned much alarm; but the confidence of the government in its own resources continued unabated.

CHAPTER IV.

MUTINY AT MEERUT; ANOTHER ALLEGED CAUSE OF GRIEVANCE; THE CANTONMENTS AND TOWN OF MEERUT; THE 3RD NATIVE CAVALRY AND THE CARTRIDGES; MUTINOUS CONDUCT OF THE SOWARS; A PUNISHMENT ARCADE; REVOLT OF THE TROOPS; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS AND INHABITANTS; FLIGHT OF THE MUTINEERS TO DELHI.

WHILE the transactions we have narrated were in progress through other parts of the presidency, a cloud had been gathering over Meerut,* an important military station situate in the Doab, nearly equidistant from the Ganges and the Jumna, and about thirty-two miles from Delhi. Little suspicion was yet entertained of the tempest about to burst, in torrents of blood, over the streets of the populous capital of an important district; but, as it afterwards appeared, the native troops, like those quartered at Barrackpore and other places already named, had become deeply impressed by a sense of grievance in connection with the objectionable cartridges, and they had also a supplemental imaginary wrong to excite the more credulous among them. A rumour had been privately circulated amongst the Brahmin sepoys, that the government designed to deprive them of the privileges of *caste*, by having the bones of bullocks, ground and mixed with flour, sold in the markets, so that the Hindoo, by inadvertently partaking of food with which a portion of the substance of the forbidden animal was combined, would become polluted and outcast, and thus be compelled to embrace Christianity. The hostile influence of this impression at length became visible to the European inhabitants; and General Hewitt, commanding the forces at Meerut, attempted, through the instru-

mentality of the officers of the different corps, to combat these notions, and to efface the mischievous impression. The remonstrances and arguments employed were, however, listened to with sullen impatience; and it soon became evident that some deep-seated feeling, hostile to the Company's government, was operating upon the impulsive temperament of the entire native army, which merely waited for favourable opportunity, and slight provocation, to burst into active revolt. In the early part of May, the *Bombay Times* represented the whole district from Calcutta to Lahore, as "either in open mutiny, or upon the verge of it." The preconcerted arrangement, as subsequently disclosed, appears to have warranted such an opinion; as it had been planned that a rising should take place simultaneously at Meerut, Lahore, and other cities of the Punjab. The revolted troops were then to fall back on Delhi, and make it their head-quarters, and the base of future operations in the Mogul empire; which was to be there proclaimed and established, by the extermination of the whole European army and population throughout India.

The rising at Meerut was the earliest in point of date of the several attempts at insurrection, and it became successful, as much from the peculiar nature of the ground, as from a variety of other circum-

* The capital of a district of British India, in the presidency of Agra. It is situated in a grassy plain, about thirty-two miles north-east of Delhi. The town is inclosed by a ruined wall of great extent; and the most important structure within it at the

time of the recent outbreak, was the English church. Population from 30,000 to 40,000. The cantonments, about two miles north of the town, afforded accommodation for 20,000 troops, and were generally occupied by a large native force.

stances. The cantonment was itself distinguished for its spacious area: a parallelogram in shape, it extended east and west five miles, and from north to south two miles, the ground being divided as follows:—On the extreme right of the north front were the lines of the horse artillery, consisting of barracks and stabling for one native and three European troops of horse artillery, with hospital and bazaar. On the left of the royal artillery lines, and also in the north front row of the cantonment, were the bungalows of the European infantry. These bungalows were in rows of four or five deep, each accommodating twenty men; and at the time of the outbreak they were occupied by the 60th rifles. About a quarter of a mile to the left rear of these bungalows were the stables of the European cavalry, and in rear of them the barracks of that regiment. These barracks were about the centre of the cantonment. To their rear was an extent of broken ground much larger than is met with in the unoccupied portion of cantonments generally, and it owed the ruggedness of its surface to the circumstance of its being, in the rainy season, the water-shed of a large portion of the cantonment. To the right rear, and rear of this broken ground was situated a very large bazaar, amply stocked with some of the worst specimens of the native population; and between this and the south front of the cantonment were a number of officers' quarters, stretching up to the rear of the artillery lines. Facing towards Delhi, and at the left rear of the parallelogram, were the lines of the native regiments, forming three sides of a square, and about four miles from the horse artillery lines at the opposite corner of the enclosure. The road to Delhi was contiguous to the native lines. The officers of the European corps had mostly their bungalows behind the lines of their respective regiments; but the dwellings of officers of different corps were often intermixed, without regard to strict order; and this irregularity chiefly prevailed in the rear of the broken ground already mentioned, and in the vicinity of the Sudder Bazaar, where there were a large number of bungalows occupied by European traders, wine-merchants, and clerks in the public offices. The bungalows of the officers of the native corps were in the rear of the lines of their respective regiments. The old town of Meerut was south of the cantonment, and about a mile

from the Sudder Bazaar. It was crowded with a bad and turbulent population; and the civil gaol was in its immediate vicinity. The lines of the sappers and miners were at a considerable distance to the south-west of the cantonments.

The circumstances that immediately preceded the military outbreak at Meerut were as follows:—Some refractory temper having been exhibited by several men of the 3rd native cavalry, in reference to the obnoxious cartridges, it was considered proper, by the officers in command at the station, to test the discipline of the regiment; and with this view, a parade was ordered on the 6th of May, at which the cartridges were served out to the men. Out of ninety sowars on parade, only five would receive, or even submit to touch them. Anxious to conciliate, rather than push matters hastily to an extreme point, the havildars were ordered to offer them a second time to the eighty-five men, who again peremptorily refused to receive them; and their insubordinate conduct being reported to the general in command, the whole of the refractory soldiers were by his orders placed under arrest, and were subsequently tried by a court-martial composed of native officers, by whom the delinquents were severally sentenced to periods of imprisonment varying from six to ten years. The eighty-five prisoners were then placed in charge of a guard of European soldiers, composed of two companies of the 60th rifles, and twenty-five men of the carabineers, and were thus conducted to their lines.

A general punishment parade was ordered at daybreak on the morning of Saturday, the 9th of May, and at that time all the troops at the cantonment, with the exception of the standing guards, were paraded on the ground of the 60th rifles; that battalion, with the carabineers, the 3rd light cavalry, the 11th and 20th regiments of native infantry, a light field battery, and a troop of horse artillery, being present under arms. Upon the arrival of General Hewitt and his staff, the carabineers, horse artillery, and rifles, were ordered to load; and having performed this significant military operation, the eighty-five prisoners were marched to the ground under escort, the European regiments and the guns of the artillery being disposed so that the slightest effort to get up a mutinous outbreak would have been followed by their inevitable destruction. The prisoners were in uniform when

marched on to the ground; but as soon as their respective sentences had been read in the hearing of the assembled troops, they were ordered to take off their military clothing and accoutrements; and the armourers and smiths of the horse artillery being in readiness with the necessary implements, irons were riveted upon the legs of each individual, and, finally, they were marched off the parade, and escorted to the gaol, about two miles from the cantonment. During the progress of this scene, so humiliating to the character of the regiment to which the men belonged, the officers and men of the 3rd cavalry present, appeared intensely, though silently, to feel the degradation of their comrades: they sat mounted, with swords drawn and sloped, but allowed no outward indication of the fires of revenge and hatred that were scorching their hearts, and consuming whatever had existed of human feeling within them, to appear. The sepoy regiments, evidently intimidated by the preparations that had been made to crush any mutinous demonstration on the ground, marched sullenly to their lines.

Up to this date no suspicion of a general rising of the native troops had been entertained either by the officers in cantonment or by the European residents at Meerut, the discontent of the native troops and their connections in the bazaars and town having merely shown itself by incendiary fires in the lines, scarcely a night passing without one or more conflagrations, and the partial and abortive attempt at mutiny already noticed. All was therefore in comparative repose until the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when a movement commenced among the native troops, which, in its results, showed that a plan of wholesale and indiscriminate massacre had been arranged, and was then about to be carried into effect, the intent of the conspirators being to surround, during church-time, the whole of the European population, civil as well as military; which, thus surprised, unarmed, and defenceless, was to be destroyed, without exception or regard to age, sex, or station. To the successful accomplishment of this diabolical scheme there was but one obstacle—namely, the want of unanimity among the chief actors in the proposed tragedy. The 11th native infantry had less thirst for European blood than either the 3rd cavalry or the 20th regiment. The moment for decisive action approached; and the 11th still holding out against a mas-

sacre, the men of the 20th, excited by rage and disappointment, at length fired several shots at the sepoys of the 11th, who, being either intimidated by the fury of their comrades, or probably not sincerely unwilling to join in the sanguinary work proposed to them, now joined the rebellious movement; and the men of the three regiments, thus united, rushed together into the parade-ground, with shouts and execrations against the Europeans generally, and at once began their task of unrelenting slaughter. Unfortunately, at this critical moment, General Hewitt, in charge of the troops at the cantonment, seems to have shown much indecision as to the means to be adopted to arrest the first steps of the rebellious and murderous outbreak.

One of the European officers attached to the 11th regiment has described the incidents connected with this affair by a communication from Meerut, dated May 12th, 1857, in which he says—"On Sunday, the 10th, between five and six o'clock in the evening, I was in my bungalow, in rear of the lines of the 11th native infantry, where I have resided since my arrival at the station; when, as I was dressing, preparatory to going out for a ride with Colonel Finnis, of the 11th native infantry, my attention was attracted to my servants and those in the neighbouring compounds, going down towards the front of our enclosures, and looking steadily into the lines of the 11th, whence a buzzing murmuring noise proceeded, such as I have often heard in cases of fire, or some such alarm. Of this I took little notice, but went down to my gate, still dressing; and the noise still increasing, I returned to the bungalow, put on my uniform, and again went out. I had scarcely got to the gate, when I heard the popping sound of fire-arms, which I knew at once were loaded with ball-cartridge, and a European non-commissioned officer came running, with others, towards me from the 11th lines, saying, 'For God's sake, sir, leave! come to your bungalow, change that dress, and fly!' I walked into my bungalow, and was doffing my uniform, the bullets by this time flying out of the 11th lines into my compound, when the havildar-major of the 11th rushed into the room, terrified and breathless, and exclaimed, 'Fly, Sahib—fly at once! the regiments are in open mutiny.' The tumult was now drawing nearer, and the shouts of the infuriated soldiers increased. The affair was evidently becoming serious. I came

out, and ordered my horse to be saddled and brought up, my servants still begging of me to fly for my life. I mounted. The lines of the 6th dragoon guards (carabiniers) lie to the north of my bungalow, separated by a rugged and barren plain, cut up by nullahs and ravines, upon which, riding out of the back part of my compound, I descended. A Briton does not like actually 'running away' under any circumstances; and I was riding slowly through the uneven ground, when the havildar-major before-mentioned exclaimed, 'You, Sahib, are mounted and can make haste; ride to the European cavalry lines, and give the alarm.' Good; I galloped off, crossed the difficult ground all right, got into the cavalry lines and made for the colonel's house, which he had just left, and found him in the barrack lines on horseback, ordering the dragoons to saddle, arm, and mount without a moment's delay."

In the meantime the work of destruction was rapidly approaching consummation. The moment the alarm had reached Colonel Finnis, commanding the 11th regiment, that officer rode to the parade-ground, and endeavoured, by haranguing the men, to induce them to return to their duty as soldiers: he exhorted them, by their former good character and the confidence that had always been deservedly reposed in their loyalty and obedience, to remain true to their colours, and to avoid the stain that a useless attempt at mutiny would indelibly inflict upon the regiment. He appealed to them as their colonel and their friend; but the reply to his remonstrance was a shot from a sepoy of the 20th regiment, which struck him in the back as he uttered his last sentence. A volley from the muskets of the tumultuous rabble instantly followed this signal, and the colonel fell from his horse, riddled by bullets. Observing the fate of Colonel Finnis, and being utterly unprepared to resist the fury of the mutineers, the other officers withdrew from the parade-ground, and sought protection in the lines of the rifles and 6th dragoons, their longer continuance upon the scene being useless as well as personally hazardous. Throughout this scene, the men of the 11th regiment were not so murderously disposed as those of the 3rd and 20th, since, if their desire had been to massacre their officers, they had ample opportunity to accomplish their purpose while the colonel was addressing them; and it may be ob-

served also in their favour, that they offered no impediment to the escape of their officers after the colonel had fallen.

During this lamentable scene on the parade-ground, a strong party of the 3rd regiment had mounted and rode off to the gaol, where, as before stated, some eighty-five of their comrades had been conducted in irons the previous day, in accordance with a sentence of court-martial. Meeting with no attempt at resistance on the part of the *burkandazes* (gaol guards), the liberation of the troopers was speedily accomplished, as well as that of about 1,200 other individuals, then in confinement for sundry crimes and offences. The yet fettered sowars, exasperated by the disgrace they had been subjected to, added greatly to the frenzied excitement of their comrades, who escorted them back to their lines in the cantonments, followed by a tumultuous rabble from the gaol, yelling and shouting, and vociferating savage denunciations of vengeance upon all Europeans. The first object of the rescuers, on returning to the cantonment, was to free their comrades from the irons riveted upon them; the next, to join their brother mutineers of the 20th regiment in the frightful carnage that had already commenced, and in which the soldiers of the 3rd regiment spared neither sex nor age. The men of the 20th regiment were equally busy at the like sanguinary pastime, and the murders committed by them were as numerous and unprovoked as those of the 3rd; although, if it be possible to make a distinction in the character of such atrocities, the acts of the 20th were not signalised by the unspeakable brutalities that marked the pitiless vengeance of the 3rd. The 11th regiment, as before observed, seemed at first to enter with reluctance into the reckless outrages of the other troops; but at length they also became excited by the fury of their companions in the mutiny, and exhibited a like avidity for the shedding of European blood. By this time darkness had set in; and the fires that had been conveyed to every house and building, officers' bungalows, public edifices, the mess-houses of the troops, and, in short, every structure between the native lines and Meerut, began to proclaim their ascendancy over the fragile materials by which they were fed. On all sides great pinnacles of waving flame, of all hues and degrees of intensity, shot up high into the darkness; huge volumes of smoke came

rolling on in the sultry atmosphere; and the cracking and roar of the extending conflagration, the frantic yells of the mutinous sepoys, and the shouts and shrieks of the multitude gathered to witness the progress of the revolt, and share in the plunder (many of whom fell from the random shots of the soldiers)—all combined, on that dark and awful night, to present a scene of horrors it would be impossible to exaggerate in attempting to describe. Every living thing within reach was attacked at once, as the furious mob of sepoys and plunderers rushed from place to place, uttering cries of revenge on the Europeans, mingled with shouts of exultation at their easily-acquired triumph over unsuspecting and defenceless victims.

The official details of the occurrence at Meerut on the 10th of May, as given by General Hewitt, are very meagre, and do not at all explain the reason why no European guard was placed over the gaol or the native lines, although the men were well known to be disaffected. Neither do they afford information why the brigadier did not advance in pursuit of the fugitives with even a portion of his force. Promptitude on the part of General Hewitt, in following up and attacking the mutineers the next morning, would have struck a mortal blow at the revolt, and would, in all probability, have saved Delhi from massacre and plunder. The despatch is as follows:—

“Major-general Hewitt to the Adjutant-general of the Army.

“Meerut, May 11th, 1857.

“Sir,—I regret to have to report that the native troops at Meerut broke out yesterday evening in open mutiny. About half-past six p.m. the 20th native infantry turned out with arms. They were reasoned with by their officers, when they reluctantly returned to their lines; but immediately after they rushed out again, and began to fire. The 11th native infantry had turned out with their officers, who had perfect control over them, inasmuch as they persuaded them not to touch their arms until Colonel Finnis had reasoned with the mutineers, in doing which he was, I regret to say, shot dead; after which act the 20th native infantry fired into the 11th, who then desired their officers to leave them, and apparently joined the mutineers.

“The 3rd light cavalry, at the commencement, mounted a party, and galloped over to the gaol to rescue the eighty-five men of

the corps who were sentenced by the native general court-martial, in which they succeeded, and at the same time liberated all the other prisoners, about 1,200 in number. The mutineers then fired nearly all the bungalows in rear of the centre lines south of the nullah, including Mr. Greathed’s (the commissioner) and my own, together with the government cattle-yard and commissariat officer’s house and office. In this they were assisted by the population of the bazaar, the city, and the neighbouring villages. Every European—man, woman, and child—fallen in with, was ruthlessly murdered. Amongst those who are known to have fallen, are Colonel Finnis, 11th native infantry; Captain Taylor, Captain Macdonald, 20th native infantry; together with the wife and three children of the latter; Cornet M’Nabb, Veterinary Surgeons Phillips and Dowson, together with the wife of the latter. The above particulars I have learned from different parties.

“As soon as the alarm was given, the artillery, carabinieri, and 60th rifles were got under arms; but by the time we reached the native infantry parade-ground, it was too dark to act with efficiency in that direction; consequently the troops retired to the north of the nullah, so as to cover the barracks and officers’ lines of the artillery, carabinieri, and 60th rifles; which were, with the exception of one house, preserved, though the insurgents—for I believe the mutineers had at that time retired by the Allygurh and Delhi roads—burnt the vacant sapper and miner lines. At break of day the force was divided: one-half on guard, and the other taken to reconnoitre and pat of the native lines.

“The guard from the 20th native infantry at the pension pay-office and cantonment magistrates’ remained at their posts; two native officers, and some twenty men of the 11th native infantry, remained with their officers; also about fifty men of the 3rd light cavalry, who came in with their respective troop officers, whom they had aided and preserved.

“I am led to think the outbreak was not premeditated, but the result of a rumour that a party was parading to seize their arms; which was strengthened by the fact of the 60th rifles parading for evening church service. Efficient measures are being taken to secure the treasure, ammunition, and barracks, and to place the females and European inhabitants in the

greatest security obtainable. Nearly the whole of the cantonment and zillah police have deserted. The electric wire having been destroyed, it was impossible to communicate the state of things except by express, which was done to Delhi and Umballah. His excellency will be kept daily informed of the state of things, and a more detailed account will be furnished as soon as circumstances permit commanding officers to furnish the necessary reports.—I have, &c.,

“W. H. HEWITT, Major-general,
“Commanding Meerut Division.”

The following are the names of some of the victims who perished in this outbreak:—In the 3rd cavalry, Dr. Christie, Cornet M’Nabb, and Mr. Phillips, veterinary surgeon, were killed: in the 11th native infantry, Colonel Finnis and Mrs. Chambers: in the 20th native infantry, Captain Taylor, Captain Macdonald (acting interpreter of the 3rd cavalry), Mr. Macdonald, Lieutenants Henderson and Pattle, all killed; Lieutenant Lewes, slightly wounded. Mr. Dawson, veterinary surgeon (horse artillery), and Mrs. Dawson, were also among the killed; Lieutenant Templer, 6th native infantry, was badly wounded. It is due to the men of the 11th to say, that they left Meerut without touching their officers, so that the deaths in that regiment must be attributed to the mutineers of other corps. Many other persons unconnected with the army, also fell before the rage of the mutineers who had carefully prearranged *their* outbreak. At the very commencement, all possibility of telegraphic communication with Delhi was cut off. They also had the precaution to keep possession of the road to the capital, as some movements made by the cavalry in that direction, were rendered unsuccessful by the advantages of time and position the rebels secured by their unmolested flight.

Returning to the letter of which an extract has been already given, the writer says, in reference to the dragoons ordered out for the protection of the cantonment—“It took a long time to get ready, and it was dark before the dragoons were prepared to start in a body; but when the carabinieri were mounted, we rode off at a brisk trot, through clouds of suffocating dust and darkness, in an easterly direction, and along a narrow road; not advancing in the direction of the conflagration, but, on the contrary, leaving it behind on our right rear. In this way we

proceeded for some two or three miles, when suddenly the halt was sounded, and we faced about, retracing our steps, and, verging towards the left, approached the conflagration, and debouched on the left rear of the native infantry lines, which were now all in a blaze; skirting along behind these lines, we turned them at the western end, and, wheeling to the left, came upon the 11th parade-ground, where, at a little distance, we found the horse artillery and the 60th rifles.”

It will be observed, that the first movement of the 3rd and 20th regiments commenced between four and five o’clock in the afternoon, and that the lines of the European cavalry ranged off from the centre of the cantonment, and consequently were within two miles and a-half of the extreme limits (inclusive) of the lines of the three mutinous regiments; and were certainly not more than four miles and a-half from the town of Meerut: but, notwithstanding the proximity of the 6th dragoons and the other European troops, night had set in before they were on the parade-ground in service order; and then, as far as the 6th dragoons were concerned, according to the letter we have just read, began the system of marching and countermarching that ended in their doing nothing. The 60th rifles and the horse artillery were first upon the scene of outrage; the dragoons (probably fearful of blowing their horses by too much haste) leisurely followed; but long before they reached the native lines, the mutineers had exhausted their fury, and, sated with blood and carnage, had begun to retire in the direction of Delhi. Their rear was already disappearing in the gloom, when it was discovered by the 60th rifles and the horse artillery, who fired a few volleys into a wood in which the fugitives had sought cover. It was now quite dark, and beyond the wood no search was made or pursuit attempted; the rifles and artillery therefore retraced their steps to the cantonment, and, on the parade-ground of the late 11th regiment, met the 6th dragoons, returning from their useless ride. The mutineers, thus left free to choose their accommodation for the night, encamped unmolested within six miles of Meerut. The European troops bivouacked upon the scene of devastation and slaughter they had *not* prevented by timely interposition; and the remainder of the night or the 10th of May was occupied in devising plans for the future safety of the smoking

ruins of Meerut, and of the portion that yet survived of its European population.

The horrors of that dreadful night could scarcely have been surpassed, though, unfortunately, they were too closely paralleled by subsequent atrocities in other places. The mutinous and infuriated soldiers had, it is true, withdrawn from the scene of their outrages; but the liberated prisoners from the gaol, and the rabble of the town, continued their ravages almost without a check. The first act of Major-general Hewitt, after the return of the troops from their tardy, and consequently ineffective pursuit, was to post European sentries in different parts of Meerut; and the constant fire of their rifles showed that the measure, late as it was adopted, was necessary. To many of the surviving Europeans, the night of the 10th of May, 1857, was one of agonising suspense; to some it was a night in which the desolated heart was numbed by the intensity of its hopeless grief. Husbands had missed their wives, wives had been torn away from their husbands; infants had been wrenched from their mothers' arms to be butchered before their eyes; and children had been compelled to witness the expiring agonies of their murdered parents, and even to drink their blood!

It is quite clear that no attempt was made, even on the following morning, to pursue and attack the fugitive mutineers, who were consequently allowed to advance upon Delhi without hindrance—an advantage that enabled them the more effectively to perpetrate the atrocities we have yet to record.

Continuing the details furnished by individuals on the spot, we have the following in a letter, dated Meerut, May 12th:—“Last night we had to flee to the artillery school of instruction, which is the safest place in Meerut. You cannot imagine how many were there: the commissioner and Mrs. Greathed, the Cooksons, the Scotts, and, indeed, almost all the officers' wives. Mrs. Greathed escaped by a miracle; she was on the top of the house when it was burning the evening before last. The servants declared both Mr. and Mrs. Greathed were from home, so it was useless trying to find them. After the insurgents left, Mr. and Mrs. Greathed remained a whole night under a tree. Last night was more calm than the previous one. Two stables were burnt down close to where we are: a few guns were pointed at the insurgents, who

are still prowling about. The military could not guard further than the Mall, along which artillery was placed; and dragoons and riflemen were parading all round Meerut. It was a pitiable sight to see the general so affected at the funerals of the poor fellows who have been butchered. I heard yesterday that eighty sepoys have already laid down their arms, and are begging for forgiveness, and others wish to follow if they may be forgiven. The night before last they murdered every European they came across, sparing neither men, women, nor children. Mrs. Courtenay, of the hotel, was murdered, as also her niece; so you see they penetrated well into the cantonment. Every bungalow in the native cavalry and native infantry lines has been burnt to the ground.’

The following extracts are from a letter written by the wife of an officer of the 3rd cavalry, dated Meerut, May 14th:—

“There has been an awful mutiny of the native regiments here, in consequence of the severe sentence pronounced on our skirmishers. On the 9th inst. some eighty-five men were committed to gaol for ten years in irons, and with hard labour. On the evening of Sunday, the 10th, an outbreak of the native infantry occurred for their release. I cannot describe it now. It was a massacre—a carnage! Eliza and I were driving to church, when we saw rioters pouring into the road, armed with clubs and swords. They warned us back, and we reached home safely. What a night followed! My husband tore off to keep his troop steady, and partially succeeded, but many of our poor 3rd joined the mutineers.

“17th. So far I wrote a few days ago; now I trust to be able to write more calmly of the awful scene through which we have passed. How you will shudder! We are safe as yet, and trusting to continue so until happier times come. To begin. As we went to church, when passing the mess of our regiment, servants were leaning over the walls of the compound, all looking towards the road from the native infantry lines. I saw something was wrong, and, on asking, several men called to us to go back, as there was a mutiny of the native infantry, and a fight in the bazaar. Here was our first escape; for had we been further on our way, we might never have been able to drive through the road. We saw crowds of armed men hurrying towards us. We drove home furiously. On the way we

passed a private of the carabinieri unarmed, and running for his life from several men armed with *lattees* (a long stick.) We stopped the carriage, and drew in the poor Englishman; the men continued to strike at him as we took him in, but stopped when we held out our arms and screamed to them to desist; and we reached home safely. On telling my husband, he started off at once for his lines, in uniform, but without waiting for his horse, ordering it to be sent after him. When he reached the gate, he found —, surrounded by three of the 3rd troopers, cutting at him with their swords. My husband shouted, 'What are you doing? that's my friend;' and they desisted. He then hurried to the lines; found the three first troops had run away; but his own, with the 5th and 6th, were still there. Captain — had also joined him. They asked the men if they could rely on them, and to a man they swore fidelity. They heard there was fighting at the gaol to release the prisoners. The men clustered round Henry, and on his asking them what they were going to do, they replied, 'Whatever you order us.' So Henry gave them their horses, and bade them follow him, or rather Captain —, as his senior, and they rode off in the direction of the gaol. They had first asked Mr. —, who came up, if he had any orders from the colonel. Mr. — said the colonel was flying for his life, and had given no orders. They rode on with their three troops; but, after a short distance, my husband discovered that he was alone with the fourth troop. To this moment he is unaware when the others turned back. He soon afterwards met the cavalry prisoners free, and with their irons broken. They were flying to Delhi. They recognised Henry, and shouted blessings on him as they passed. They were mounted and in uniform. Their comrades, who had broken open the gaol and set them free, having given them their own equipments. One of these escaped prisoners sprang to meet Henry, crying, 'I am free, my lord. My captain, let me press you to my bosom before I fly;' and he did it. He was indeed their friend, and had he been listened to, these horrors might never have happened. Still, who can say? for the cartridges seem to have been made the excuse for the outbreak of a long-brewing animosity. On seeing that the gaol was broken open, Henry determined to turn

back, and try to save the standards of the 3rd from the lines. The roads were in uproar! They with difficulty charged through crowds of infantry mutineers and bazaar men, armed and firing. Henry saw a trooper stabbing a woman as she drove by in a carriage. He cut him down with his sword; and as he reeled in his saddle, Mr. — ran him through, but the woman (Mrs. Courtenay, wife of the hotel-keeper), was already dead. That showed Henry that a massacre of all Europeans was proposed. Soon a ball whizzed by Henry's ear, and, looking back, he saw one of the troopers, not in uniform, and with his head muffled, fire at him again. Henry shouted, 'Was that meant for me?' 'Yes,' said the man, 'I will have your blood.' Henry did not fire at him; he believed the men might mutiny from him were he to do so. He only asked his men if they would see him shot? They vociferated 'No,' and forced the assassin back again and again, but would not kill him. What an awful position! The man was not of those who had started with Henry, as he had made them all dress properly; while this man wore native clothes. Henry believes it to have been a man he removed from being 'daroga,' for carelessness and disobedience; but he is not quite certain. A christian trumpeter urged Henry to save himself by riding faster; so they dashed back towards the lines, but the assassin followed, firing again and again. Henry kept cheering his men, and keeping them together by praise, &c. He reached the lines; but, passing our house on his way, he asked what men would come to defend me? The whole troop (at least, all with him) raised their hands. He said he only wanted four men. 'I, I, I,' cried every one; so he sent the first four. Then reaching the lines, he found there Major —, Captain —, and Mr. —, with a few remaining men of the other troops. The infantry were flying across the parade-ground, followed by European artillery. Now the officers, bidding their men follow, galloped into the open country with three of the four regimental standards; and on seeing them safe near the dragoon lines, Henry asked Major — if he might return and look after me, and he got permission. How truly thankful was I to see him again! But, I! what a time had I passed through since he had gone to his troop, about two hours before! I had first hidden the uniform of the carabinieri

we had rescued, and dressed him in a coat of Henry's, bidding him sit with us. I fancied that he alone might be the object of possible attack, as the native troops have been incensed by a guard of carabiniers having been over our skirmisher prisoners. Crowds began to hurry past our grounds, both on the road and in the open ground behind; many parties were our own lost cavalry. They were half in uniform, half without. Many shots were being fired, and the shouting was awful. I could ever and anon hear my husband's name blessed by the poor madmen. Bungalows began to blaze round us, nearer and nearer, till the frenzied mob reached that next to our own! We saw a poor lady in the verandah, a Mrs. Chambers (lately arrived.) We bade the servants bring her over the low wall to us, but they were too confused to attend to me at first. The stables of that house were first burnt. We heard the shrieks of the horses. Then came the mob to the house itself, with awful shouts and curses. We heard the doors broken in, and many, many shots; and at the moment my servants said they had been to bring away Mrs. Chambers, but had found her dead on the ground, cut horribly, and she on the eve of her confinement! Oh! night of horrors! Still I heard shouts of my husband's name, and assurances that our house should be spared, but crowds kept threatening. I almost believed we should escape, but watched in agony with Eliza from the upper verandah. I saw men bring a burning log across the next compound, and thought we should be the next to be murdered. A few of our Hindoo servants were with us—one Buctour, the klassie, running to and fro, driving the men out of the compound, and saying my husband 'was the people's friend, and that no one should burn his house.'

"They tell me shots were fired at me, but I saw it not. Oh, agony! every house in sight was blazing—nine or ten I could see. At last a few horsemen rode into the compound. I saw the cavalry uniform. 'Come, come,' I shouted, 'and save me;' and poor Eliza joined. 'Fear nothing,' said the first man; 'no one shall injure you.' Oh! how I thanked them: and in a minute they were with us in the upper room, and I tried to take their hands in mine, but they laid themselves at my feet, touching them with their foreheads. They were unknown to me—these four; but the first who spoke, Madho, I can never forget.

They implored me to keep inside; but, oh! how to do that when I was watching for my husband? Alfred joined us first, safe, and reporting Henry the same. And then our cavalry guard kept dashing through the compound, forcing back parties who rushed in to fire the house. The pistol-shots rang on every side; and now my husband arrived in speechless agony on our account, and made us leave the house, fearing it might be surrounded. Wrapped in the black stable blankets, to hide our light dresses in the glare of the flaming station, he took us to hide under trees in the garden; but moved us afterwards into a little temple that stands on our grounds. It is very thick-walled, and having only one narrow door, was a good place for shelter. We sat there whispering for some hours, listening to the noises, as crowds came near or fell away. Still no one attacked us; and more of the cavalry troops were continually joining us, vowing to live or die for us. A band of armed thieves now broke into the house, but two of them were shot, and the others fled. Buctour, the klassie, taking one of my husband's rifles, killed one of them. The cavalry men wished us to remain where we were, promising to keep us unharmed; but Henry dared not venture our doing so, and only waited till about dawn to drive us away. All this time bands of men were rushing into the compound, asking for us, and were told by the servants that we had escaped to the artillery lines. The fourth standard was now brought in by Rhomon Sing, our poor old acquaintance, and Colonel ——'s victim. He never left us again. At times we had thirty men about; but they looked very blank at the idea of taking us to the European lines. Henry feared they might desert us, but kept them together astonishingly; and now, the roads appearing quieter, we hurried off. All the stable servants had fled, so Henry had much trouble to find all the harness, and himself put it on the horses. Eliza and I ventured to return to the house to collect a few clothes, and secure our trinkets. The plate we could not get, the khitmutgurs having run away with the keys. There, in darkness and fear, we left our house, so loved and beautiful, probably never to see it again. Eliza and I and the carabinier got into the carriage, carrying all the guns; Henry and Alfred mustered all the troopers round us, and we drove off. We had nineteen of the 3rd remaining with us, including the jemadar

of our troop. One of the prisoners had come to us offering to stay and defend us; but my husband told him he must give him up again if he did. So—only hoping his conduct towards us would mitigate his sentence—after a time the boy disappeared. All the men feared being made prisoners by the European troops, and some loitered as we went; but Henry's commanding energy kept them in check. We drove among the smouldering houses to the cavalry parade-ground almost at a gallop; and making a wide circuit to avoid the native infantry lines, we reached the dragoon lines. A picket of carabinieri, with a cannon, commanded the road, and nearly fired on us. As we came up, Henry rode ahead and explained, and we were allowed to pass. Day was dawning on our night of misery; and the manly faces of the English dragoons sent comfort to our hearts. We warmly told the officers how splendidly our men had saved us, and Henry promised them all promotion and high favour; and I blessed and thanked them with all my soul. Our men were ordered to stay at one of the dragoon pickets. We there found Major —, Captain —, and his brother, Mr. —, —, and Captain —; a few more of our men, too, and the other three standards that Henry had helped to rescue. Then came the awful news of the murdered. Poor young M'Nabb, just joined; Mr. Phillips, our veterinary surgeon; and, alas! our dear friends, Mr. and Mrs. Dawson, dead; and Dr. Christie, awfully wounded. The 20th native infantry had been fiends, and shot five or six of their own officers. One or two of the 11th were also killed. Several ladies had been cut to pieces. Colonel — was safe. He had fled to the brigadier's, and now joined us; but Henry got the general to send for him, fearing what the men might do. The rebel corps—namely, ours, the 20th, and 11th native infantry—had fled to Delhi. There was no sufficient force to send after them without sacrificing the station. We remained for two days in the carabinieri lines, in a sergeant's rooms; his kind wife doing us great service; and a party of men brought up many of our things from the bungalow. It was feared that the rebels, strengthened by the native corps at Delhi, might return to destroy Meerut, and the dragoon lines were ordered to be given up. Colonel Hogge offered his school of instruction as a refuge for the ladies. No fort of any kind exists

in Meerut, so Henry brought us here to the school. It is an inclosure with lines of barracks; all the ladies of Meerut are here with their children, and the civilians and such of the staff as are not required outside. There is a corner for everybody, but, of course, much confusion. Mrs. Hogge would have kindly shared her little room with us, but fugitives from Delhi came afterwards, in more need than we; and a crowd of helpless babies are there. News soon came that our wretched rebel cavalry had galloped to Delhi, and murdered every Christian in the city. The poor 3rd did it all, for the infantry had not arrived. They spread the mutiny to the station of Delhi (a few miles off), and the native infantry corps there fired on their officers, and the native artillery, too, proved false. They told their commandant to escape, or they would turn the guns on him. People daily arrive after hairbreadth escapes. Everything is uncertain now. This may never reach you; dâks are constantly lost, and the telegraphic wire is daily cut, as soon as mended. The secret cause of the rebellion is unknown; the cartridges being considered a mere pretext. But our own army turning against us is the most awful event in the history of India. Many individual cases of fidelity to their officers have been shown, but none equal to that of our men. The few who saved us were the only body who kept together that night. Every one speaks of it, and the men have since behaved very well. They are 'made' men, these faithful among the faithless. Our officers have volunteered to do duty with the carabinieri. There are occasional night alarms, which are very awful. Firing continues all night long. The lieutenant-governor urges, from Agra, by telegraph, that a force should immediately march on Delhi; but I trust nothing will be done till reinforcements arrive. We are all quite well, notwithstanding heat and exposure. We are in a tent. Most of our property is saved, and being brought to a house near this. Pray for our safety. We had a horrible alarm during the night of the 16th. Eight hundred sappers and miners had been called into the station from Roorkee, a short distance from the cantonment, to raise the works; but the day after their arrival, they shot their commandant and fled. Guns and carabinieri followed, and fifty of them were killed. Colonel Bagge rode after them, and got a ball in his thigh—only a flesh wound, but it lays him up. There is

beautiful brotherhood among us all. Ladies who were mere formal acquaintances now wring each other's hands with intense sympathy. What a look there was when we first assembled here—all of us had looked death in the face!"

On the 16th of May a party of sappers and miners, about 800 strong, who had been dispatched from Roorkee to Meerut, for the purpose of assisting to repair the lines, &c., of the cantonment, mutinied as soon as they arrived at the latter place; and, after shooting their commanding officer, Captain Fraser, set out on their return to Roorkee. As they were marching off, Captain Lighter, of the artillery, galloped to the head of the column, and commanded them to "halt;" the response was a bullet, which, happily, did not take effect; and the gallant officer, deeming it useless to persevere singly in the effort to recall such men to their duty, returned to Meerut, where, being joined by a few men of the 3rd cavalry that had remained faithful, some troopers of the 6th dragoons, and two guns, he pursued the mutineers, and overtook them. A conflict ensued, and sixty of the fugitives were cut down by the Queen's troops, whose loss was one killed and three wounded.

Another account of this occurrence says—"There is dreadful work going on yet. The sappers and miners that were sent for from Roorkee have rebelled. Yesterday (the 16th), all of a sudden, they commenced fighting amongst themselves, and then they shot their commanding officer through the head; after this they, or rather a part of them, left for Roorkee. When the officers heard of the affair, they took a party of rifles, 6th dragoons, and artillery after them. They overtook them on the sand-hills, and killed about eighty or ninety. Major Waterfield sent an express off to the residents of Roorkee to be prepared to receive them. Two hundred and fifty of the sappers were at work at one end of the station; and when the officer commanding the station heard of the rebellion of the others, he sent for them very quietly and disarmed them, and turned them out of the station. Some of the 3rd cavalry have repented and given up their arms. The military authorities appear to have acted unwisely in taking those men back; for five of them were sent with a jemadar to protect some men going yesterday to repair the telegraph, and these five troopers again rebelled. We have prayers

here (school of instruction) every evening in one of the houses. The Rev. Mr. Smythe gives us lectures. Last evening he gave one on the unfaithfulness of the sappers. You cannot imagine what a very feeling one it was. The news from Delhi is better. The villagers refused to join in destroying the Europeans. There is a great dearth of food, &c. The insurgents are said to be sorry for what they have done, and are ready to reform. A spy from Delhi was caught taking the measurement of our heavy guns; he is to be hung this evening, with some others who have been committing murder here."

The following details of the revolt at Meerut were forwarded by the Rev. T. C. Smythe, M.A., protestant chaplain at the station. This gentleman says—"All remained quiet till the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when I was driving down to church as usual (distant about a mile from my house), for the 7 P.M. service, and met on my way two of her majesty's 60th rifles covered with blood and supported by their comrades. On reaching the church I found buggies and carriages driving away in great confusion, and a body of people running to me and pointing to a column of fire and smoke in the direction of the city. Frequent shots were then heard, and the distant cries of a large mob. My colleague, the Rev. Mr. Rotton, and his wife, came up at the moment; but, finding that the people had all gone back, we abandoned of course the thought of commencing divine service, and I drove home, about half-past seven or a quarter to eight, in the direction of the rifle and artillery lines, avoiding the most public places of resort. I may mention that a guard of some eight or ten sepoy at the artillery depôt, or school of instruction (three of whom were killed shortly afterwards in resisting an officer, who came with his party to take their post), saluted me in passing. I reached my house (which I share with Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell, of the horse artillery) in perfect safety, but found from them that the sepoy guard at the brigadier's (close at hand) had, shortly before, fired a shot, which passed between them while they were standing at the gate of their compound. We went together, just after my return, into the western verandah, and heard a shot in the adjoining road, followed by a cry and the galloping off of a horse with a buggy. This proved to have been the murder of Mr. Phillips (veterinary surgeon

of the 3rd light cavalry), who was shot and mutilated by five troopers; Dr. Christie (the surgeon of the same regiment), who accompanied him in the buggy, having been sadly disfigured and injured at the same time. He is still living and doing well. By this time the English troops (consisting of her majesty's 6th dragoon guards, a troop and a battery of Bengal artillery, with the 1st battalion of her majesty's 60th royal rifles), had reached the native infantry lines, into which they fired with grape and musketry. The inhabitants of the Suddur Bazaar and city committed atrocities far greater than those of the sepoy, as in the case of Captain Macdonald's wife, whom they pursued some distance and frightfully mutilated (though her children were happily all saved by the ayahs), and of Mrs Chambers, wife of the adjutant of the 11th native infantry, who was murdered in her garden during Mr. Chambers' absence on duty, her clothes having been set on fire before she was shot and cut to pieces. About ten o'clock a bungalow, immediately opposite our house, was set on fire by five troopers of the 3rd light cavalry, and an attempt (though happily unsuccessful) was made to fire the brigadier's house. After eleven, strong pickets and patrols of the English cavalry, artillery, and infantry were posted on the road near our house, but the firing of houses, &c., continued till close upon daybreak, principally caused by the neighbouring villagers, after the guarding of the lines. The loss of property, and alas! of life, has been very dreadful. The part of Meerut in which the insurrection principally raged is a miserable wilderness of ruined houses, and some of the residents (as was the case with Mrs. and Mr. Greathed, the commissioner of the division) escaped miraculously from the hands of their pursuers, by hiding themselves in the gardens and outhouses of their burning bungalows, and in some cases by disguising themselves as native servants. Before the European troops arrived on Sunday night at the scene of action the following were barbarously cut to pieces:—Mr. V. Tregear, inspector of schools; Captain Macdonald, of the 20th native infantry, and Mrs. Macdonald; Captain Taylor, Mr. Pattle, Mr. Henderson, all of the same corps; Colonel Finnis, commanding the 11th native infantry; and Mrs. Chambers, whose murderer was caught on the 15th, tried at once, and hanged on a tree without further delay, his body afterwards being burnt to ashes.

In the 3rd light cavalry the following were killed:—Mr. Phillips, veterinary surgeon; Mr. and Mrs. Dawson; Mr. M'Nabb (lately joined), and a little girl of the riding-master's, Mr. Langdale; together with several soldiers of the artillery and 60th rifles, and women and children of the military and general residents in the station. Among other instances of frightful butchery was that of Sergeant Law, his wife, and six children, who were living beyond the precincts of cantonments. The state in which the father and three of the infants were found defies description. Happily the mother and three other children, though grievously mangled, crawled about midnight to the artillery hospital, and it is hoped will recover. Mr. Rotton and I have buried thirty-one of the murdered, but there are others whose bodies have not as yet been brought in. The 3rd light cavalry (with the exception of some seventy or eighty troopers) and the 20th native infantry went off to Delhi during Sunday night. The 11th native infantry, who not only refrained from murdering their officers and burning houses, but protected the ladies and children of the corps, remained in the neighbourhood; 120 of these have returned, and it is thought that many more of them will do so; a proclamation of pardon, under the circumstances, having been sent to them. On Monday night many people (including a large number of women and children) slept in the artillery school of instruction—a walled enclosure, well guarded. On Tuesday I returned with my friends to our house, but while we were at dinner I received the news that all the Delhi troops had mutinied and joined the insurgents. We were consequently ordered, with the ladies and children, back into the depôt, and the troops were at once placed under arms and posted with cannon, so as to command the European lines of the station, the rest being abandoned. The night passed away with no disturbance, except constant shots between the pickets and rioters, the latter consisting of villagers and residents in the city and bazaars."

In subsequent communications of the 16th and 17th of May, the Rev. Mr. Smythe says—"Six companies of the sappers and miners arrived yesterday (the 15th); they have suddenly murdered their commanding officer, Major Fraser, by shooting him in the back, and have made at once for the open country, pursued by a troop of horse artillery and

several of the 6th dragoon guards. Fifty or sixty of the mutineers have been shot on the plain, and the rest have probably escaped to Delhi. Two companies, disarmed, remain in Meerut, and are perfectly quiet."

Again he says—"On Tuesday, while writing to you, we heard that Sirdhana* had been devastated. We made sure all the children in the convent had been murdered. We remained in this fearful suspense till Wednesday evening, when we got a short note, saying they were uninjured, though in imminent peril, being besieged by the villagers. The postmaster had sent a man to Sirdhana, having promised him a reward to go and bring intelligence of the convent; and it was this man who brought the note. He had, however, set off before the coolie's return, and had been asked to take an express himself to poor Captain Fraser, who, it was expected, was at Sirdhana about that time, and was promised a European guard of eight dragoons. After he consented to take and deliver the express himself, they could not afford to let a single soldier leave the station, but would send four native troopers with him. The postmaster said he would go even with four natives; but when he sent for them he could not get more than two, and these two, after coming and hearing what errand they were required on, turned their horses' heads, and very soon let us hear the clatter of their hoofs, galloping away as hard as they could. The postmaster was so uneasy about his relations, that he did not consider a moment after the two sowars ran away, but he armed three or four of his office-people, and set off for Sirdhana. He started from here at about half-past four in the evening, and returned a little after seven o'clock with our dear sisters, B—, Miss B—, and another poor girl, the daughter of a sergeant in the dragoon guards, all safe and well. He met several parties of villagers, about fifty or sixty in number, along the Sirdhana road, but they did not attempt to molest him. In returning, he made some of these very men conduct him part of the way. The poor nuns begged of him, when he was coming away, to try and send them some help; he tried all he could to get a guard to escort them to this station, but did not succeed; and yesterday morning, having

* A town in the upper provinces of Bengal and the Meerut district, situated thirty-seven miles N.N.E. of Delhi. It was formerly the capital of the Begum Samroo.

given up the idea of procuring a guard from the military authorities, he went round, and by speaking to some gentlemen, got about fifteen persons to volunteer their services to go and rescue the poor nuns and children from Sirdhana, and I am happy to say they succeeded in their charitable errand without any one having been injured.

"A butcher of the Suddur Bazaar was hung the other day, it having been proved that he was the murderer of poor Mrs. Macdonald; six others have been caught, and murders proved against them also, but they have not received their deserts yet. Since Tuesday night we have been in the laboratory, without once having gone beyond its wall. We are in a small house at one end of the place, which consists of one large room and verandah rooms all round; and in this miserable shed, for we can scarcely call it anything else, there are no less than 41 souls, viz.—Billings, 10; Beaus, 4; Shuldams, 4; Moore, 13; Mitchells, 3; Trotters, 3; Mr. Pocock, his mother, sister, and little nephew, besides having in our verandah room the post-office, and arranging at present a small room adjoining to the post-office as the telegraph office."

Another letter of June the 4th, says—"The best portion of our Meerut European troops left this about a week ago for Delhi. They have had two severe engagements with the rebels. The loss on our side is, thank God, but little in comparison to that on the enemy's: seventeen altogether, on our side, have been killed, and nineteen wounded; and among these, five, I believe, died from strokes of the sun. Dr. Moore, of the carabinieri, was taken ill while he was coming in with the wounded, and died shortly after his arrival here. A lieutenant of the rifles (Mr. Napier) had one of his legs shot off. Mr. Budd is out with the camp as baggage-master.

"We are still living in the arsenal; but are a little more comfortable now, our numbers having decreased a little. Last evening five murderers were hanged, and the evening before, six. Some of those who suffered last evening were proved to be Mrs. Courtenay's murderers; one was the private jemadar of the native deputy-collector. One of these savages was undaunted to the last: he wished all his brothers, or rather his brethren, good-bye, and blessed them all, and told them the Feringhees were taking his life for no fault of his: he scarcely gave them time to secure

the noose properly round his neck before he jumped off the platform.

"P.S.—June 5.—Dr. Moore, of the 6th dragoon guards, died this morning. A party of the 60th rifles and carabinieri have just returned from a very successful foray, having killed some 150 of the Goojurs without having a man hurt. Five villages were destroyed."

As a relief to the darker shades of the picture, Mr. Greathed, the late resident commissioner at Meerut, in a letter from that place of the 16th May, says—"Among all the villanies and horrors of which we have been witnesses, some pleasing traits of native character have been brought to light. All the Delhi fugitives have to tell of some kind acts of protection and rough hospitality; and yesterday a fakir came in with a European child he had picked up on the Junna. He had been a good deal mauled on the way; but he made good his point. He refused any present, but expressed a hope that a well might be made in his name, to commemorate the act. I promised to attend to his wishes; and Himam Bhartee, of Dhunoura, will, I hope, long live in the memory of man. The parents have not been discovered; but there are plenty of good Samaritans."

In reference to the outbreak at Meerut, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, of May 19th, observes—"The most marvellous circumstance is, that the European troops were not sooner brought to the rescue, since they were in strength more than adequate for the protection of the station, and might surely have been expected to prevent the greater portion of the bloodshed; but not only were the atrocities to which we have alluded—and some of them of a nature to which the narrators, in deference to the feelings of surviving friends, scarcely venture even to allude—committed without a check, but when the insurgents were at length put to flight, the pursuit of them by the European troops seems to have been of a most undecided character, and was abandoned for no apparent cause, except that the night was dark; and yet even this difficulty did not continue, for the moon rose upon the scene of desolation."

After the mutiny and flight of the native portion of its garrison, the cantonment of Meerut for some time remained free from serious alarm. A great many prisoners, who were identified as having taken part in the murders that initiated the general

rising of the native soldiers, were hanged on successive evenings; and a wholesome dread of consequences kept the bud-mashes and vagabonds of the bazaars in check. The revolted soldiery, as already mentioned, for the most part went off to Delhi; but detached parties spread themselves over the country for the sake of "loot," and naturally produced much disquietude among the well-disposed population.

However the fact may be, as it regards any prearranged co-operation of the native troops in an effort to overthrow the rule of this country in India, it is quite evident that there was among them no recognised centre of action, no master-mind with ability sufficient

"To ride the whirlwind and direct the storm,"

when raised; and it is equally clear on the other hand, that whatever may have been the amount of wisdom and energy displayed by the government itself, in its general measures for the protection of society and the preservation of empire while neither were in peril, the instruments by which those protective measures should have been applied upon an emergency, were, at this particular juncture, incompetent for the purpose. To support this view, it is only necessary to refer to the fact, that at the time of the outbreak at Meerut, there were in cantonment at that place the following European troops, viz.—the 6th dragoon guards, the 60th rifles, a troop of horse artillery, and a company of foot artillery, with a full complement of guns; a force more than sufficient to have reduced to perfect helplessness treble the number of native troops then at the station. Yet not one of these arms of service was put in motion until after the work of destruction had reached its culminating point, and life and property had been sacrificed in its ruthless career. The efficiency of the European soldiers was wasted in inaction, or in uselessly marching and countermarching round the scene of havoc, instead of at once being led to the rescue, and arresting the blind fury of the revolt. General Hewitt had shown, on the previous day, that he had outlived the limits of ordinary discretion, when, after his ignominious punishment of the mutineers of the 3rd native light cavalry, he allowed their comrades of the regiment to remain in cantonment, in possession of arms and ammunition, and within two miles of the gaol to which

their fellow-soldiers had been consigned, without taking any precautionary measures against the more than probable consequences of the punishment. It is true, he had already been more than half a century in active or *inactive* service; and, with others of equal rank and merit, seems to have been retained in command of a division, for the sole purpose of repressing the energies and curbing the spirits of those who, unfortunately for Bengal, could not move without his orders.

For months previous to the outbreak at Meerut, unmistakable symptoms of dissatisfaction and insubordination amongst the native regiments, were notorious to every one but those who alone had the power to arrest and crush the growing evil. Irrespective of the just grounds for apprehension presented by the Brahmin sepoy of the 2nd grenadier regiment at Dumdum, in January, and by the sepoy of the 34th regiment at Barrackpore, in February, on the score of an imagined design to violate the sanctity of *caste*—the sudden appearance of a mysterious and symbolic correspondence, springing from an unknown source, and directed to an unknown object, coupled with the recollection of a similar incident preceding the mutiny at Vellore, in 1806, ought to have awakened instant caution, and produced a system of general and incessant watchfulness over a class of soldiers so excitable and tenacious of their privileges. The very fact that a mystery existed, would have been sufficient to arouse the vigilance of any other government than one which, over-confident of its own strength, and entertaining most erroneous ideas of the elements by which it was surrounded, had been content to repose supinely upon the brink of a volcano; and instead of adopting timely measures to ensure safety, had tacitly invited danger, and looked to the doctrine of chances for protection against the consequences of its own apathy and neglect.

With the outrages at Meerut, the first step of a transiently successful military insurrection was accomplished; but had the government at Calcutta possessed even a moderate share of prudence, or had its general in command of the district, who was actually upon the spot, been competent to act with vigour and decision, it is not possible to believe that such a step could have been taken; or if even attempted, that such attempt would have been success-

ful. In an evil hour, and encouraged by an inexcusable opportunity, the mutiny commenced; and if, in connection with it, as part of a general system of insurrection, there had been any directing power equal to the emergency, when the revolted troops from Meerut, reeking with blood and maddened by excitement, fraternised with their brother traitors in arms before the gates of Delhi, the supremacy, if not the very existence, of British rule in Hindostan might have been shaken to its foundation. With the possession of Delhi, the cause of the insurgents had acquired a *prestige* and a moral influence that, with able management and simultaneous action, might have led to the resuscitation of the Monghol empire; the kingly rank of the aged descendant of an imperial house might no longer have been nominal only, and the bearer of it might have ceased to be a discontented pensioner upon English bounty. It has been observed by the author of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, referring to the mutinous occupation of the Monghol capital on the morning of the 11th of May, that, "if all the movements of the revolt had been prearranged, there could have been no better stroke of tactics than this: Delhi is the chief city of Mohammedan India; the 'imperial city,' the 'city of the Mogul;' it had been the home of those mighty emperors who had ruled so long in Hindostan—of Shih Shah, of Akbar, and of Aurungzebe; and was still the residence of their fallen successors, the titular kings of Delhi, whom, fifty years ago, our armies had rescued from the grasp of the Mahrattas. Beyond the palace walls these remnants of royalty had no power; they had no territory, no revenue, no authority. In *our* eyes they were simply pensioners and puppets. Virtually, indeed, the Mogul was extinct. *But not so in the minds of the people of India.* Empty as was the sovereignty of the Mogul, it was still a living fact in the minds of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, especially in Upper India."

It was evident, therefore, that to obtain possession of the ancient capital of Mohammedan India, and, if possible, to identify the living representative of a line of native conquerors with the insurrectionary movement of the sepoy, would be of immense advantage to the cause: it at once gave the attempt a political significance, and, for a time, imparted to it the character of a national movement. It signified not that

the Mogul himself, stricken in years, feeble, and little capable of independent action, would be but a tool in the hands of the soldiers. The axiom of our English poet—

“The king’s name is a tower of strength,”

was perfectly appreciated, and, as we have seen, promptly acted upon by the mutinous sepoys of Hindostan.

A cruel fatality seems to have attended the decaying branches of the imperial dynasty. The grandfather of the present titular king of Delhi, was the emperor Shah Alum, who, when old, blind, and feeble, was rescued by General Lake, in September, 1803, from a state of miserable captivity into which he had been thrown by the Mahrattas. The general, upon entering the fort of Delhi, which had been used as the imperial prison, “found Shah Alum seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, his countenance disfigured by the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy.” This prince died in 1806, and was succeeded in the then nominal sovereignty by his eldest son Akbar Shah, who enjoyed the shadow of a royal title and its endowment for upwards of thirty years. Upon his death, his eldest son Meeza Aboo Zuffur, the present (or late) king of Delhi, ascended the titular throne, which he has since occu-

pied. Upon his accession to regal honours, this potentate styled himself Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee; and upon the recent death of his eldest son, he endeavoured to prevail on the English government to set aside the prince next in succession in favour of a younger son, whom his majesty represented to be more richly endowed with capacity for the kingly office. The request, which was believed to have originated in some intrigue of the zenana, was refused, to the intense mortification and disappointment of the king (then upwards of eighty years of age), of his favourite wife, the expectant prince, and many others of the royal house; nine out of eleven of the princes having signed a declaration of their willingness to accept the king’s nominee as the head of the family. That the king himself, who had long been in his dotage, may have suffered his name to be used as sanctioning a hostile movement against the British government, is possible; but it is not even probable that he can have been an active promoter of it: the most likely person to have desired the success of the rebellion, being the disappointed nominee of the aged monarch. The annual stipend assured to the emperor Shah Alum and his descendants, upon the surrender of the kingdom in 1803, was thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees, equal to £125,000 sterling, which has been enjoyed to the present year.

CHAPTER V.

THE CITY OF DELHI; ARRIVAL OF THE REVOLTED TROOPS FROM MEERUT; FRIENDLY RECEPTION BY THE GARRISON; MASSACRE AND PLUNDER OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS AND RESIDENTS; THE MONGHOL EMPIRE PROCLAIMED.

THE tide of rebellion having now surged towards the ancient capital of the Patan and Monghol empires, the following sketch of the remains of once imperial Delhi, will not be out of place:—The city is situated on the western bank of the river Jumna, in 28° 43' N. lat., and 77° 9' E. long; 429 miles from Allahabad, 976 from Calcutta, 880 from Bombay, and 1,295 from Madras. It is walled and fortified, and had a resident population of nearly 200,000. Modern Delhi measures about two miles across, and

is from seven to eight miles in circumference. The palace, inhabited by the family of the late king, is in a commanding position; and that Delhi, in its period of splendour, was a city of vast extent as well as magnificence, is evidenced by its ruins, which cover an area as large as that of London, Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark united. The present city is situated on a rocky range of hills, and is surrounded by an embattled wall with many bastions and intervening martello towers, faced along its

whole extent with substantial masonry, and recently strengthened with a moat and glacis by the British government. It has many good houses, chiefly of brick. The streets are in general narrow, but the principal avenues are wide, handsome, and, for an Asiatic city, remarkably clean; the bazaars have a good appearance. There were formerly two very noble streets; but houses have been built down their centre and across, so as to divide and spoil them: along one of these, running from the palace, is the aqueduct of Ali Merdan Khan, reopened by Captain Blane in 1820. The principal public buildings are—the palace, the Jumma Musjeed, or chief mosque; the tombs of the emperor Humayoon and of Sefdar Jung, the Cuttab Minar, &c.; and, within the new city were, until recently, the remains of many palaces, belonging to the dignitaries of the Monghol court. Almost all these structures were of red granite, inlaid in some of the ornamental parts with white marble. The general style of building was simple, yet elegant. The palace, as seen from a distance, was a very high and extensive cluster of Gothic towers and battlements, rising above the other buildings. It was built by Shah Jehan, and surrounded by a moat and embattled wall, which toward the city was sixty feet high, with several small round towers and two noble gateways. Heber states that, as a kingly residence, it far surpassed the Kremlin at Moscow; but, except in the durability of its materials, it was inferior to Windsor Castle. The Shalima gardens (so highly extolled in *Lalla Rookh*) were also formed by Shah Jehan, and are said to have cost a million sterling; but they have long been converted to agricultural purposes. The Jumma Musjeed, the largest and handsomest place of Mussulman worship in India, was built in six years by Shah Jehan, at an expense of ten lacs of rupees. It stands on a small rocky eminence, scarped for the purpose. The ascent to it is by a flight of thirty-five stone steps, through a handsome gateway of red stone, the doors of which are covered with wrought brass. The terrace on which it is built is about 1,400 yards square, and surrounded by an arched colonnade with octagon pavilions at convenient distances. In the centre is a large marble reservoir, supplied by machinery from the canal. On the west side is the mosque itself, of an oblong form, 261 feet in length; its whole front coated with large slabs of white

marble, and compartments in the cornice are inlaid with Arabic inscriptions in black. It is approached by another flight of steps, and entered by three Gothic arches, each surmounted by a marble dome. At the flanks are two minarets, 130 feet high, of black marble and red stone alternately, each having three projecting galleries, and their summits crowned with light pavilions of white marble, the ascent to which is by a winding staircase of 180 steps of red stone. This truly noble structure is in good repair, being maintained by a grant from the British government for that especial purpose. Not far from the palace is a mosque of red stone, surmounted with three gilt domes, in which Nadir Shah sat and witnessed the massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants; of whom, from sunrise to midday, the sabre extirpated, without regard to age, sex, or condition, near 100,000. There are above forty mosques: one, erected by the daughter of Aurungzebe, contains the tomb in which she was interred in 1710; some bear the marks of great antiquity, especially the Kala Musjeed, or black mosque, built of dark-coloured granite by the first Patan conquerors. It is exactly on the plan of the original Arabian mosques. The prospect south of the Shalima gardens, as far as the eye can reach, is covered with the remains of extensive gardens, pavilions, mosques, and sepulchres, connecting the village of Cuttab with the new city or Delhi, from which it is nearly ten miles distant south-west, and exhibiting one of the most striking scenes of desolation to be anywhere met with. The celebrated Cuttab Minar is a very handsome round tower, rising from a polygon of twenty-seven sides, in five stages, gradually diminishing in circumference to the height of 242 feet; its summit, which is crowned by a majestic cupola rising from four arcades of red granite, is ascended by a spiral staircase of 384 steps, and between each stage a balcony runs round the pillar. The old Patan palace—a mass of ruin larger than the others—has been a solid fortress in a plain and unornamented style of architecture. It contains a high black pillar of cast metal, of Hindoo construction, and originally covered with Hindoo characters, but which Feroze Shah afterwards enclosed within the court of his palace, covering it with Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The tomb of Humayoon is of Gothic architecture, surrounded by a large garden with terraces and fountains, nearly

all of which are now gone to decay. The garden is surrounded by an embattled wall and cloister, and in its centre, on a platform ascended by a flight of granite steps, is the tomb itself, a square building, with circular apartments within, about as large as the Radcliffe library at Oxford, surmounted by a dome of white marble. From the top of this building the desolation is seen to extend to the west, in which direction Indraput stood, as far as a range of barren hills seven or eight miles off. The soil in the neighbourhood of Delhi is singularly destitute of vegetation; the Jumna annually overflows its banks during the rains; but its waters in this part of its course are so much impregnated with natron, that the ground is thereby rendered barren rather than fertile. In order to supply water to the royal gardens, the aqueduct of Ali Merdan Khan was constructed, by which the waters of the Jumna, while pure and wholesome, immediately after the river leaves the mountains, are conducted for 120 miles to Delhi. During the troubles that followed the decline of the Monghol power the channel was neglected; and when the English took possession of this city, it was found choked up in most parts with rubbish. It is still the sole source of vegetation to the gardens of Delhi, and of drinkable water to its inhabitants; and when reopened in 1820, the whole population went out in jubilee to meet the stream as it flowed slowly onwards, throwing flowers, ghee, sweetmeats, and other offerings into the water, and calling down all manner of blessings on the British government. The deficiency of water is the great drawback upon the city and its province, since Delhi is otherwise well-fitted to become a great inland mart for the interchange of commodities between India and the countries to the north and west. Cotton cloths and indigo are manufactured; and a shawl factory, with weavers from Cashmere, has of late been established there. Shawls, prints, and horses are brought from Cashmere and Cabul; precious stones and jewellery are good and plentiful; and there are perhaps few, if any, of the ancient cities of Hindostan, which, up to the period of the revolt and its punishment, could be found to rival modern Delhi in the wealth of its bazaars or the activity of its population. At the south-west extremity of the city stands the famous observatory, built, like that of Be-

nares, by Jye Sing, rajah of Jeypore, and formerly containing similar astronomical instruments, but which, together with the building itself, have been long partially destroyed. Near the Ajmeer gate is the *Medressa*, or college of Ghazee-ud-deen-Khan—an edifice of great beauty, for the repair of which, and the revival of its functions, the government has very liberally contributed. The Delhi college is now divided into the Oriental and the English departments; astronomy and mathematics are taught on European principles; and in 1830 there were 287 students. According to Abul Fazel, no less than seven successive cities have stood on the ground occupied by Delhi and its ruins. Indraprast'ha (or Indraput) was the first, and the residence of the Hindoo rajahs before 1193, when the Affghans or Pataus conquered it; it was the seat also of the first eight sovereigns of that dynasty. Sultan Baleen built another fortified palace—Moez-ud-deen; another on the banks of the Jumna; and others were built in different parts by succeeding sovereigns, one of which was near Cuttab; and lastly, Shah Jehan, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, chose the present spot for its site, which is certainly more advantageous than that of any of the preceding cities. In 1011 Delhi was taken and plundered by Mahmoud of Ghiznee; in 1398 by Timour; in 1525 by Baber, who overturned the Patan dynasty, and commenced that of the Monghols. In 1736 the Mahrattas burnt the suburbs; and in 1739 Delhi was entered and pillaged by Nadir Shah, who did not retain possession of it. During the height of the power of the emperor Aurungzebe, who died in 1707, this magnificent capital of Hindostan is said to have contained 2,000,000 of inhabitants; but no regular enumeration has ever been made, nor could it be attempted without exciting alarm in the natives. At the time of the recent insurrection, the population was estimated at 200,000 only. It was in this city, in the year 1806, that Shah Alum, the last of the powerful Monghol dynasty who could be said to enjoy any portion of real empire, expired. One of his descendants has been allowed by the British to enjoy the style and title of sovereignty, and to receive a considerable proportion of the revenues of the province, by which he was enabled to support his nominal dignity with some degree of splendour. An audience of the prince could be

obtained with little difficulty; but from the Eastern custom of bringing *nuzzurs*, or presents, on such occasions, the honour was too expensive to be frequently sought after. The residence of the titular monarch was walled round, and an order from the commandant of the palace guard was necessary to obtain access to the interior.

Resuming the details of an outbreak that was destined, in its results, to involve the partial destruction of the capital of the ancient monarchs of Hindostan, and to destroy the last relics of a once mighty dynasty; we find, that after a short interval of rest from the fatigue and excitement of the previous night, the mutinous troops, at an early hour, commenced their flight towards Delhi, and by a forced march of considerably more than thirty miles, arrived within sight of its towers shortly after eight o'clock on the morning of Monday, May the 11th. The city was at this time garrisoned wholly by native troops, consisting of the 38th, 54th, and 74th regiments of infantry, and a battery of native artillery. The arsenal in the interior of the city contained 900,000 cartridges, two complete siege-trains, a large number of field guns, and some 8,000 or 10,000 muskets. A powder-magazine which had been removed, at the request of the inhabitants, from the city to the cantonments, at this time contained not less than 10,000 barrels—a formidable supply for the purposes of rebellious soldiers.

The high road from Meerut crosses the Hindun torrent fifteen miles from Delhi, over a suspension-bridge. The geographical position and military advantages of Delhi, with its garrison of three regiments of native infantry, and a battery of *golundauze* (native artillery), were more than sufficient inducements for the Meerut mutineers to direct their steps towards that city, in which they well knew they had comrades on whom they could depend for a friendly reception. On the English commandant, Brigadier-general Graves, receiving warning of the approach of the rebels, his first idea was to cut away the bridge over the Hindun and defend the river: but there were two objections to the plan. The first was, that at the season of the year (the height of the hot weather) the river was easily fordable, and his position on the other bank might be turned. The second, that in case of the rebels attempting that manœuvre, he would be compelled to fight

(even if his men continued staunch) with the enemy on his front and flank, and the most disaffected city in India in his rear. Both plans were therefore rejected as untenable, even if time had allowed for their adoption. The three regiments in cantonment were immediately paraded in service order—the guns loaded; and such preparations for defence as could be made on the instant having been completed, the brigadier harangued the troops, appealing to their loyalty and valour to prove themselves faithful to the government by opposing the mischievous designs of the infatuated and desperate men that were approaching the city. The soldiers replied to this address with loud cheers and protestations of fidelity; and the men of the 54th regiment, especially, were vehement in their professions of loyalty, and earnestly requested to be led against the rebel force. Colonel Ripley, commanding this regiment, was, with the brigadier, deeply impressed by the seeming faithfulness and enthusiasm of the men. The former at once placed himself at the head of his corps, and leaving Major Paterson, the second in command, to follow with two guns, the order was given to march in the direction of the Cashmere gate, towards which the mutineers, in considerable force, were rapidly approaching. The scene, at this moment, is thus described by an eye-witness:—"As they marched out of the lines in gallant order, to all appearance true and confident, a tumultuous array appeared advancing from the Hindun. In front, and in full uniform, with medals on their breasts gained in fighting for British supremacy, confidence in their manner, and fury in their gestures, galloped on about 250 troopers of the 3rd cavalry. Behind them, at no great distance, and almost running in their efforts to reach the golden minarets of Delhi, appeared a vast mass of infantry, their red coats soiled with dust, and their bayonets glittering in the sun. No hesitation was visible in all that advancing mass—they came on as if confident of the result"—and their confidence was not misplaced. The 54th had advanced to within a short distance of the city, when they suddenly halted, and broke from their ranks. The foremost of the mutinous rabble had arrived, and were speedily among them, communicating the events of the previous night at Meerut, and calling on them, in the name of their religion, to join in the movement that was intended to put an end to

the "*Raj* of the Feringhee," and to restore to India the independent rule of its native princes. The men of the 54th required no solicitation to fraternise with the rebels; and, as if by one impulse, they withdrew from their European officers, who were thereby left standing by themselves in the middle of the road. About fifteen of the 3rd light cavalry, who were with the advanced portion of the mutineers, immediately rode towards the little group, discharging their pistols as they approached. Colonel Ripley appears to have been the first victim of this treachery, and was frightfully cut and mutilated by the ferocious troopers, two of whom he dispatched with his revolver before he fell disabled. None of the officers but himself had other weapons than their side-arms; and in the *mêlée* that followed, they were shot down by their mounted assassins without having a chance of defending themselves. For a moment, some portion of the 54th made a show of attempting to protect their officers: they fired, but it was above the heads of the troopers, who proceeded with their diabolical work in perfect confidence that no injury would befall them from their confederates in rebellion. The butchery of the unfortunate gentlemen having been completed, the sowars dismounted, and shook hands with the treacherous sepcys who had marched down to oppose them, and in all probability thanked them for their forbearance in not firing at the murderers of their officers. They then commenced to hack and mutilate the wounded men as long as the least symptom of life remained in them; and throughout the sanguinary and brutal transaction, the behaviour of these troopers was that of men excited to frenzy by copious draughts of *bhang*—a peculiarly intoxicating drink, produced by an infusion of hemp, much used by the lower grades of the Mohammedan population throughout India. They rode frantically up to the individual selected for their aim, fired, wheeled round, reloaded again, advanced, and fired; and thus repeated the cowardly atrocity until the victim fell. Having consummated this sacrifice as their first offering upon the altar of vengeance before the gates of Delhi, the victorious troopers, accompanied by the infamous 54th, the infantry that by this time had reached the spot from Meerut, and such accession to their strength as was afforded by some stragglers from the 38th and 74th regi-

ments yet in cantonment, dashed into the city through the Cashmere gate, cutting down and shooting all the Europeans they met on their route.

On the departure of the 54th regiment from the cantonment, the 74th moved on to the artillery parade, where Captain de Teissier was posted with a portion of his battery: the 38th were marched toward the Flagstaff tower, and formed in line along the high road. In consequence of the obstacles placed in the way of Major Paterson by the golundauzes, that officer was unable to move with the two guns for the support of his regiment until some four hours after the latter had marched from the cantonment, and long before which time they had joined the rebellious movement. When at length the major arrived near the Cashmere gate, the first object that met his sight was the unfortunate Colonel Ripley, who, after being severely wounded and left for dead on the road, some drummers were endeavouring to convey to a carriage, that, if possible, his life might be preserved. Having assisted to place the colonel in a conveyance, and directed the driver to make speed to the cantonment, the major—who had by this time been deserted by his golundauzes; they having, with the guns, followed in the track of the mutineers—proceeded alone in the direction of the city, and at a short distance from the gate, discovered, to his horror, the cut and mangled bodies of his fellow-officers, who, but a few hours previously, had left him in the pride of life, and with the enthusiasm of British loyalty. They were dead!—the mangled bodies of these English gentlemen had been thrown together in a heap, and so left by their vindictive and brutal assassins. It was evident that any further progress by Major Paterson in the direction of the city, would be useless and hazardous, and he retraced his steps to the cantonment.

Pending the events we have but feebly described, another portion of the Meerut rebels had crossed the Jumna and taken possession of the causeway on the Delhi side of the river, within a short distance of the Calcutta gate, which at first, for a short time, had been closed against them. A report of their arrival was immediately forwarded to Mr. Simon Fraser, the commissioner at the court of Delhi, who drove down to the gate to be assured of the fact, and afterwards proceeded towards the palace. On his departure, some sepoys of the 38th

and 74th regiments, on duty at the magazine guard and at the Calcutta gate, threw open the latter, and rushed forth to welcome the mutineers, a portion of whom entered the city, and at once commenced the work of destruction. They first set on fire the bungalows in Durya Gunge, cutting down the European inhabitants as they tried to escape from the flames; they then plundered and destroyed the dispensary building near the fort, and murdered Chimmum Lall, the native doctor: then seeing the commissioner driving past, on his way to the palace, they dashed after him, overtook, and struck him down, but not before he had shot one of his pursuers; in revenge for which they afterwards cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph.

While this party of the mutineers was thus employed, others had proceeded to the river-gate of the palace, from whence communication was speedily opened with the attendants of the king; and the occurrence at Meerut was made known, with the desire of the soldiers that his majesty should ascend the throne. After a short parley the troopers were, by order of the king, admitted within the gates. It was some time, however, after the arrival of the mutineers at the palace before the king yielded to their clamour that he should suffer himself to be proclaimed emperor. It was represented to him that the whole of Hindostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta and other chief towns were already in possession of the native armies; and that it was only for his majesty to unfurl the sacred standard of the empire, and the warlike millions of India would range themselves beneath it, and re-establish the independent throne of the Moguls, driving the English tyrants into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. Two troops of artillery, that had deserted from Meerut in the confusion of the previous night, had now arrived, and entering the city by the Calcutta gate, fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns in front of the palace. This incident decided the future of the ill-starred descendant of the royal house of Timour: he yielded; and the soldiers, exulting in

* In the villages round Delhi are a numerous population of Goojurs, a race of men of the nomad tribes that originally peopled Hindostan. These Goojurs are now partially settled, and live by a rude agriculture, sufficient for the merest wants. Their old habits rendering them partial to wander with flocks and herds, rather than cultivate the soil, their

their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying point under any emergency, rushed through the palace gates into the streets of the city, to put a climax to the work of treachery and rebellion.

The first person who fell a sacrifice to the fury of the soldiers upon their entry to the palace, was the commandant of the guard of the titular king, Captain Douglas. The next victims of their barbarity were the Rev. Mr. Jennings, the English chaplain to the residency, and his daughter, an amiable young lady of nineteen, who were seized while on their way to seek the king's protection. They were hurried into the presence of the puppet sovereign; and to the demand of the troopers, "What shall we do with them?" the king is reported to have replied, "What you like; I give them to you." History must draw a veil over the sufferings of these unfortunate martyrs.

Meanwhile the people of the city were gathering for mischief; and as the day advanced, the Goojurs* of the villages around Delhi became aware of the chances for plunder, and were ready for action. Pilgrimage and murder now ravaged the streets; every house in which a European was believed to have resided was searched, and ransacked from the foundation to the roof. The purpose of the soldiers was massacre; that of the rabble which followed in their train, and added to the horror of their outrages, was plunder. Arming themselves with the national hatred of Europeans as a pretext, the bud-mashes and rioters broke into the houses of the rich native inhabitants, the shops of the citizens, and the public stables. Many of the shopkeepers fell victims to the fury of the rabble, merely for asking payment for their goods. While a portion of the mutinous soldiers and rabble were thus occupied, others spread through the streets in search of the European and Christian inhabitants, whom they butchered without mercy. One of their first objects, after glutting their hatred against the Feringhees, was to obtain possession of the treasure deposited in the Delhi bank, and to murder the manager in charge—a Mr. Beresford, whose wife and five children fell a sacrifice to their barbarity, by having their chief occupation is that of cattle-lifting, and they have the character of marauders and brigands. The news of the massacres at Delhi no sooner spread amongst them than they flocked to the city, and were quickly engaged in plunder and excesses even of a worse kind. Several Europeans who had eluded the search of the troopers, fell by the hands of the Goojurs.

throats severed, and mangled with broken glass. They next plundered the government treasuries, destroyed the church, and utterly demolished the premises of the *Delhi Gazette*, throwing the presses into the river, and melting the type into slugs. The compositors attempted to escape in the disguise of natives; but, on being recognised, were literally hacked to pieces.

The fate of the unfortunate Europeans who had been unable to leave the city previous to the outbreak of the populace, was most deplorable: no mercy or consideration was shown to age or sex. Delicate women, mothers and daughters, were stripped of their clothing, violated, turned naked into the streets, beaten with canes, pelted with filth, and abandoned to the beastly lusts of the blood-stained rabble, until death or madness deprived them of all consciousness of their unutterable misery. A few Europeans, with arms, took refuge in a mosque: as they were without water or food, they at last determined to give themselves up; and, calling to the subahdar in charge of a native guard before the door, they asked for water, and that he should pledge his oath to take them alive to the king. The oath was given, and the Europeans came from their asylum. The mutineers placed water before them, and said, "Lay down your arms, and then you get water." They obeyed; and the soldiers instantly surrounded them: they gave no water, but seized the whole party, consisting of eleven children, eight ladies, and eight gentlemen, whom they marched off immediately to the cattle-sheds, placed them in a row, and shot them. One lady entreated of the murderers to give her child some water, although they killed herself. A sepoy, in reply to the mother's appeal, snatched the child from her arms, and dashed its brains out on the pavement before her face! The demoniac fury of the excited multitude had no bounds; and in a few hours after sunrise of Monday the 11th of May, the interior of Delhi was a pandemonium that fiends might have shuddered to contemplate.

Upon the first alarm reaching Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the political agent, he immediately proceeded to the magazine, situated within the walls, near the Calcutta gate, and gave directions for two guns to be placed on the bridge of boats over the Jumna, for the purpose of preventing further approach to the city in that direction; but the movement on this point had already

been anticipated by the mutineers, who had taken possession of it, and were then in considerable force on the Delhi side of the river. Foiled in this object, the attention of Sir Theophilus and the officer in charge of the ordnance stores (Lieutenant Willoughby), was directed to the defences of the magazine, which, at the time, contained an unusually large quantity of ammunition and military stores. The gates were immediately closed and barricaded, two 6-pounder guns, double-charged with grape, were placed in a position to command the gates in case they should be forced by the rebellious sepoys; other guns of larger calibre were also double-charged, and placed in position to act upon various parts of the magazine buildings; and a train having been laid communicating with the interior, and given in charge to a trustworthy non-commissioned officer, arms were distributed among the native servants of the establishment; and the little garrison of seven Europeans awaited in silence the attack they had so much reason to expect.

After a brief interval, during which the ferocity of the mutineers had been partially sated by rapine and murder, a summons was transmitted from the palace, demanding, in the king's name, the surrender of the magazine. Of this message no notice was taken by its defenders, and ladders were thereupon brought from the palace for the purpose of taking it by *escalade*. Already the mutinous troops swarmed upon the walls; the rifles of the gallant defenders sped their unerring bolts, and thinned their ranks. In the midst of the unequal conflict, the whole of the native servants of the magazine and ordnance departments contrived to scramble up the sheds and building against the outer wall, and, descending by the ladders, joined the ranks of the assailants. The attack was persevered in, although continued rounds of grape swept them from the walls only to be replaced by others. At length, the bullets of the enemy began to tell upon the little garrison, two out of the seven being wounded; and Lieutenant Willoughby felt that the moment had approached in which the defence of the magazine and its important contents must be consummated by the destruction of the whole. The walls were again crowned by the exasperated sepoys; the outer court of the building was already filled by the advancing enemy; when a preconcerted signal was given. A few seconds had scarcely elapsed

before a dull, heavy report boomed above the din of the city and the shouts of its maddened people: the ground vibrated, and a huge volume of smoke ascending in the air, spread like a pall over the palace of the Moguls, and announced, amidst the groans and shrieks of its ferocious and mangled assailants, that the great magazine of Delhi, with its vast accumulations of powder and military stores, had been blown into the air! The gallant Willoughby happily escaped the effects of the explosion with merely a severe scorching; but it was believed that from 1,500 to 2,000 of the mutineers and town rabble were blown up with the magazine, or were crushed by the falling and scattered ruins. Exasperated by the disappointment occasioned by the destruction of the stores, the sowars rushed to the palace, and demanded of the king that the Europeans who had received his assurance of protection should be given up to them. The demand was acceded to; and the unfortunate victims of royal perfidy and insatiable revenge, were murdered in cold blood by the remorseless soldiers, who, in reply to their appeals for mercy, pointed to their legs and pretended to show the marks of the irons that had been put upon them on the Saturday previous to the outbreak at Meerut.

The following report of the details connected with the blowing-up of the magazine, was transmitted for the information of government, from the inspector-general of ordnance, Colonel A. Abbott, dated July 11:—
“Sir,—I have the honour to annex copy of a report addressed to me, on the 27th of May, by Lieutenant Forrest, of the veteran establishment, assistant-commissary of ordnance, who was attached to the Delhi magazine when the troops mutinied on the 11th of May. The following is an abstract of Mr. Forrest’s report:—

“The Meerut mutineers reached Delhi about 8 A.M. on the 11th of May, and were at once admitted to the palace, through which they marched into the town of Delhi. The king of Delhi supplied them with ladders, which had been prepared in the palace, for the purpose of escalading the walls of the magazine. Lieutenant Willoughby, with seven of his European commissioned, warrant, and non-commissioned officers, defended themselves as long as they could, and then blew up the magazine, the train being fired by Conductor Scully, who was most likely killed by the explosion. Lieu-

tenants Forrest and Raynor, with Conductor Buckley, escaped to Meerut, and the fate of the others was unknown. The magazine was on fire on the night of the 11th. The conduct of the small party of Europeans under Lieutenant Willoughby, was most gallant, and will, I doubt not, be duly appreciated by government.”

Subjoined is Lieutenant Forrest’s report, dated Meerut, May 27th:—“Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of government, and in the absence of my commanding officer, Lieutenant Willoughby (artillery), supposed to be killed on his retreat from Delhi to this station, the following facts as regards the capture of the Delhi magazine by the mutineers and insurgents on the 11th instant. On the morning of that date, between seven and eight A.M., Sir Theophilus Metcalfe came to my house, and requested that I would accompany him to the magazine for the purpose of having two guns placed on the bridge, so as to prevent the mutineers from passing over. On our arrival at the magazine we found present Lieutenants Willoughby and Raynor, with Conductors Buckley, Shaw, Scully, and Acting Sub-conductor Crow, and Sergeants Edwards and Stewart, with the native establishment. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe alighting from his buggy, Lieutenant Willoughby and I accompanied him to the small bastion on the river face, which commanded a full view of the bridge, from which we could distinctly see the mutineers marching in open column headed by the cavalry; and the Delhi side of the bridge was already in the possession of a body of cavalry. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe observing this, he proceeded, with Lieutenant Willoughby, to see if the city gate was closed against the mutineers. However, this step was needless, as the mutineers were admitted directly through the palace, through which they passed cheering. On Lieutenant Willoughby’s return to the magazine, the gates of the magazine were closed and barricaded, and every possible arrangement that could be made was at once commenced. Inside the gate leading to the park were placed two 6-pounders, double-charged with grape, one under Acting Sub-conductor Crow and Sergeant Stewart, with the lighted matches in their hands, and with orders that if any attempt was made to force the gates both guns were to be fired at once, and they were to fall back on

that part of the magazine in which Lieutenant Willoughby and I were posted. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns, with the *chevaux-de-frize* laid down on the inside. For the further defence of this gate and the magazine in its vicinity, there were two 6-pounders so placed as easily to command the gate and a small bastion in its vicinity. Within sixty yards of the gate, and in front of the office, and commanding two cross-roads, were three 6-pounders and one 24-pounder nowtizer, which could be so managed as to act upon any part of the magazine in that neighbourhood. After all these guns and howitzers had been placed in the several positions above-named, they were loaded with double charges of grape. The next step taken was to place arms in the hands of the native establishment, which they most reluctantly received, and appeared to be in a state not only of excitement, but also of insubordination, as they refused to obey any orders issued by the Europeans, particularly the Mussulman portion of the establishment. After the above arrangements had been made, a train was laid by Conductors Buckley, Scully, and Sergeant Stewart, ready to be fired by a preconcerted signal, which was that of Conductor Buckley raising his hat from his head, on the order being given by Lieutenant Willoughby. The train was to be fired by Conductor Scully, but not until such time as the last round from the howitzers had been fired. So soon as the above arrangement had been made, guards from the palace came and demanded the possession of the magazine in the name of the king of Delhi, to which no reply was given. Immediately after this, the subahdar of the guard on duty at the magazine informed Lieutenant Willoughby and me, that the king of Delhi had sent down word to the mutineers that he would, without delay, send scaling-ladders from the palace, for the purpose of scaling the walls; and which shortly after arrived. On the ladders being erected against the wall, the whole of our native establishment deserted us, by climbing up the sloped sheds on the inside of the magazine, and descending the ladders on the outside, after which the enemy appeared in great number on the top of the walls, and on whom we kept up an incessant fire of grape, every round of which told well, as long as a single round remained. Previous to the natives deserting us, they hid the priming-pouches; and one man in particular,

Kurreembuksh, a durwan, appeared to keep up a constant communication with the enemy on the outside, and keep them informed of our situation. Lieutenant Willoughby was so annoyed at this man's conduct, that he gave me an order to shoot him, should he again approach the gate. Lieutenant Raynor, with the other Europeans, did everything that possibly could be done for the defence of the magazine; and where all have behaved so bravely, it is almost impossible for me to point out any particular individual. However, I am in duty bound to bring to the notice of government the gallantry of Conductors Buckley and Scully on this trying occasion. The former, assisted only by myself, loaded and fired in rapid succession the several guns above detailed, firing at least four rounds from each gun, and with the same steadiness as if standing on parade, although the enemy were then some hundreds in number, and kept up a continual fire of musketry on us, within forty or fifty yards. After firing the last round, Conductor Buckley received a musket-ball in his arm, above the elbow, which has been extracted here. I, at the same time, was struck in the left hand by two musket-balls, which disabled me for a time. It was at this critical moment that Lieutenant Willoughby gave the order for firing the magazine, which was at once responded to by Conductor Scully firing the several trains. Indeed, from the very commencement, he evinced his gallantry by volunteering his services for blowing up the magazine, and remained true to his trust to the last moment. As soon as the explosion took place, such as escaped beneath the ruins—and none escaped unhurt—retreated through the sallyport on the river face. Lieutenant Willoughby and I succeeded in reaching the Cashmere gate. What became of the other parties it is impossible for me to say. Lieutenant Raynor and Conductor Buckley have escaped to this station. Severe indisposition prevented my sending in this report sooner.

"N.B.—After crossing the river, on the night of the 11th, I observed the whole of the magazine to be on fire, so that I am in hopes that little of the property fell into the hands of the enemy. Park-sergeant Hoyle was shot about 11 A.M. by the mutineers, in attempting to reach the magazine to aid in its defence."

Having thus detailed the heroic conduct

of the defenders of the magazine, we resume the narrative of events without the city.

The position of the European families and Christian natives resident in Delhi and its vicinity, was naturally, in an emergency like the present, one of painful interest and considerable difficulty. At an early hour of the morning, rumours were afloat of unprovoked cruelties, and acts of shameless atrocity, said to have been perpetrated at Meerut; and although the extent of those outrages upon humanity were as yet but imperfectly known to the authorities, sufficient had transpired to excite grave apprehensions, and to induce prompt efforts to prevent the possibility of any repetition of the evil. As soon, therefore, as the actual advance of the mutinous sepoys from Meerut was observed in the distance, it became necessary that some place of refuge should be appointed, where, upon a possible contingency, the families of the Europeans of both services at Delhi might rendezvous, and be sheltered from immediate danger. With this view it had been arranged by the brigadier, that in case of necessity, the ladies, and persons in civil employ, should repair to the Flagstaff tower, a circular building of some strength, situated on an eminence near the cantonment, and within a short distance of the Moree and Cashmere gates, where, from its proximity to the lines, they might find protection, until facilities could be found for their removal from the vicinity of the city. Many of the European residents who occupied bungalows between the latter and the cantonment, were fortunate enough to repair to the asylum on the first alarm without much difficulty, and were received on their arrival by the brigadier and his staff, who had early resorted to the tower, as from its position the former was enabled to trace the movements of the rebel force on the north and western faces of the city. Of the European residents within the walls of Delhi, few were able to avail themselves of this shelter; and they perished. There were, however, assembled a considerable portion of the females belonging to the European families. Of the remainder, some who were unable to escape through streets thronged by excited troopers and a tumultuous rabble, turned back, and in their desperation flew to the palace, and claimed protection of the king; it was promised them, and for a few hours they existed in fancied security. Besides these, no European survived within the

walls of Delhi to speak of the horrors of that terrible day.

For several hours the detachment of the 38th, stationed at the Flagstaff tower, as well as the men of the 74th regiment on the artillery parade-ground at the cantonment, preserved an appearance of discipline; but as the day advanced, and it became known that a fierce tumult was raging in the city, and that the 54th had joined the Meerut fugitives, the other regiments began to exhibit signs of impatience, and no longer obeyed their officers.

To those assembled at the Flagstaff tower the explosion of the magazine was awfully significant; it declared that there was no longer a tenable point of occupation for Europeans within the city; and it had the instant effect of precipitating the resolves of the few soldiers at the tower, who had till this time preserved an appearance of subordination. They no sooner perceived the smoke and heard the concussion, than they seized their arms, and with their cry of "Deen! deen!" took possession of two guns that had been sent up to increase the defences of the position, and pointed them against the tower. Fortunately these men were not proof against remonstrance, and they desisted from their apparent purpose; they even gave up their bayonets to reassure the ladies of their fidelity, and offered to march as an escort with them to a place of safety.

About five o'clock in the afternoon, a cart, drawn by bullocks, was perceived ascending from the direction of the Cashmere gate towards the town. As it came near, a rumour went forth that it contained the mangled bodies of the officers of the 54th, who had been massacred in the morning, and which had been collected by some friendly inhabitant of the city, and thus transmitted to preserve them from further indignity. The cart was covered over with ladies' dresses to screen the dead from view; but occasionally a protruding limb told in terrible language the ghastly nature of the burden. Happily for some of the yet living among those at the Flagstaff tower, there was not then time to unveil the horrible mystery and identify the remains.

It had now become unmistakably apparent that every one must consult his own chance of safety, since nothing could be done for the retention of Delhi, or for the further protection of the yet surviving Europeans in its vicinity. The whole of the troops had

revolted; the gaols had been opened; the whole population, consisting principally of ignorant and bigoted Mohammedans, were in arms, and clamouring for the blood of the "Feringhees." The brigadier perceived this, and that he had no longer power to command. He had done all that his position enabled him to do, and the hour for departure had arrived. He therefore advised every one to escape as they best could; and he remained until the last of his unfortunate party had found a conveyance, or otherwise left the place.

Those who had conveyances cheerfully shared them with those who were less fortunate; but in several instances the native servants had gone off with the carriages and horses, and left the families of their masters to get away as best they could. When the last had departed, the brigadier ordered the bugler to sound the retreat; and the troops, freed from all restraint, at once dispersed, and made off to the city to join their comrades and share in their plunder. General Graves eventually succeeded in reaching Meerut. The following narrative, by an officer of the 38th regiment, describes the occurrences connected with the flight from the Flag-staff tower:—

"As I brought up the rear, our men fell in in column in order; but as we retired, they streamed off right and left by hundreds into the bazaar, till at last the colonel and I found ourselves with the colours and a handful of men. We intended to make for a ford by the powder-magazine, but our men showed that they were no longer under control, took the colours, and made for their lines. The colonel and I followed. We sounded the assembly, and there was a great hubbub. We implored the men to fall in, but they stood still and declined. The colonel went among them, and begged they would shoot him if they wished it. They vowed they had no ill-feeling against us. It was here I saw the last of poor Holland (since safe.) His horse had not been ridden all day; it came from his bungalow. I heard Holland exclaim, 'Which way did the ladies and carriages go?' Some one replied, 'The Kurnaul road;' and I watched him canter across the parade-ground to the bridge by the Company's garden. If I had had a wife or child, or any one belonging to me in the carriages, I might have done the same; but, as it was, I dismounted, patted Gibraltar with a kind of presentiment of evil, and sent him to my bungalow, and walked discou-

solately into our quarter-guard. The colonel did the same; somehow the idea of flight did not occur to us. I got my bed down from the bungalow and my kit, and went for some dinner. Then our men commenced urging us to escape; but we refused, and I fell asleep. I awoke, and my bearer entreated me to go, and said that the ruffians were coming from the city. Peile was also in the quarter-guard. We each took one of the colours, and got as far as the door, but the men closed on us, and jerked them out of our hands. Firing commenced behind us, and the satisfaction of being shot by one's own troops is small. I met the colonel in the doorway, and, seizing him by the wrist, forced him along over the parade-ground to the bridge by our butts. It was quite dark. We reached it untouched, and scrambled on till we fell exhausted by a tree. Soon the moon rose, and cantonments in a blaze threw a glare on the colonel's scales; my scabbard flashed, and white clothing looked like snow. We crouched like hares; and thus passed all that fearful night, now running forward, now hiding in hollows and gaps, as voices seemed in our track. We kept parallel to the road which leads to the Shalima gardens. We crossed the Jumna canal by a ford, and drank as perhaps we never drank before. The poor colonel was terribly exhausted; we had had nothing all day.

"Day broke; we were under a tree; and the colonel tore the scales off his coat and hid them in the bushes. We perceived a broken-down mud-hut at a little distance. Into this we crept and lay down; while there, as the sun rose, we perceived a party of sepoys and others advancing towards us; they seemed to search the bushes, and the sun glittered on their arms. I cocked my pistol mechanically, but after two barrels I had no more ammunition. The colonel had not even his sword. I remember saying, 'Oh, colonel, death is better than this horrible suspense.' The sepoys turned towards the river, as if thinking that we had taken the ford, and disappeared. Some Brahmins discovered us as they came to work; one took us to the village and put us in a *tope* (clump of trees), while he got us *chupatties* (bread) and milk. On the way Mr. Marshall, the auctioneer and merchant, met us. After giving us food, our Brahmmin friends took us over a ford of a branch of the Jumna, and concealed us in the long jungle-grass on the other side.

While there another came to me, and said a party of fugitives like ourselves were in the grass at a little distance. I followed, and he led me some two miles, when I found a party of ladies and others concealed—the party that had escaped from the Main-guard. They had passed much such a night as we did, with one narrower escape. As they lay concealed, some men passed and saw a riband or a bottle, and saying, ‘Oh, they have been here, evidently,’ went on. They came to the same ford, and while concealed, heard me described by my eyeglass—sent for me, and thus we happily met. We could not stay in the grass; so, that evening, started, the Brahmins conducting us to a ford over the Jumna. We travelled some two or three miles up stream before reaching it. Our hearts failed, and no wonder where ladies were concerned, as we looked at the broad swift river. It was getting dark, too. Two natives went across. We watched them anxiously wade a considerable portion of the river; then their heads alone appeared above water. It was our only chance of life, and our brave ladies never flinched. It was so deep, that where a tall man would wade a short man would be drowned. I thought it was all over when, on reaching the deep water with Mrs. Forrest on my left arm, a native supporting her on the other side, we were shot down the river; however, by desperate efforts and the assistance of another native, we reached the bank in safety. I swam back once more for another of our party, and so ultimately we all got safe over. It was a brave feat for our ladies to do. We passed another wretched night, suffering fearfully from cold, and crouching close to each other for warmth; there was no noise but the chattering of our teeth. Next morning we were discovered and led to a tope, where again the Brahmins temporarily proved our friends; but they turned us out shortly afterwards with news that there were sowars behind and sowars in front. We turned wearily to the left, to fall into the hands of the Goojurs. These ruffians gradually collected, and with a wild howl set upon us. Our arms had been under water and useless, and they were fifteen to one. They disarmed us, and proceeded brutally to rob and strip us. I think a fakir here saved our lives. On we toiled all day in a burning sun, with naked feet and skins peeling and blistering in the burning wind. How the ladies stood it is

marvellous, yet they never murmured or flinched, or distressed us by a show of terror. We were taken to a large Brahmin village that night and concealed in a fakir’s hut. We were there three days, and I trust hereafter handsomely to reward our benefactors. While here we sent in a letter in French to Meerut, asking for assistance. It seemed not to come; and from Bhokia we were taken to Hurchundpore at the request of an old zemindar, who had heard of our whereabouts, and treated us royally. He was a German by birth, an old man of eighty or ninety; and now native in dress, language, &c.—not in heart or religion. He sent us up clean stuff for clothes, and gave us something like civilised food again. That evening thirty *sowars* (troopers), under Lieutenants Gough and Mackenzie, who volunteered for the service in answer to our letter, rode in, and we enjoyed the luxurious sense of release from the almost hourly expectation of death. The old man provided carts for us, and at 10 P.M. the day week of our escape from Delhi we reached Meerut.”

It was not alone in the immediate vicinity of the city that the unhappy fugitives had to encounter peril, and to bring into exercise the highest qualities of Christian fortitude and patient endurance;—ill-provided in most instances, and in many entirely without the means of conveyance, through the treachery of their native servants—with scanty clothing, and limited funds even to procure necessary sustenance, as they passed through inhospitable villages, on their route to some hoped-for place of shelter and safety. Of these, feeble and delicate women, with men exhausted by excitement and exertion—some bleeding from wounds, and ail burdened with aching hearts, and weighed down with grief and anxiety for the friends and relations whose places were vacant among them, and for whose fate the most poignant apprehensions were naturally entertained;—it seems next to a miracle that even one of the little band assembled at the Flagstaff tower on the morning of the 11th of May, should have survived to relate the incidents of their escape; and in the history of their sufferings, their perils, and their rescue, to add pages of absorbing interest to the details of the sepoy war in India.

In selecting the correspondence that occasionally enriches this volume; and sheds light upon many points of individual as well as general interest, it has been de-

cided, in each case, to retain the exact language of the writer; thereby establishing the authenticity and continuity of the narrative. Some trifling discrepancies may possibly occur, from the different points of view taken by the various writers; but upon all material subjects the details will be found to agree with surprising exactness: and they will also collectively exhibit, upon a foundation that cannot be questioned, the indomitable spirit and enduring energies of the true British character, when called into action amidst scenes of unparalleled horror and acute personal suffering.

Throughout the whole of the flight of the 11th of May, bands of Goojurs were lying in wait, along the roads for many miles out of Delhi, with the intent to intercept and plunder the fugitives, most of whom would have been murdered as well as robbed, but for the determined resistance they were occasionally enabled to make.

One gentleman named Wagentreiber, connected with the *Delhi Gazette*, fled in an open carriage to Kurnaul—his wife driving, and his step-daughter handing him a loaded rifle after every shot, while his babe slept soundly in the bottom of the carriage, amidst the horrible din and excitement of the pursuers and the pursued. Five times, within a distance of twenty miles, was this heroic family attacked by the merciless Goojurs; but bold hearts and his steady hand enabled him to force his way through his murderous assailants, four of whom he shot dead, and wounded two others. The escape of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was miraculous. After remaining in Delhi for three days after the outbreak, he escaped into the jungle, and, hiding as best he could, arrived, after a perilous journey of ten days, at Hansee in safety. The result of the whole affair was, the destruction of all the Europeans on whom hands could be laid; the pillage of the treasure, including some ten or twelve thousand pounds in the bank at Delhi; and the acquisition, by the insurgents, of magazines of provisions, ammunition, and guns, without which they could not have maintained any lengthened resistance to the government.

The following narrative of a sufferer, named James Morley, will give the reader some idea of the horrors that deluged with blood many of the homes at Delhi. He says—"I and my friend, Mr. William Clark, occupied a two-storied house in the Cashmere bazaar. We were both married. I had three

children; Mr. Clark had only one, but Mrs. Clark was about to give birth to another. On the morning of the 11th of May, I was preparing, about 9 A.M., to go to my office. We heard a great uproar, and one of my servants came in and said that some regiments had come over from Meerut and entered the city, and that they had come away from Meerut after killing all the Europeans. We did not know what to do, and I sent away my buggy. We waited for two or three hours, and then another of my servants came in, and said that all the bud-mashes of the city had got together and were murdering all the Europeans. On this my wife and children all began crying. Some of the servants went and stood at the gate, and one man came and told us to come and hide in his house. However, I was determined to go out and see what was the matter. I took a stick in my hand, and walked into the street. It was altogether empty. I continued to walk down it without meeting any one. When I came to the end where it opened into another street running at right angles to it, I walked both ways along the latter, but it too was empty. There was only an old man sitting at a shop-door. I stood for some time; but at some distance along the right I could see what seemed to be a crowd of men. It was very far off, and I could only just hear the noise and shouting. As I thought they might come up to our house, I stood watching them for some time. At length I heard a great noise behind, and, looking round, I saw a large crowd rushing into my gateway. They had also seen me, and some men came running down the street towards me. I immediately ran down the other street to the left. I knew that there was a small lane that led to my house, and by going a long way round I ran into it. There were some women standing at doors, and one or two men, but they did not say anything to me. I was running along, when two men ran out of another lane, and calling out 'Mar Feringhee ko,' they rushed at me. One man had a sword in his hand, and the other a lattee. I stopped suddenly, and, turning quickly round, I gave the man with the sword a blow over the head which brought him to the ground. The other man aimed a blow at my head, but I had stooped forward, and the lattee only grazed my shoulder behind. I swung my stick round, and it caught him just on his knee, which made him sit down

howling with pain. I saw a great number of people collecting behind me; and, running on, I came to a place where there were old carts and hackeries lying in front of a carpenter's shop, and there was a roof of a shed which had fallen down and was on the ground. There was just room for me to creep under. I rolled myself up and lay there. I heard four or five men run by, saying, 'Idhuree to gya,' (he went this way.) I could hardly draw my breath. For some time after they had left, I could hear nothing more. Then I began to think of my poor wife and children, and of Clark and his family. What if they all had been murdered? As I thought of this, I determined to go home. It made me feel like mad. But now again I heard a loud noise, and a large crowd passed by shouting and yelling in a dreadful manner. They used the most horrible language, and it was all about the Europeans. Two or three women came out of the house and stood close to the shed, and a little child was leaning against the side. Some one, however, called out to them from above to come in and shut the doors. I lay still for a long time, for in that public street I did not know where I might not meet a man. But again I thought of my wife and children, and I determined to go to them at any cost. I crept out of the shed and stood up suddenly. I heard a woman call out 'Koun hy,' but I made no answer, and walked towards my house; this street was not in the centre of the city, but near the walls, and was not inhabited by Bunees and such people, but by baboos and native writers. All the bud-mashes had gone to loot the station outside. I met one or two natives. I knew them, and they said, 'Save yourself.' At length I came to the wall of the garden behind our house. I entered through a small wicket. It was now nearly four o'clock, for I had been all day under the shed. I had heard firing; and once there was a terrible shock, which I afterwards found must have been the blowing-up of the magazine. As I said before, I got into our garden; everything was as still as death. When I got to the house, all round it were lying broken chairs, tumblers, plates, books, &c., that had been thrown out from the house. There were some bundles of clothes lying burning. I went round to the side where the servants' houses were. There did not seem to be any one in them. At length I heard a

noise as if of some one crying near the cow-house. I went there, and found that it was our old dhoby, an old man who had been in my father's service for nearly twenty years. I called out his name, and when he saw me he burst out louder, saying, 'Oh, Sahib! they have killed them all—they have killed them all.' I felt very weak and faint, and I said, 'Give me some water.' He brought me some water from his own house. I sat down, and said, 'Now tell me how it all happened.' First he only cried, and then he said, 'Oh, Sahib! when you had gone away, the Mem Sahibs and the children all sat together very frightened, for we could hear a great noise and the firing of guns. And Clark Sahib got out his fowling-piece and loaded it. I asked him if I should shut the gate, but he said, 'No, we have nothing to fear.' But soon a large crowd with sticks, and swords, and spears, came into the compound. Clark Sahib stood on the steps, and said, 'What do you want?' They only abused him, and said they would kill every Feringhee. He came into the house, but did not shut the door. The people all rushed in. The servants all ran away, only I remained behind. Mr. Clark said, 'Take everything away, but do not kill us.' They then abused him, and looked at Mrs. Clark and said, 'Is this your wife?' and laughed at him. They began to break and loot everything. My Mem Sahib had taken the three babes into the gossul khana and shut the door. Mr. Clark had stood with his gun hidden behind him; but they saw it, and said, 'Give it to us;' and then one man went to Mrs. Clark and touched her face, and spoke bad words to her. Clark Sahib called out, in a terrible voice, 'You sowar!' and shot him dead. He then wounded another man with the other barrel, and commenced fighting with his gun like a lattee. I knew that now they would murder every one. I ran to get the Mem Sahib out of the gossul khana, but there were people all round the house. They hit me, and told me to go away, or they would murder me too. I went into the garden and sat behind a hedge. I heard a great crying, and then they threw things out of the house, and broke the panes of glass in the doors. They then said, 'Let us go and loot;' and they all went away.—I felt as if I had been stunned for some time. I then got up, but I could hardly stand, and I said, 'Come into the house with me.' We went into the house. Everywhere things were

lying about that had been most wantonly destroyed. Tables had been split to pieces with hatchets, cupboards had been emptied out, and everything strewn on the floor; jams and jellies were lying in heaps; biscuits were strewn about, and there was an overpowering smell from the brandy and wine that had run out from the broken bottles.

"Every minute detail is distinctly imprinted upon my mind; for, with that cowardly shrinking from a knowledge of the worst which is common to us all, I lingered in this outer room and kept looking round it. At length I nerved myself and stepped into the next room, which was the hall. Oh! I had indeed need to nerve myself. Just before me, pinned to the wall, was poor Clark's little son with his head hanging down, and a dark stream of blood trickling down the wall into a large black pool which lay near his feet. And this cruel death they must have inflicted before the mother's eyes. I closed my eyes and shuddered; but I opened them upon even a yet more dreadful sight. Clark and his wife lay side by side. But I will not, I could not, describe that scene. I have said she was far advanced in her pregnancy. I heard an exclamation, and going into the bedroom near the hall, I saw the old dhoby wringing his hands and crying. He was standing at the door leading into the bath-room. I rushed to the door, but I could not enter. I could not bear to face that spectacle. I could not bear to think that I might see my poor wife as I had seen poor Mrs. Clark. I sat down and placed my hands on my knees. I did not cry; it seemed as if there was some terrible weight that had been placed on my brain, and the tears could not come out. I do not know how long it was I sat there; but at length the old dhoby said that he heard people passing, and that it was not safe for me to be there; so he took me into his house. It was now nearly dark. My servants would most likely be coming back to their houses, and I could not trust them. He told me he would take me that night to his brother's house, which was on the other side of the city, and then try and get me out into the open country, when we would make for Kurnaul. I lay down in his house, and he sat outside; not long after a large gang of people came into the compound. They laughed, and shouted, and yelled. They passed out by a small wicket which was quite close to the servants' houses, and I

heard one man say, 'Kera iumasha hye,' (what fun this is!) The servants, too, came back. They began to talk about what had happened, and I was glad to find that they were sure that I was dead. One man said that it was very wrong to kill the Mem Sahib and the children, and that now, where were they to get 'rozgar.' But another said that we were Kaffirs, and that now the king of Delhi would provide for every one. After midnight I crept into the garden, and there put on a petticoat and veil belonging to the dhoby's wife. I then went into the road, where I met him. He took me to his brother's house. Everywhere there was great excitement in the streets. There was a terrible blaze in the direction of the magazine, and outside of the walls there was a fire of musketry. When we came near his brother's house he told me to remain quiet at the corner, and he would go in and see who was there. And this was very lucky for me. I found afterwards that his brother was very happy at the thought that he could now keep all our clothes. He would not have tried to save me, but just the contrary. I sat there for a long time with people passing and repassing. If they had only known that a Feringhee was within a few feet of them! I have been all my lifetime in the country, but still I felt afraid lest any one should speak to me. I did not know but that they might remark that my chuddur was held awkwardly, and thus find me out. In this suspense I sat for some time. It was now the first dawn of the morning, and I supposed I had to remain the whole day in the city. This thought began to trouble me; but at last the old man came out driving before him a bullock on which was a load of clothes. He did not come towards me, but went down the street the opposite way. I again began to be afraid that he wanted to leave me to my fate, when I remembered what an old and trustworthy servant he had been, and it struck me that he did not want to draw observation to me. I therefore waited till he had gone some distance, and then followed him. We went on till we were out of the street in which his brother's house was. He then stopped and beckoned to me. I went and joined him, and he told me that his brother would not have assisted me, and that he himself had at once said that he would not stop in the city where there was all this disturbance, and that he had now come away on the pretence that he was going

home to his village. We were not stopped at the gate, which was wide open. We went on along the broad road for about three miles. The old dhoby then said that we must make for the Kurnaul road. In order to do this, we had to make a circuit almost round the whole of the city. People were hurrying along the roads towards Delhi, and did not molest us. We got on very slowly, but towards evening we got into the Kurnaul road. Here the case was different. People were to be seen going along it with plunder; one gang surrounded us and said that the old man was very cunning, and was taking away some rich goods. He, however, said at once, 'Search my bundle;' which they did, and, finding nothing, they let us go. I then told the old man, whenever a gang came near us, to call out to tell them to go and loot the Feringhees, and to make jokes about what had occurred. This he used to do, and it averted all suspicion from us. And after the first day we always started very early in the morning, indeed very shortly after midnight, and I could then go alone on the bullock. On the third day we halted near a small temple. We sat down under a peepul tree, and a Gopsaen came and sat down by a pool of water near it. The old dhoby went to procure some food, and, sitting in the shade, with a cool breeze blowing, I fell asleep. When the dhoby came back he woke me up, and the old priest said that he knew I was a Feringhee. We then begged him to have pity on me, and he said, 'Go, go, I never hurt any one.' I got tired of this disguise, and was indeed ashamed of it; so as I thought no one would harm us so far from Delhi, I put on a suit of the dhoby's clothes. We were often insulted, hooted, and abused by the villagers, but they did not offer me any personal violence. I saw the body of a European woman lying shockingly mutilated by the roadside, and it made me sick to see a vulture come flying along with a shrill cry. I saw another body of one of our countrymen. It was that of a lad about sixteen. He had been evidently killed with the blow of a stick. I buried him, but it was but a shallow grave I could give him. I heard on the road of a party of Europeans being some distance ahead of me, and tried to overtake them, but could not. I had been suffering for some time before of a peculiar running in my leg. This had become very much worse from the severe exercise, from the heat, and from the dirt that got to it. Fre-

quently I could just drag myself along. At any other time I could not have borne the agony. But the desire of life is a very powerful motive to exertion.

"I had very often thought before of that hour when death should stand by my side. I had not thought that I should ever be thus brought face to face with him. And though, after all I had lost, life seemed darkened for ever, yet the strong natural instinct urged me to make every endeavour to save my life. Still, strange as it may seem, it was not death that I feared. As I stood wrapped up in the chuddur, I would have welcomed a shot that would have at once destroyed me. It was the thought of the bitterness of that moment when I should have to gaze on death's naked face; it was the thought of the humiliation of the moment when I stood uncovered before those whom I had hitherto looked down on, and be at their mercy; but I think, above all, was the thought of the pain and agony of dying through the effects of ghastly wounds. But from all these things the goodness of the Almighty has delivered me. On the sixth day after leaving Delhi I arrived at Kurnaul. I was taken in by a good Samaritan. The excitement that had hitherto sustained me being now over, a reaction took place. A brain fever set in, and I became delirious. It is now that I am recovering from its effects. My poor friend Clark, my poor wife and children, never more shall I see them upon earth again.—JAMES MORLEY."

Of the incidents connected with the escape of the Europeans from the city, the following extract from a letter of an officer of the 74th native regiment, affords some interesting and authentic details. After recounting the horrors of the massacre in the streets, he says—"As I told you in my last, I had been ill in bed for a long time, and was to have left for England on the 15th; but God willed it otherwise. Seeing how things were turning, ill as I was, I could not remain quiet, and forthwith volunteered my services to the brigadier, which he accepted with thanks. I joined the troops; but after a long time it was agreed that we should retire, as all hope of holding Delhi was gone. Our regiment then refused to act, and most of the officers fled to Kurnaul, Meerut, &c.; but I, along with a few others, agreed to stay with the troops as long as possible. I placed my little boy in charge of some friends, who took him away in their carriage in safety to

Meerut. I then placed Fanny and our doctor's wife in a buggy, and directed them to go as quickly as possible to Kurnaul. Our doctor, who was severely wounded, accompanied them in the gharrie; but unfortunately they were all robbed on the road, and everything taken from them, their gharrie and buggy being broken to pieces, and the horses stolen. More about them after. After seeing them off, I hastened to our quarter-guard, where I rallied the men of my own companies (Nos. 3 and 5), and they promised to stand by me. I proposed to the commanding officer to call them together, but he would not permit me to do so. Of course, without this order I could do nothing. By degrees I and Ensign — were left to ourselves in the quarter-guard, when we agreed together to ride away with our colours to a place of security. The sepoy, however, refused to allow us to take them. — then left me alone, and has not since been heard of. Last of all, I persuaded the sepoy to let me take the regimental colour, and I took it outside; but on calling for my groom, I found he had bolted with my horse. You may imagine my horror at this. I went back into the quarter-guard and replaced the colour; but on again coming out, a trooper dismounted and took a deliberate shot at me, but, missing his aim, I walked up to him and blew his brains out. Another man was then taking aim at me, when he was bayoneted by a sepoy of my company. The firing then became general, and I was compelled to run the gauntlet across the parade-ground, and escaped unhurt miraculously—three bullets having passed through my hat, and one through the skirt of my coat. The whole of the houses in cantonments were burnt. Having gone as far as my weak state of health would permit, and being exhausted, I took refuge in a garden, under some bushes. About half-an-hour after, a band of robbers, looking out for plunder, detected me, robbed me of my rings, &c., and only left me my flannel waistcoat and socks. They then tore off the sleeve of my shirt, and with it attempted to strangle me. Imagine the intense agony I must have been in! They left me for dead, as I had become senseless. About one hour after I came to, and managed to stagger on about a mile without shoes, where I secreted myself in a hut until day-break, when I resumed my dreary journey; and, after travelling about twelve miles—the

latter part of which was in the broiling sun, without anything on my head—arrived at Aleepore. I managed to beg a little water, some bread, and a few old native clothes to cover my nakedness, but was refused shelter. Again I went on and on through the ploughed fields, barefooted, fearing to keep the road, on account of the robbers; and, after being turned from several villages, came to a village where the head man, much against the wishes of his labourers, offered to secrete me. This offer I accepted, and I remained with him for five days; although once the sirdars came there and wished to murder me, but seeing my helpless state, and how ill I was, they refrained from doing so, and went away: and a second time I was forced to flee to the fields and hide myself, as about fifty of the mutinous sepoy came and searched the village for Europeans; but after laying the whole day in the sun, my generous friend, the zemindar, came and fetched me. On the morning of the sixth day, a man came in and gave me such information, that I was confident that Fanny, the poor doctor, and his wife, were only six or seven miles off. I at once determined, at all hazards, to go in search of them, and immediately started off. I once more gained the high road; and after making inquiries, found that those I was seeking for had been travelling on foot at night, and were about ten miles ahead of me. With my feet swollen and in blisters I journeyed on, and at last, to my extreme joy, overtook them. After having been several times stripped and searched by the robbers, they had been taken care of by a ranee, Mungla Dabee, for two days. They, poor helpless creatures, like myself, had been robbed of all they possessed—the ladies with the exception of a petticoat and shift; and the poor wounded doctor had his clothes left him, as the blood had so saturated them that they were deemed useless to them. The ladies had also experienced the most distressing and horrible insults. At the same place we also met Major Paterson, who had had two very severe blows on the head with a bludgeon. On the evening of the same day we resumed our march; but as poor Wood was so weak, we only managed to accomplish about three miles, when we put up at a village for the night. The villagers treated us very kindly, gave us quantities of milk, bread, and dhál, and charpas to lie on. As soon as the moon rose, and we had had

about four hours' sleep, we again went on our road; but this time we were more fortunate, as some men offered to carry the doctor in a bed. By this means we got on more quickly, and by the evening we had walked about twenty miles, and put up in a village, where the people were very kind indeed, and in the morning conducted us safely on horses, mules, and donkeys, to a place called Lursowlee, about thirty miles from Kurnaul. Here was a police-station, and we immediately sent on a man on horseback to Kurnaul, to send us a carriage and cavalry escort, which was immediately done; and I thank God we arrived here safe on the night of the 20th. A force is collecting to march against Delhi, and will start in three or four days, when I trust everything will still turn out well; but affairs look so threatening, and several regiments are mutinying and going over to the enemy, that it is very uncertain how it will all end. When I shall come to England now is uncertain, and my movements equally so; but I am not of a desponding disposition, and put my trust in my Creator that all may still be well. Everything I possessed in the world has, of course, either been burnt in my house or stolen; and I have nothing left to myself and wife and child but the clothes we stand in, which have been made up here."

The following letter appears to be from the eminently descriptive pen of the lady referred to in the preceding communication; and it embraces so much of real historical interest, that its extreme length will not diminish its value as a record of incidents connected with the perils of the outbreak:—

"Camden Villa, Simla, July 22nd.

"On the morning of the 11th of May, about 7 A.M., the insurgents from Meerut reached the bridge of boats at Delhi; but we heard nothing of it till about half-past 9 A.M. We heard the sad news in this way:—My husband, child, and myself, were spending our last week in India with Dr. Wood and his wife, as he had been very ill, and a change of climate was recommended by his medical attendants. We were to have proceeded to Calcutta on the 15th of that month, and every arrangement had been made for our journey, even to our dâk being paid; but, alas! we were astonished at hearing from the native doctor, who came to make his usual report regarding the sick to Dr. Wood, the sad tidings that the mutineers had actually been allowed to

pass over the bridge of boats, and were then within the city walls. It was reported, that within the short space of one hour, the insurgents had killed the commissioner, Mr. Fraser; the fort-adjutant, Captain Douglas; the Rev. Mr. Jennings and his daughter, a young lady about nineteen years of age; together with many others, whose names I do not remember. The above was being related to us when we received a message from Mrs. Paterson, the wife of Major Paterson, of the 54th regiment of native infantry, to beg Westwood and myself to go over to her house quickly; and as she only lived across the road we went immediately. In the verandah we met Major Paterson, dressed in uniform, from whom we heard that his regiment (the 54th) had been ordered down to the city of Delhi to quell the disturbance, and that he was to take the command of the guns, four in number. The regiment was then on the parade-ground waiting for orders; and as we were living close to the 54th lines we saw them pass the house, and from their cheerful appearance, and yet determined look, we congratulated ourselves on having such a brave set of fellows, as we thought, to go forward and fight for us. Colonel Ripley, the commandant of the regiment, headed it, and lost no time in appearing before the wretches in the city, leaving Major Paterson to bring up the guns; and as it was, of course, a planned thing among the native gunners to delay with the guns, Major Paterson had to wait no less than four hours before he could take them to the city. When he reached that place he became, as he told me, sick at heart; for the first person whom he met was his colonel, supported by one of the buglers of the regiment through the Cashmere gate to a palkie-gharrie; for he had been so dreadfully cut about, that the poor man was unable of himself to move. After the bugler had placed Colonel Ripley in the carriage, the coachman drove to the bells of arms in the Delhi cantonments, at which place the colonel had his wounds looked to; and by this time, Dr. Dopping, of the 54th, Captain Smith, Captain Burrows, two lieutenants, and one ensign, all of the same regiment, had been killed, and were lying in a heap at the slope leading to the officers' quarters at the Cashmere gate. Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Paterson, and myself, began to consider that we were in rather a precarious position ourselves, and we were advised to

go forthwith to the 38th hospital, and there find protection through the guard stationed there. We all three ladies started in Mrs. Paterson's carriage, taking with us Mrs. Paterson's two little girls and my dear boy. On our reaching the hospital, we were told that all the ladies had taken refuge in the Flagstaff tower, and that we had better go likewise. We found the native gunners, who were standing about, most rude; but the sepoy in general were as respectful as usual. The native doctor of the 38th took me to his house, and told me that if I was frightened he could hide me in an underground room which he showed me; but I felt more secure by going to the Flagstaff tower. Here we were told that poor Colonel Ripley was lying at the bells of arms, dreadfully wounded. We proceeded immediately to the place where he lay, to see if we could render him any assistance. We found him lying on a bed of very rough manufacture. We found a sergeant's wife near the place where poor Colonel Ripley was lying, who brought us a nice soft rezie, which we folded once or twice double, and laid him upon it. This appeared to comfort his wounds; and after we applied some lavender-water to his temples he seemed much better, and talked to us. He was, of course, in great agony, and begged of the native doctor to give him a dose of opium to deaden his sufferings; and, after some persuasion, the doctor did so. The colonel was then so much better, that he pointed to one frightful wound in his left shoulder, and told us that the men of his own regiment had bayoneted him. We were afraid to remain longer with the colonel, having our own little ones to protect, and therefore bade him farewell, promising, as I did, to go home and persuade my husband, who was himself very ill, to go and see to his wants. On our way we met men and women-servants in every direction, looking dreadfully confused, and apparently greatly concerned for us. Before we reached home, another wounded man, a sergeant, I believe, of the 54th, was being carried to the hospital in a dhooly; he had been shot in the leg, which we were told afterwards was broken. On reaching home, our servants begged of us not to remain in the house; for it was fully understood that the bungalows were to be burnt at night. Thinking, however, we might save our clothes, and other little articles which for years past I had been gathering

together, Mrs. Wood and I packed our boxes, and ordered our servants to hide them in the fowl-house, and we took our jewel-cases with us. When we left the bungalow it was about 2 o'clock P.M. We took the road to the Flagstaff tower; and my husband went to the bells of arms to see what he could do for Colonel Ripley, whom he soon removed from that place into a dhooly, and rode by his side to the Flagstaff. The colonel was quite sensible; for he asked my husband to secure all his papers from his house for him, which my husband did. By this time the people at the Flagstaff were in a great state of alarm, having heard that the king of Delhi, instead of aiding us, was sending scaling-ladders for the sepoy to scale the walls of the magazine, which they very successfully did. Lieutenant Willoughby, finding that he had but a few sergeants to hold the magazine with him, laid a train, and it is said that some 400 of the insurgents were fairly inside when the place was blown up. Certainly I felt much frightened when I found that the magazine had been blown up, to say nothing of the 38th regiment flying to their arms, and crying out 'Deen! deen!' (religion.) The magazine could not have been blown up entirely, for the report was so slight; the sight was very sad to look at, the heavens being perfectly blackened, as it were, from the black smoke. Seeing the sepoy fly to their arms, it was advised that their bayonets should be at once taken from them, and placed at the top of the Flagstaff, as it was then fully believed, that if we depended on our sepoy for assistance, we should be but poorly cared for. The men, astonishing to say, allowed themselves to be robbed of their arms; and I, for one, assisted in passing them to the top of the tower, while the gentlemen and merchants from the city brought in boxes upon boxes of powder, caps, and bullets, which were all lodged at the top of the tower. Every minute things bore a blacker look; and when the artillery commandant, Captain De Tessier, came in, with his trowsers covered with blood, he told his wife, who was close to me with a young babe in her arms, that she ought to be most thankful that his life had been spared, his horse having been shot from under him. The insurgents then took two of our light guns. Information then reached us that the sepoy were actually shooting down their own officers; and finding that it was not their in-

tention to fight for us, some advised a retreat to Kurnaul. The people were, however, a long time making up their minds as to what they had better do. At last, Captain Tyler, of the 38th, said his men would accompany us; and my husband being an officer of that regiment, did his best in assisting Captain Tyler to get the men together. Major Knyvett was in command of the regiment; but it remains to be proved why, at a dangerous moment like that, he did not take the command of his corps. Colonel Graves, the brigadier, had no one to advise him apparently; and I do not think any one present envied him his post. Had any one of sense and thought ordered the ladies and children away from Delhi in the early part of the day, I, for one, should not have had to undergo such a journey. About 5 p.m., a cart drawn by bullocks arrived at the Flagstaff tower, and I heard it whispered that it contained the unfortunate officers and eight sergeants who had been so brutally killed in the city. The cart was covered over with one or two ladies' dresses, to screen the dead from view; but one of their arms was distinctly noticed by myself, as it was hanging over the side of the cart. Captain Tyler now insisted on the people leaving for Kurnaul, a distance of about seventy miles from Delhi; but several ladies present declaimed against going, as their husbands had been absent since the morning. Alas! one or two of these ladies were then widows, although they knew it not. One young lady, whose poor brother was lying in the cart outside the Flagstaff, was inquiring of several of the officers if they had seen him, she little thinking that he was numbered among the dead. Night was fast closing in, and the bugle was at last sounded for the retreat to Kurnaul. Here a fearful scene presented itself; carriages of every description were in waiting, although many of the coachmen, whose masters had good carriages and horses, returned to cantonments, in order to secure them for themselves. I had no conveyance up at the Flagstaff, as I went with Mrs. Paterson, and my husband rode. Everybody, with the exception of one or two ladies and gentlemen, were by this time fairly off on their way to Kurnaul and Meerut. One gentleman, seeing me standing by, offered me a seat in his carriage; and, as I had my little boy, I placed him in with him, thinking to follow him with Mrs. Wood. Major Pater-

son's coachman made off with his carriage and horses immediately we quitted it; and she was left, like myself and Mrs. Wood, to depend on our friends. Fortunately two empty buggies were close by, and Mrs. Wood and I took one; but Mrs. Paterson and her children were in another. Mrs. Paterson, I am happy to say, got away with the others; and after Mrs. Wood and I had proceeded a short distance we met her husband, who was being carried on a bed, he unfortunately having been shot in the face by, it is supposed, his own regiment (the 38th.) The sepoys were surrounding our buggy, but they were quite civil to us; and when they saw the doctor wounded, they all stood still; and after asking them to help to assist him in his hospital dooly, which we fortunately secured on the road, one or two of the sepoys ran to him. I shall not easily forget the manner in which the remnants of the different corps, viz., the 38th, 54th, and 74th, made their way to their lines as they were walking along like so many wandering sheep. I did not see any of their commanding officers heading them, as in my opinion they ought to have done. Colonel Ripley was among the poor wretches who were all but killed in the city, and was then in a hospital dooly likewise. The doctor's carriage was following him; and fortunate for him that it was, as the bearers refused to carry him further than the lines. My husband not knowing how he was to get on, inquired of the brigade-major (Captain Nicol) how it was to be managed; the answer he received was, 'The best way you can.' My husband then left us to go to the quarter guard of his regiment, to see if he could prevail on his company to accompany us to Kurnaul, and we went on towards Kurnaul, the doctor being inside his close carriage, and Mrs. Wood and myself following him up in a buggy. When we left the parade-ground it was about half-past 6 p.m., and we were the last ladies to leave the station. We had only proceeded a short distance on the Kurnaul road, when some men came to us and begged of us not to proceed any further on the road, as the whole of the officers and ladies who had gone before us had been murdered, and that we should meet the same fate if we persisted on our journey. We knew not what to think, and at first resolved to go on our journey, let what might follow, when a very neatly dressed native, a perfect boy, made his appearance; he made

us a most respectful salaam, and told us that he was in the employ of Lieutenant Holland, the quartermaster of the 38th, and advised our taking the road he pointed out, and very kindly took us off the Grand Trunk road into some fields. We could not drive quickly, as the land was perfectly rugged. We had only walked our horses a short distance when the thought struck me that the men who were surrounding us were nothing less than robbers themselves. This thought was very soon confirmed by the men coming up to us and asking for rupees. I had a few rupees in my jewel-box, but was afraid to open it lest they should see what it contained; and therefore told them to go to our house, and take anything they took a fancy to. They particularly inquired where our house was situated, and I explained it to them as well as I could. They, however, fancied we had money with us, and insisted on my showing them the seat of the buggy, and they searched every corner of it; but still I managed to keep my jewel-box. I was driving, with Mrs. Wood by my side, and the hood of the buggy being down, the vile wretches had a capital opportunity of standing up behind; and with the number of talwars and sticks which they had, could have killed us in a very short space of time. Mrs. Wood had a black velvet head-dress on, and as it had some bugles about it, it glittered a good deal in the moonlight; and when they saw this, they lost no time in tearing it from her head, and at the same time struck her rather heavily with one of their sticks. We had by this again reached the Grand Trunk road. Here we met the two guns which, by the way, accompanied those who started before ourselves out of the station. One of the cavalry men was riding by the side of the guns, and at first I was inclined to think that aid had reached us from Umballah or Meerut; instead of which, it was the guns returning to the city. I called out to the trooper, fearless at the time of being murdered, to assist us by directing us the safest road. The answer I received was—'Go that way' (pointing to Kurnaul), 'you will get murdered. Come this' (pointing to Delhi), 'and you will meet the same fate.' We were then quite close to the gunners and the dreaded trooper; but they offered us no insolence. One of the gunners, in fact, got off the gun-carriage, and walked the whole way by the side of the buggy to the Company's gardens at Delhi,

to which place we at last determined to go. At the arched gate of the gardens we met two men, and from the implements which they held in their hands we took them for gardeners. They promised to shelter us in the huts in the garden, and we followed most readily to them. Here they brought a charpoy for the doctor to take rest on, and we sat by him. The gunner was still with us; and as we were close to the lines, we asked the gunner to go to the hospital for some liut, and to ask the native doctor to come to us, in order that the wound might be dressed. The man performed the errand most faithfully; for, about an hour after we had dispatched him, a coolie came with the lint and bandages, telling us that the native doctors were tied hand and foot, and were, by order of the king of Delhi, placed in dhoolies, and were starting for the city, to take charge of the king's troops; otherwise they would most readily have come to our assistance. This is the message they sent to us. By this time the villagers had found out that two ladies and a doctor were secreted in the gardens, and bands after bands made their appearance. The gardener advised our taking shelter inside the hut, as he said they would be sure to kill him if they found he was protecting us. Up to this time both charpoys were outside in the garden, for the night was very hot. Finding that the bungalows were all in a blaze, we at first feared lest the hut might be fired likewise; we, however, found that, instead of its being thatched like most of them usually are, it was tiled; and hesitated not in taking refuge. The gardeners then locked us inside; but we had scarcely been shut up when another band of robbers, about fifty in number, made a rush at the door. We kept quite still, thinking they might leave us; but we heard them determine on breaking the lock, which was soon effected, and into the hut they rushed. I went up to one of them and implored him to save us. He asked for what we had. I told him we had lost everything we possessed; but until he had searched us, he would not give credit to what we told him. Certain it was; for even to my bonnet and cloak had been taken, and the carriage horses and buggy horse ridden away, whither we knew not. They were not satisfied with taking our horses, but broke up the carriage and buggy in our presence. Mrs. Wood and I knew not what to do, or where to go. Certainly we could not remain

in the gardens when daylight came; we therefore made up our minds to take the doctor as best we could, and go in search of a village. We had no one with us but the doctor's coachman, who remained with the doctor, whom we laid under a large mango-tree, till we returned to take him for the night to a village near the artillery lines. When we reached the village it must have been about 3 o'clock A.M. on the morning of the 12th. We had to plead very hard for shelter; but when we were admitted, we found the people very kind, and they gave us native bread, and the doctor some milk to drink. We tried to take rest; but sleep at a time like this was quite out of the question. We were in the open air till daybreak, when the head man of the village (a Hindoo) advised our going into a cowshed, the cattle having been taken out for our reception. Fortunate, indeed, it was that the good old man took these precautions; for soon after daylight one of the women ran to the shed and begged of us to remain quite quiet, as some sepoy were just entering their village. I at first thought she wished to frighten us, and the first thing I did was to look over the mats which formed the door, and sure enough there stood a sepoy; and had he been standing with his face towards the shed in which we were secreted he must have seen me. He was, however, standing talking to the old man of the village, and was making a request for carts and bullocks to assist in taking away the officers' property. He was dressed in every way like a sepoy, with the exception of pantaloons; in place of the latter article of dress, he had on the *dohtee*, usually worn by the natives of India. The man appeared in a great hurry to get rid of the sepoy, for he gave him bullocks and carts in a very short space of time. We were anxious to set out that night on our wearisome journey, and begged some of the women of the village to give us water to wash the doctor's shirt. This they did most willingly; and glad, indeed, we were to have an opportunity of making him somewhat comfortable, for he was perfectly saturated with blood. The men of the village gave us some more bread; and after having filled our water-flask, which was an earthen one, we started about 6 P.M. on the 12th. As we knew not where to find the main road, one of the villagers, a tall fine young man, offered to accompany us a short distance. We availed ourselves of

his kind offer, and he took us in safety to the Grand Trunk road. Here he parted from us, and five or six horrible-looking ruffians approached us. We told them that we had lost everything, and that we were then on our way to Kurnaul. They asked several questions, and each was replied to most civilly by me. When they found, from making a search on our persons themselves, that we had really nothing to be robbed of, one of the men inquired of one who had a *talwar* (or sword) when he would take our lives. This I heard most distinctly; and seeing him who had made the above-mentioned remark turn back with all but this one man (who, by the way, assured his friend that he would murder us—to use his own words—'a little way further on the road'), I went boldly up to the man and told him to spare me, as I had one little boy who had gone ahead, whither I knew not, and that I had left my husband on the parade-ground at Delhi the night before, and had not heard of him since; and as I wanted to hurry on in search of my child, I begged of him to spare my life. He appeared rather undecided, and I thought of my wedding-ring, which I still possessed, and at once took it off my finger and gave it to him. He took it, bade us good-night, and went on in the same direction as ourselves, in advance. I mentioned to Dr. and Mrs. Wood what I had heard these men talking about, and begged of them to go round the Ochterlony garden, so that in case he went on to bring out a few of his kin to meet us, we might deceive them, as this garden was some three miles in circumference, and the village to which we fancied he was proceeding was on the roadside, between this place and the cross-roads, where the city and cantonment roads meet. We managed to get round the garden without any one noticing us; but on again reaching the main road we were rather startled by, as it were, a cluster of men standing in the middle of the road. We, however, continued on our march; and the closer we approached it, the more it looked like an assemblage. We were, however, agreeably disappointed at finding it to be a *dak* carriage, with its wheels taken away and partially broken up. The villagers were firing in every direction, at what I know not; and every now and then we heard heavy guns. We managed to get as far as the cross-roads at about four o'clock in the morning of the 13th. Here

we were met at a *serai*, or halting-place for native travellers. The men who here attacked us were very powerful-looking fellows. One of them I noticed as having an officer's sword, of which he appeared proud, for he drew it from its scabbard, and told us that the king of Delhi had ordered every European, either man, woman, or child, to be murdered. The doctor, who was very weak and exhausted, was then prostrate on the ground, and I fell on my knees, with the drawn sword over my head, and begged of him to save us. They insisted, before they allowed us to depart, on my giving up my dress. This I did; but after I had given it up to them, I begged they would again return it to me, and, most astonishing to say, they did so. We then started off again, and during the daytime we thought it would be wise to hide ourselves under bridges; but then, again, we could not possibly have kept the doctor alive in his weak state without a little milk; and, therefore, seeing a village close by, we made bold, and went to them to beg some milk for the doctor. The villagers were very kind, and not only gave us what we asked for the doctor, but gave us also some bread for ourselves; but, from fear of the sepoys and troopers, refused to give us shelter. We were therefore compelled to go in search of some place of concealment for that day, and hot indeed we found it; the sun was most powerful, and the wind was like fire itself, to say nothing of the sand like so much hot charcoal under our feet. We first found shelter under a tree; and being close to a well, we found it a most convenient place; for we never felt the want of food; but water was indispensable; and having been furnished with a long piece of string, we managed to draw the water from the wells ourselves. We were, however, shortly obliged to leave this place, as a great many native travellers were passing and repassing; and from the Mussulmans who took the trouble to come off the road to see who we were, we received the greatest insults, and were compelled to go a greater distance off the road, where we found a good large hole surrounded with high grass. We very soon all sat down, and were not observed again during that day. We set out again at night when dark, and travelled as far as we could, being, indeed, but a short distance, when we laid the doctor under a tree, close to the roadside, to take a little rest. Mrs. Wood,

too, was very tired, and she lay down on the bare ground likewise, while I sat leaning against the trunk of a tree, half asleep and half awake. It was about one o'clock in the morning when I heard the distinct sound of horses' feet, and apparently a great number of people all talking at once. They were at so great a distance that I could not, on first hearing them, make out which way they were going. I, however, listened most attentively, and assured myself that they were on the road to Delhi. I then awoke Mrs. Wood, and told her to listen to the tramp and clatter of horses' feet; and as the horsemen were then very near to where we were lying, we drew an old dirty sheet over us, to prevent them from seeing our white, or rather black petticoats. I should say that there were at least a hundred horses and ponies, and as part of them had already passed us, I began to hope that the rest would pass on without observing us. Scarcely had I so hoped, when one of the men shouted out, 'Who are you lying down there?' I immediately went forward to him. By this time the horsemen were at a standstill. I approached the man, not uttering a word, when he exclaimed, 'Why, it's a *mem sahib!*' (or in English, 'a lady.') Finding that he spoke very kindly, I felt new life as it were in me, and told him that we were refugees from Delhi, and as we had a wounded man, we could only travel at the rate of about four, or at the most five, miles during the night, and that we were taking a little rest by the roadside. I then inquired of them who they were, and whence they had come. They said that they belonged to the 2nd irregulars, and that they were going to their homes on leave. I asked them where their homes were, and was told that they were on their way to Furruckabad—or better known as Agra. The man who first approached us now inquired of us if we would partake of some bread and sugar, which we most gladly accepted. The sepoy then asked me how we could get to Kurnaul with a man with his under jaw partially shot away, and in his weak state. Thinking myself that we should never reach that place without some conveyance for the doctor, I asked them to take us all to Agra with them; and, after some persuasions, the head man of the party consented to take us; and as there were but two spare animals, one horse and one pony, there was a cry out how they could manage

to convey a third person. I agreed to ride on one of the troopers' horses by their side, while the doctor was mounted on a beautiful white horse, and Mrs. Wood on a pony; and I can safely say I never mounted quicker in my life. We were now on our way back to Delhi again; but the sepoy was very uneasy regarding us, and said, after some little distance on our journey, that he was afraid we should be detected, and thought it best we should dismount and find our way as best we could to Kurnaul. We therefore dismounted, and led our sick man back to the place where the sepoys found us; here we rested for a little while, and we then went on our way again. We reached a village about 4 o'clock A.M. the next morning, and sat down under a tree close to the village. At daybreak we saw the men going to their work; and, as it was a Hindoo village, we were not afraid to venture to it. We were met by an old man, who took us into the village, and bade us rest quite quietly, as no harm would befall us there. During that day we met with the utmost kindness from this man, who gave us bread and milk for the doctor, and had water heated to wash the doctor's wound. A Brahmin who lived in an adjoining village, heard we were taking shelter in a village next to his own, and he came to see us, bringing hundreds of his villagers to see us likewise: he insisted on making the doctor a wooden pipe to drink his milk through, as no sooner than he took nourishment it ran outside his face; and most successfully did he make this pipe, for the doctor found it a great benefit. The Brahmin gave us the information that another doctor was in his village, and from his description of him we immediately concluded that it was Dr. Batson, of the 74th regiment. We sent him a message, asking him to come, if possible, and remove some portion of the jaw, which was causing great pain and annoyance to Dr. Wood. He sent word back, according to the Brahmin's account, that he had no clothes, and could not appear before ladies, but sent some Epsom salts and a wineglass to the doctor. We told the Brahmin that, as the old man of the village had promised us shelter for that night, one of us would go and see him in the morning. Mrs. Wood accordingly went, while I remained with the doctor; but when she reached the village, which was not more than a quarter of a mile distant, she was told by the villagers that he

had left. The old man who had protected us the day before was fearful of allowing us to again enter his village, lest the Delhi sepoys should hear of his secreting us, in which case, in all probability, his village would have been put in flames by them; and therefore told us to go away as quickly as possible. It was a frightfully hot day, with a burning wind, and we felt quite unequal to proceed on our journey, and begged of another man of the same village to take care of us for that day. He promised he would, and bade us follow him, which we very quickly did: we soon found ourselves in a most dismal room, with one door and no windows; he brought us two beds, and told us to go to sleep. We had only been inside the room about half-an-hour, when about 150 Mussulmans came to the door with sticks, *talwars* (swords), and other rude weapons, and commenced fighting among themselves. Their evident wish was to murder us; for the Brahmin whom I before mentioned, begged of us to leave the village there and then; and in so great a hurry were they to get quit of us, that they would not allow us time to fill our water-vessel. Although we had been from Delhi some five days, yet we were not more than about ten miles on our journey. We left this place about ten o'clock in the morning; and, great as was the heat, we travelled some five miles that day. We arrived at another village about two o'clock the same afternoon, and received the greatest kindness from most of those belonging to the village. We were not permitted to enter the village, and therefore sat in the verandah of one of the huts built for the coolies of the engineer's department of public works. We found the women very civil and kind to us at this place, much more so than those whom we had just left. They brought us as much water as we required; and finding that they were most obliging and kind, we begged an old pan of some kind to wash the rags for the doctor's face. They did everything for us that lay in their power, bringing us a curry made of vegetables, which was the nicest and best meal we had since we left Delhi. We again set out that night after dark, and walked nearly to Balghur; but when we found ourselves within sight of the village, we resolved on lying under a bridge, and so hiding ourselves from view. We were, however, detected; and before we could scarcely sit down, hundreds of the natives came to look

at us, all being armed. They prevailed on us not to remain under the bridge, but to go with them to a road-sergeant's bungalow, which was empty and close by. We allowed ourselves to go with them; and here we were again made a perfect show of. We found the bungalow locked, and therefore took up our quarters in a stable belonging to the house. We remained in quiet, save that hundreds came and went away again, till one sly fellow, with a most horrible talwar, became most impertinent to us; and knowing that we could not harm him, he took advantage of us by drawing his talwar from its sheath, and running his finger along the edge of it. At last he became unbearable; and Dr. Wood, who is a Roman Catholic, took his gold cross from his breast. The brute seeing it, threatened our lives if we did not at once make it over to him. We lost no time in taking it from the doctor. He very soon cut the black riband to which it was attached, and came to us with the gold in his hand, and begged of us to tell him what its value in rupees was. The doctor replied, 'sixteen rupees.' He then went away; and the ranee of Balghur, hearing that two ladies had arrived at a place close to her village, sent us word to go to her house. We fancied we were now quite safe, and went to her immediately we could. When we arrived at her place of residence, she ordered her servants to cook us some rice and milk for our dinner, and told us we could remain as long as we liked. During the time we were in the stables belonging to the sergeant's bungalow, a native, who lived at no great distance, heard that two ladies and a wounded man were at Balghur; and thinking we would go to him, being, as he was, a road-contractor, he sent some native conveyances drawn by bullocks, with armed men, numbering in all about fifty, headed by the very man who not three hours previous had threatened our lives, and robbed the doctor of his cross. I was sitting outside the building when the conveyances came up; and on seeing this wretch my heart leapt within me. I told the men, after they had delivered their message from the contractor, which was to the effect, that we had better go to his village, that I could not trust myself to the man who had already threatened our lives: the reply I received was, 'Oh, but he is our captain;' and a greater rogue even than the man in question, was

selected as their colonel. We found ourselves very well cared for, and therefore refused to accompany these gentlemen, and sent them back. We were now only twenty-two miles from Delhi, and it was the 17th of the month. I asked the ranee, with whom we had an interview, to oblige us with a pen and ink, as a young man had promised to take a letter for us to Kurnaul, at which place we were given to understand many of the military were. The bearer of this letter was to receive fifty rupees for his trouble. After having written it, we called the man to take charge of it, and there and then dispatched him. We wrote to the brigadier to send out a guard to take us safely to Kurnaul; but soon after the man had left, the ranee told us not to remain at her village the next night, as she was afraid of her own people rising against her. The real truth was, in my opinion, that the native who promised to befriend us by taking the letter to Kurnaul, turned into quite a different road, and thought to have had the pleasure of seeing us all taken prisoners to the king of Delhi. The ranee doubtless learnt the true story, and in order to save us, desired us to leave her village. She told us we had better take the road inland, and not travel, as before, along the Grand Trunk road. We had been sheltered by her for one night; but we had quantities of cows as companions, for we were shut up with about twenty of them. The next day, about 3 o'clock P.M., we heard from the natives at the ranee's, that a tall gentleman had just arrived at Balghur, and was taking shelter in the stable adjoining the road-sergeant's bungalow. We were sure, from the description given, that it was Major Paterson. He had, so the people told us, received a blow on his head, and was bleeding much. I, knowing that my husband was with Major Paterson when we left them at Delhi, immediately wrote and asked if Mr Peile was with him. He had, of course, neither pens, ink, nor paper; but he procured an old piece of earthen pan, and a burnt stick, and wrote me that he had not seen my husband since the night of the 11th. We sent the major some rice, which the ranee had prepared for us, and begged of him to wait for us, as we were about to proceed to Kurnaul. Scarcely had half-an-hour elapsed, when I heard that another very thin gentleman had reached the village, and that he had heard that his wife

was marching along the road, and that he was in search of her. This gentleman proved to be my husband. When he came to us, he was greatly altered, having been blistered from head to foot by the heat of the sun. He had, of course, lost everything, like ourselves, and strange to say, in the same garden, and nearly at the same time. The robbers took everything off him with the exception of a banyan and a pair of socks. He walked along till some of the natives gave him a little covering. He then found a village not far from Delhi, the head man of which sheltered him for several days, and would have allowed him to remain longer had he wished; but hearing that two ladies with a wounded man were creeping along the road, he concluded that it must be our unfortunate selves. We then all met, and started from Balghur at about 6 P.M. on the 17th. We walked till about eleven o'clock that night, when we were received with great kindness by a jemadar, who put us into a kind of walled yard, and gave us beds, and some native bread for our suppers. We passed a most comfortable night at this place, and again set out on the morning of the 18th. We reached another village about six o'clock that morning; and the working men, seeing what difficulty we had in getting the doctor along, volunteered to carry him from village to village, where they could be relieved of their burden. This was a most kind offer, and was most gladly accepted by us. We then set out again, and reached a place called Nowowlie at about three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, completing a distance of twenty miles in those few hours. I know not how we managed it; for the road was a most rough one, and our feet were literally studded with thorns. We found a Company's servant at Ghursowlie, who provided us with food and beds. We set out next morning to Lursowlie, a distance of about twenty-two miles from Kurnaul. We were frightfully burnt from the scorching sun and fiery wind; and as I had had no covering for my head all these days, I at times fancied my brain was affected. I begged of the man in authority at Ghursowlie, before starting, to give me a piece of cloth of some kind, which he did. This I made dripping wet, and bound it round my temples. We then all started off to Lursowlie. Major Paterson and I were on horses, and Mrs. Wood and Mr. Peile were on mules. The

doctor was provided with a bed; and so we made our appearance at the latter place. We here met with more Company's servants; these men were very kind; and seeing us so badly clad, gave us more clothes. We remained at Lursowlie the whole of that night and the next day; but we were in a sad state of mind from not receiving any answer to our request for assistance. Our minds were, however, greatly relieved by hearing the sound of the coachman's horse about 4 P.M. the next day. We had nothing to pack up; and no sooner had the 'shigam' (for so it is called) arrived, than we had taken our seats. The Puttealah rajah had sent our cavalry to escort us into Kurnaul—about forty horsemen; and a pretty appearance they had. They were mounted on beautiful horses, and were dressed in the gayest of colours. We arrived at Kurnaul that night about 7 P.M., and were most kindly received by Mr. Rigby, of the engineers' department. We were informed, on our arrival at Kurnaul, that the force would all meet at this place, and would march on Delhi in about a fortnight. The roads being still most unsafe, we were advised to remain at Kurnaul till the regiments were moving downwards, when we could proceed to the hills. All this time I knew not where my dear child was, further than that the people with whom he went had reached Meerut in safety. There was no way of sending a letter by dâk; and therefore I paid a Brahmin twenty rupees to go to Meerut with a letter from me to the lady and gentleman who took charge of my child. The Brahmin dressed himself as a native priest, and took my letter quite safely, and brought me back an answer, saying that my little boy was quite safe, and that he reached Meerut on the evening of the 12th at sunset; the roads were too dangerous to admit of his being brought to me, and therefore, for safety's sake, I was compelled to let him remain there, at which place he still is; and from what I hear from the chaplain at Meerut, he is very well and happy, which is a great comfort to me. We had only been at Kurnaul a few days, when the commander-in-chief, the Hon. George Anson, died from the effects of cholera; he was taken ill, I believe, at about ten o'clock on the night of the 26th of May, and was a corpse by four o'clock on the morning of the 28th; he was buried that same evening at sunset. I do not

know why it was, but he was laid in his grave without a military honour. We started in two dāk carriages on the 28th, at about 5 o'clock P.M., and arrived at a place called Peeplee. Here the roads are rather bad, and travellers are obliged, at this place, either to travel in a very strong cart, drawn by bullocks, or to take 'polkees.' As we had a party of five, we took the cart, and the roads being so sandy, we were a long time getting to Umballah. Between Peeplee and the latter station we met the greater part of the Delhi force; many of the officers came up to us and congratulated us on our escape; we met the force at about 3 o'clock P.M. on the morning of the 29th; the greater part of them were in high spirits, singing and talking most cheerfully. We were a long time reaching Umballah, owing to the bad state of the roads: when, however, we had so far completed our journey, we took shelter in the dāk bungalow during the remainder of that day. We were anxious to get to Simla as quickly as possible, and therefore ordered a kind of light cart to convey Major Paterson, Mrs. Wood, Mr. Peile, and myself, to Kalka, while the doctor travelled in a dhooly. We started from Umballah that night, and reached Kalka, just at the foot of the hills, at about 10 A.M. on the 30th. Here we remained during the day, and again set off in 'janpans' carried by hill men, to a small hill station called Kussowlee; we reached the latter place about twelve o'clock the same night; here Major Paterson left us and proceeded to Simla. We were in want of medical aid, and therefore remained at the dāk bungalow that night and the following day and night, and we started for Simla on the evening of the 1st of June. We halted at one or two places on our way, and therefore did not reach Simla till the evening of the 2nd. Mrs. Paterson, who fortunately escaped with the first party, had reached Simla some days previous to our arriving at Kurnaul, and was quite well, with her two children, with whom she fled. She very kindly gave us up her house, as she had herself taken up her quarters with her mother till we could suit ourselves. This was soon accomplished; and we are now residing at Camden villa, together with Dr. Wood and his wife. We have been very fortunate in meeting with many kind friends, who have sent us old clothes to wear till we could supply ourselves with some, and for which we are most grateful;

for we arrived here without a thing to put on."

Among the few successful attempts to escape from the hands of the insurgents at Delhi, that of Surgeon Batson, of the late 7th native infantry, is remarkable as well for the difficulties surmounted, as for the ingenuity and perseverance by which the struggle for existence was brought to a fortunate issue. This gentleman having, after his perilous adventures, joined the force before Delhi, thus describes the events of the 11th of May:—"On Monday, the 11th of May, the sowars came from Meerut into Delhi, and wreaked their vengeance by murdering the greater portion of the Europeans. The 38th native infantry, 54th, and 74th, were ordered out with the artillery; but being of the same mind as the sowars of the 3rd cavalry, they offered no resistance, but told their officers that they had better fly with as little delay as possible. The ladies had been collected in the tower on the hill at Delhi; and when the danger became apparent, I went to Brigadier Graves, then commanding at Delhi, and volunteered to take a letter to Meerut, to obtain the assistance of the European troops. Brigadier Graves gave me the letter; and after taking leave of my wife and three daughters in the tower, with the rest of the ladies, I went to my house and assumed the garb of a fakir, colouring my face, hands, and feet. I made for the bridge of boats across the Jumna, through the city; but on reaching it I found the bridge broken. I returned towards the cantonment, and tried to get across the river at a ferry near the powder-magazine; but by this time the sowars of the 3rd cavalry had reached the cantonment, and all the neighbouring villagers, Goojurs, and Jauts, were rushing to plunder the cantonment; the houses were fired, and I despaired of being able to get to Meerut. I rushed across the parade-ground, and was fired at twice by the sepoy. I got as far as the garden near the canal, when I was seized by some villagers, and deprived of every particle of clothes. I proceeded, naked as I was born, towards Kurnaul, in the hope that I might overtake the officers and ladies who had fled in that direction; but before I had proceeded a mile I saw two sowars, who had evidently failed in overtaking their officers. They rode up to me with drawn swords, and exclaimed, 'Feringhee! hy! maro, maro!' I threw myself in a supplicating

position, and being intimate with the Mohammedan religion, and speaking the Hindostani, I commenced uttering the most profound praises in behalf of their prophet Mahomet, and begged they would spare my life if they believed that Imam Mendhee would come to judge the world. I made every moral appeal to them (after escaping the first cut they made at my throat, which I did by falling down; they, being mounted, could not well reach me); my entreaties were listened to, and they let me go, saying, 'Had you not asked for mercy in the name of the prophet, you should have died like the rest of the Kaffirs.' I was dreadfully excited, and could scarcely stand; but as I felt that I must proceed, I continued my journey. About a mile further I again met a lot of Mohammedans, who rushed up to me and said, 'Here is a Feringhee; kill the Kaffir.' They then said to me, 'You Feringhees want to make us all Christians.' They then dragged me away to a village about a mile or more from the road, and tied my arms behind me; after which, one of them said, 'Kurream Bux, go and fetch your sword, and we will cut off the Kaffir's head.' While Kurream Bux was gone to fetch his sword that was to launch me into eternity, a cry of 'Dhar! dhar!' was made by the villagers, and the Mohammedans who were keeping me ran off to look after their own interests. I rushed off, and ran with all my strength to the road again, and escaped from these unmerciful beings. I continued to run along the road towards Kurnaul; I was again stopped by some ironsmiths who were employed in the Delhi magazine, when one of them said, 'Sahib, don't fear, come with me to my village, and I will find you food; if you go on you will surely be murdered by the Mohammedans, who have turned out from the villages to rob and kill the Feringhees.' I went with the ironsmiths to their house, and was most humanely and kindly treated; one giving me a dohtee, another a cap, another some milk and native bread: I felt my life was safe. I was much excited, and could scarcely speak; they gave me a cot, on which I lay down, but could not sleep. I told these people I was a doctor, and, in consequence, met with much greater attention. On the following morning, the chowdrie of the village sent for me, when the whole village assembled to see the 'Feringhee doctor.' Exhausted as I was, I had to answer a multitude of questions put by the people; but

finding that I was perfectly acquainted with their religion, language, and manners, they began to take infinite interest in my life, and said they would protect me. While I was staying at this village, I heard Dr. Wood, of the 38th native infantry, was in a village some five or six miles off, at Summeypore: a man from this village came to me and said, 'A Dr. Wood Sahib is in my village. He requires medicines; as you know all the native medicines, pray tell me what should be given.' I prescribed, but I know not whether the medicines reached him. I also heard, while at this village, that Colonel Ripley was lying wounded at the Ice-pits, near the parade-ground. I persuaded the villagers that he was a very great personage, and that if they would take him food and water they would be handsomely rewarded by the government for their humanity. They took him food and water for several days; but after I had left this village some ten days, I heard that one of the sepoys had killed him on finding him at the Ice-pits. A few days after I was in the village of Badree, it was rumoured that all the Feringhees at Meerut, Umballah, and Calcutta, had been murdered, and that the king of Delhi had taken the government; and that if any village concealed a Feringhee, it would be death to the owners, and general ruin. The proprietors of Badree village got alarmed at this proclamation, and I was removed at night from the village to a small mango tope, where I was left night and day alone. I was visited at night by some one or other of the villagers, who brought me bread and water in a ghurrah. I am unable to describe my feelings during this trying time; I was all day in the sun, in the extreme heat, and alone at night, when the jackals, &c., came prowling about and crying. It is only God and myself know what I have endured. After five days and nights in this tope of trees I was again taken back to the village and concealed in a bhoosa house; I was here shut in for twenty-four hours; the heat and suffocation I cannot find language to describe. I did not know which was the greatest misery, the tope of trees in solitude or the bhoosa kotree. A rumour now was set on foot that several sowars had been deputed to hunt for the Feringhees in the different villages, and it was considered prudent that I should quit Badree under the escort of a Fakir Jogee; this man came and offered to convey me anywhere

that I might please, but stated that it was not safe a moment for me to remain where I was. I then started for Bursooah, where I remained the night. This fakir, at his friend's, dyed all my clothes and gave me necklaces of beads (oodrach), &c., to assume the garb of a fakir myself. After making all preparations to pass as a fakir, I commenced my pilgrimage with him. He took me to several villages, and passed me off as a Cashmeree, 'Dadoo Puntee, Fakir Jogee.' In all the villages that I passed I was cross-questioned, but, understanding their 'Jotish' religion and oaths, I met with every kindness, some giving me pice, others food. The Hindoos all expressed the most merciful feelings towards the Feringhees, while the Mohammedans could not disguise their murderous feelings. I was taken to a village to the house of Sewak Doss, Sunt Fakir Kubbeeree: understanding his code of religion, and being able to recite several Kubbeeree Kubbitts, he received me in every kindness. I told him I was a Cashmeree, but the sage could not reconcile his mind that I was a Cashmeree with blue eyes. He said, 'Your language, gesture, clothes, &c., are all complete, but your blue eyes betray you—you are surely a Feringhee.' I disclosed to him that I was. Nevertheless, as I had acquired the Kubbeeree oaths, he continued to behave the same. While I was sitting at this fakir's place a sepoy came, saying he had letters which he was taking to the Umballah force that was at Raee. He did not discover that I was a Feringhee, but I disclosed to him that I was a Doctor Sahib—would he take my letter to the officer commanding the force? I gave him a letter soliciting assistance, which he most faithfully conveyed; but, after waiting a day in hopes of getting assistance, and none coming, I thought it prudent to proceed towards Meerut. The beggar who had conducted me thus far volunteered to take me on. Several people of this village accompanied me till we got to Hurchundpore, where a Mr. Francis Cohen, a zemindar (originally a tussildar, in the government employment), resides. This old gentleman received me in all kindness, and showed me certificates under the signatures of Colonel Knivett, Captain Salkeld, Lieutenant Holland, Mr. Marshall, merchant of Delhi, and others, setting forth that they had received every kindness from Mr. Cohen, who had kindly sent them on to Meerut. I then

made arrangements to proceed to Meerut, when a letter was brought from Kaykrah village to my address, telling me that a hundred men of the Jhind rajah's force, commanded by Captain M'Andrews, was waiting at Kaykrah to take me on to Raee, where the head-quarters were. Mr. Cohen sent me back in his cart, and I again had the gratification of seeing Captain M'Andrews and Lieutenant Mew of my own regiment. I had been twenty-five days wandering about in villages, topes, &c.; and were it not that I speak the Hindostani language as fluently as I can English, I must have been murdered. I look upon my escape as the most miraculous and providential possible. I am unable to describe what I have endured. I am living, and at Delhi with the force, and am truly thankful to the Almighty for the mercy that has been shown me. My wife and children, I hear, are at Russowlee."

An officer of one of the mutinous regiments, who also had fortunately succeeded in effecting his escape with bare life from his own men, wrote as follows, after joining the advancing column under General Barnard:—"Were I to write you an account of the awful deeds the mutineers have perpetrated, you would not, could not, believe it. Such horrible, indescribable barbarities were surely never perpetrated before. You in England will not hear the worst, for the truth is so awful that the newspapers dare not publish it. The soldiers are furious, and whenever they get at the mutineers depend upon it the revenge will be commensurate with the outrages that caused it. Very little is said among the men or officers; the subject is too maddening; but there is a curious expression discernible in every face when it is mentioned—a stern compression of the lips and a fierce glance of the eye, which show that when the time comes no mercy will be shown to those who have shown none. I will only disgust you with two instances; but, alas! there are only too many similar ones:—An officer and his wife were tied to trees, their children were tortured to death before them, and portions of their flesh crammed down the parents' throats; the wife then ravished before her husband—he mutilated in a manner too horrible to relate; then both were burnt to death.—Two young ladies named _____ (very pretty), were seized at Delhi, stripped naked, tied on a cart, taken to the bazaar, and there violated. Luckily for them, they

soon died from the effects of the brutal treatment they received. Can you wonder that, with stories like the foregoing (and there are plenty such), we feel more like fiends than men? Our fellows have crossed their bayonets, and sworn to give no quarter, and I pray that God may give me health and strength until we settle with these scoundrels. I will write no more on this subject, for 'tis too maddening."

A youth of nineteen, who held a commission in one of the native regiments in Delhi at the time of the outbreak, writes as follows from Meerut. The letter was addressed to a sister, and is dated June 1st:—" Besides myself there is only one other officer of my unfortunate regiment, out of those who were with it at the time of the mutiny, who has escaped to this place; and he, poor fellow, is in hospital with a musket-ball through his thigh—Osborn, our adjutant; but I am glad to say there were three others on leave for a month's shooting in the jungles at the time of the outbreak, and who have consequently escaped. * * * There were three native corps at Delhi, besides a battery of six guns, and not a single European soldier. It was about ten o'clock on the morning of the 11th that we first heard of some mutineers having come over from Meerut, and that our regiment was ordered down to the city, where they were, to cut them up. Of course, this time we had not a doubt as to their loyalty. Well, the whole regiment, except my company (No. 1) and our major's (the grenadiers)—who were ordered to wait for two guns, and escort them down—at once went off to the city, distant about two miles. On arriving at the Cashmere gate, which leads into a small fortified bastion, called the Mainguard, from which there is another egress to the city, they were met by some troopers of the 3rd cavalry from Meerut, who immediately charged down upon them. Not the slightest effort was made by our men to defend their officers, and they were nearly all shot down at the head of their companies by these troopers. In fact, our poor colonel was seen to be bayoneted by one of the sepoys after he had been cut down by a trooper; and then the fact of neither a sepoy nor a trooper having been killed, is enough to convince one of their treachery. Well, soon after our two companies, with the two guns (for whom we had had to wait half-an-hour), also arrived; and on going through the

Cashmere gate into the Mainguard, and thence into the city, where all this had taken place, the sepoys and mutineers all bolted, being frightened at the sight of the guns; and before there was time to open upon them they had all disappeared into the streets. We then went back to the Mainguard, determined to hold that against them till more reinforcements arrived from cantonments, for which we immediately sent. In the meantime we sent out parties to bring in our poor fellows, who were all seen lying about in front of the Mainguard. I myself went out and brought in poor Burrowes. It was a most heartrending sight, I assure you, to see all our poor chaps, whom we had seen and been with that very morning, talking and laughing together at our coffee-shop, lying dead side by side, and some of them dreadfully mutilated. I had never before seen a dead body, so you may imagine what an awful sight it was to me. The poor colonel was the only one not killed outright; but he, poor man, was hacked to pieces. We sent him back to cantonments, where he died in the course of the day. At last, some companies of the other regiments came up, and we remained here the whole day, expecting to be attacked every minute. Lots of women and people who had managed to escape from the city, came to us for shelter, little thinking of the scene that was shortly to be enacted among us. By-and-by three of our officers, who had escaped being killed by the troopers, also came in, and from them we learnt what I have told you above. All this while we saw fires blazing in the town, and heard guns firing, which we afterwards found out were the guns of the magazine, which a few Europeans had been defending against the whole host of the insurgents, and which had at last blown up.

" Well, it must have been about five o'clock in the afternoon, when, all of a sudden, the sepoys who were with us in the Mainguard, and on whom we had been depending to defend us in case of attack, began firing upon us in every direction; a most awful scene, as you may imagine, then ensued; people running in every possible way to try and escape. I, as luck would have it, with a few other fellows, ran up a kind of slope that leads to the officers' quarters, and thence amid a storm of bullets, to one of the embrasures of the bastion. It is perfectly miraculous how I

escaped being hit; no end of poor fellows were knocked down all about, and all too by their own men; it is really awful to think of it. However, on arriving at the embrasure, all at once the idea occurred to me of jumping down into the ditch from the rampart (one would have thought it madness at any other time), and so try and get out by scaling the opposite side; but just as I was in the act of doing so, I heard screams from a lot of unfortunate women who were in the officers' quarters, imploring for help. I immediately, with a few other fellows, who, like me, were going to escape the same way, ran back to them; and though the attempt appeared hopeless, we determined to see if we could not take them with us. Some of them, poor creatures, were wounded with bullets; however, we made a rope with handkerchiefs, and some of us jumping down first into the ditch, caught them as they dropped, to break the fall. Then came the difficulty of dragging them up the opposite bank; however, by God's will we succeeded, after nearly half-an-hour's labour, in getting them up; and why no sepoy's came and shot every one of us while getting across all this time, is a perfect mystery. The murdering was going on below all this time, and nothing could have been easier than for two or three of them to come to the rampart and shoot down every one of us. However, we somehow got over; and, expecting to be pursued every minute, we bent our steps to a house that was on the banks of the river. This we reached in safety; and getting something to eat and drink from the servants (their master, young Metcalfe, had fled in the morning), stopped there till dark, and then, seeing the whole of three cantonments on fire, and as it was a regular battle raging in that direction, we ran down to the river side, and made the best of our way along its banks in an opposite direction. It would be too long, my very dearest sister, to tell you of now, for three days and nights, we wandered in the jungles, sometimes fed and sometimes robbed by the villagers, till at length, wearied and footsore, with shreds of clothes on our backs, we arrived at a village where they put us in a hut and fed us for four days, and, moreover, took a note from us into Meerut, whence an escort of cavalry was sent out, and we were brought safely in here. We started from Delhi with five ladies and four officers besides myself; but afterwards, in our wanderings, fell in with

two sergeants' wives and two little children, with two more officers and a merchant; so altogether, on coming into Meerut, we were a body of seventeen souls. Oh, great Heaven, to think of the privations we endured, and the narrow escapes we had! We used to ford streams at night, and then walk on slowly in our dripping clothes, lying down to rest every half-hour; for you must remember that some of the ladies were wounded, and all so fatigued and worn out that they could scarcely move. Of course, had we been by ourselves, we would have made a dash for Meerut at once, which is about forty miles from Delhi; but having these unfortunate women with us, what could we do? * * * At one time, when we were attacked by the villagers, and robbed of everything we possessed, had we not had them with us, we would have fought for it, and sold our lives dearly, instead of quietly giving up our arms as we did; for, you must know, we had a few blunt swords among us, with one double-barrelled gun."

A lady, who formed one of a party that managed to escape the massacre on the 11th, and reach a place of safety, writes from Umballah, May 18th, some interesting details of the incidents connected with the flight of herself and companions. Among other trials, she says—"When we arrived at Thwanessur (a dâk station on the Umballah road) we halted for a couple of hours' sleep, and to get change of conveyance. We stopped with the assistant-commissioner; but before we had rested two hours we were alarmed by being told that a regiment of sepoy's was come to attack us. We had to fly from the house and hide as best we could, under the bushes; &c., in the garden; and I kept dear baby in my own arms the whole time until morning, when Europeans were seen. Our party consisted of ten persons, and we met with great difficulties on the road, for the natives were unwilling to assist us; but we arrived at Umballah on the morning of the 14th, quite worn out. * * * There are four European regiments here with the commander-in-chief; but everything seems very confused and uncertain, and orders seem to be given and countermanded directly. Many have left Delhi, not knowing what has become of their relations. Some have heard of their husbands since; but others are still in a state of agonising suspense. The amount of bloodshed was enormous; not a soul

wearing a European garb, who lived in the city, was saved. Altogether, about a hundred were massacred; but the exact number is not known. The news of the Delhi affair has been known here for several days; and though there are four strong European regiments here, they have yet sent none to Delhi."

The Rev. Mr. Smythe, of whose communication respecting the outbreak at Meerut we have already availed ourselves, subsequently gave the following details connected with the arrival of fugitives at that place from Delhi. He says—"On Tuesday evening Captain De Teissier, of the artillery, and Captain Wallace, of the 74th native infantry, with their families, Major Abbott, Captain Hankey, Mr. Elton, &c., with some ladies, women, and several children, came in from Delhi with fearful accounts of the revolt in that city, and massacre of the English. The Rev. Mr. Jennings, chaplain of Delhi, and his grown-up daughter (an amiable and much-respected young lady),* were murdered in the palace, where they were living with Captain Douglas, commandant of the guards, who also was killed. The Delhi bank was plundered and burnt, as also all the cantonments, together with the premises of the *Delhi Gazette*; † the treasury sacked, and the church burnt; numbers have lost all that they possessed, except the clothes on their backs: among the rest, the Rev. Alfred and Mrs. Medland, of the Church Missionary Society. That gentleman was performing divine service in the mission church at the time of the mutiny, and escaped to the European lines. The rioters broke into his house in the city, and, after searching in vain for him, burnt down the premises. None of us, I believe, are destitute of profound and heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God for our great

* The Rev. William Dewe, vicar of Weybread, Suffolk, in a letter to the *Times*, dated August 10th, renders the following tribute to the worth of this unfortunate young lady:—"The late Miss Jennings, who was murdered with her father at Delhi, was for years a parishioner and friend of mine, living with her mother next door to the vicarage. Never was there a more truly amiable and interesting young lady, or one more universally respected and loved. I never knew a word or act of her's that could incur the censure of the strictest moralist, nor could I have more feelingly lamented her fate if she had been my own daughter. She had been long enough in Delhi to be known and appreciated, yet no hand was held forth to save her from the bloodthirsty sepoy. She was engaged to marry Mr. Thomason, an officer in the engineers: and in a letter which Mrs. Jennings

deliverance; but our hearts are bleeding for the loss (under circumstances of frightful and unparalleled atrocity) of so many of our dear and unfortunate countrymen. The soldiers, especially, are burning to inflict summary punishment on these brutal murderers of unarmed men, defenceless women, and innocent children. Martial law has been proclaimed in the district by the major-general. Not a single European or native Christian is left alive in Delhi or the neighbourhood. The officers and overseers of the Haupper Stud, with their wives and families, escaped in the evening of the 13th, and reached Meerut on the following morning, without molestation. Their names are as follow:—Captain and Mrs. D'Oyly, and Captain and Mrs. Parrott, with their respective families; Mr. R. B. Parry, veterinary surgeon; Mr. R. W. Macauley, assistant surgeon, with all the European residents and their families. Lieutenant J. J. Eckford, of the 6th native infantry, holding an engineer appointment at Meerut, defended his treasury against the mob for a considerable time, his wife and family hiding in the garden. The house at last was set on fire, and Mr. Eckford severely wounded on the left temple. He remained insensible for a considerable time (after destroying several of his assailants), while the premises were in flames; but miraculously escaped, after some hours, with his wife, child, and sister-in-law. He is now out of danger on account of his wound."

The escape of a lady, on the morning of the 19th, is thus narrated:—"Mrs. Leeson, the wife of Mr. Leeson, deputy-collector, made her escape from Delhi on the morning of the 19th. Poor creature, she was almost reduced to a skeleton, as she was kept in a sort of dungeon while in Delhi. Two chuprassies, who, it appears, have all

put into my hands, he states, that when the dear girl was brought out in the palace to be murdered, she had no fear of death, but only entreated the ruffians to spare her father's life; instead of which they brutally shot her dear father first before her eyes, and then herself."

† The destruction of this establishment has already been noticed. The massacre of the persons connected with it was effected thus:—Messrs. Boezalt and Pereira, the printers, contrived to get out of Delhi in disguise, but they were unfortunately recognised as Christians near Putoured, and were hacked to pieces. Mr. Helquat and Mrs. Boezalt, with five children, were shot. One man, named Brown, after five days' concealment, without food, contrived to escape in the character of a Mussulman, and afterwards joined the *Secundra Press*.

along been faithful to her, aided her in making her attempt to escape. They passed through the Ajmeer gate, but not wholly unobserved by the mutineers' sentries, as one of the chuprassies was shot by them. It being dark at the time, she laid hidden among the long web-grass until the dawn of day, when she sent the chuprassy to reconnoitre, and, as luck would have it, he came across the European picket stationed at Subzie Mundie. So soon as he could discover who they were, he went and brought the lady into the picket-house amongst the soldiers, who did all they could to procure her safety. As soon as she arrived inside the square, she fell down upon her knees and offered up a prayer to Heaven for her safe deliverance. All she had round her body was a dirty piece of cloth, and another piece folded round her head. She was in a terrible condition; but I feel assured that there was not a single European but felt greatly concerned in her behalf; and some even shed tears of pity when they heard the tale of woe that she related. After being interrogated by the officers for a short time, Captain Bailey provided a dhooly for her, and sent her under escort safe to camp, where she has been provided with a staff tent, and everything that she requires."

The following is the substance of a letter from a native eye-witness of the events at Delhi on the 11th and 12th of May, addressed to, and communicated by, a vakeel of one of the Rajpootana chiefs. The writer says—"For the past two days there has been a commotion in the city, and events have transpired disastrous to the British rule, such as never before occurred. The city has been pillaged, and every one is in danger of his life. Thousands of people with drawn swords are going about the city. In the general pillage, the bankers, and other wealthy merchants' houses, especially, have been entirely sacked. Yesterday morning, about seven o'clock, some regular cavalry arriving from Meerut, seized the bridge on the Jumna, killed the toll-keeper, and robbed the till. Leaving a guard at the bridge, they proceeded to the Salempore Chowkee, where there was an English gentleman, killed him, and set fire to his house. Then going under the Delhi king's palace, outside the city wall, they made proposals to the king. The king told them that that was no place for them, but to go into the city. Having entered the Calcutta gate, it was closed. At this

time Mr. Simon Fraser (the commissioner) and the magistrate were in office. Hearing the tumult, they ascended to the top of the river gate of the city, and perceived that troops were coming up along the Meerut road; mounting a buggy, they drove to the city gate, leading to the palace. Finding it closed, they dismounted, and getting the wicket of the gate opened to them, they proceeded on foot into the citadel. The native governor of the citadel (*killedar*) entered after them, and killed them while ascending the steps of the officers' quarters (probably of Captain Douglas, commanding palace guards.) Thus much the crowd witnessed.

"The mutineers were preceded on their first arrival by ten or twelve troopers, who, on entering the Rajghat gate of the city, assured everybody that they had come not to trouble or injure the city people in any way, but only to kill the European gentlemen, of whom they had resolved to leave none alive. On this news reaching the ears of the gentlemen, they left their respective offices and fled. The mutineers killed all they could catch. Some got hidden among the houses. The greater part rushed to the magazine and closed the gate. About three in the afternoon, the gentlemen fired a shell from the magazine, which killed and wounded a vast number of the crowd. The report shook the houses as if a magazine had exploded.

"About ten at night, two *pultuns* (troops of artillery) arrived from Meerut and entered the city, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. Afterwards the troopers, proceeding to the military cantonment (about a mile and a-half outside the city), killed a great number of the officers, and their wives and children, and set fire to the houses. All the vagabonds of the city have joined the mutineers, and are ravaging the city. The next day, about three in the afternoon, the empire was proclaimed under the king of Delhi, and the imperial flag hoisted at the *kotwallee* (chief police-station.) The king's chief police-officer arrived; with him all the mutineers, horse and foot, and killed all the rest of the Europeans they met or found. Then guns were fired as a salute. The old chief of police fled. The mace-bearers stood aloof. Thousands of rupees' worth of things were pillaged till twelve o'clock in the night.

"There is now no ruler in the city, and no order. Every one has to defend his house. An attack was made on the house of the

great banker, Mungnee Ram ; but he had assembled so many defenders, that, after much fighting, the attack was unsuccessful. Other bankers' establishments were pillaged. The Delhi bank was entirely pillaged. In short, within these two days, hundreds of thousands of rupees' worth of property has been destroyed and stolen. No one can venture out of his house. The king's officers have the control. The mutineers roam about the city, sacking it on every side. The post is stopped. The electric telegraph wires have been cut. News is closed on all sides. There is not a European face to be seen. Where have they gone, or how many have been killed? Hundreds of corpses are lying under the magazine. The burners of the dead wander about to recognise the looked-for faces and give them funeral rites. I don't know whether I shall live to see the end of all this. Hundreds of wealthy men have become beggars; hundreds of vagabonds have become men of wealth. When an heir to the city arises, then the public market will be reopened, and order be restored. For these two days thousands have remained fasting; such of the shops as are left unpillaged being closed. When anything further occurs I will write again."

The following, also, is a statement by a native writer, of the condition of the interior of Delhi in May and June. The narrator arrived at Delhi on the 31st of May, and remained there until the 23rd of June. As he possessed great facilities for observation, the details may be considered accurate as well as interesting. He says—

"On my arrival here, I saw five infantry regiments, and the sowars of the 3rd cavalry, who were stationed in Mohtabbagh and Salimgurh. The sepoys were so much afraid of the English forces that they looked quite pale. The cavalry mutineers had a little spirit, and were wishing to go to Meerut for a fight; but the foot men did not agree with them; saying, we are hardly sufficient to guard Delhi; how can we go to Meerut? I will give you a small description of the oppression committed by sepoys in Delhi. They plundered every rich house and shop in the city. They took every horse they found in the stables of the citizens. They killed a number of poor shopkeepers for asking the proper prices for their things; they abuse the respectable men of Delhi in their presence. The guard at Jumna-bridge looted the passengers

crossing it. On the 11th of May the magazine was blown up; it did great damage to the adjacent houses, and killed about 500 passengers walking in different streets. The bullets fell in the houses of people to such a degree, that some children picked up two pounds, and some four pounds of it from the yards of their houses; afterwards, the mutineers, together with the low people of the city, entered the magazine compound, and began to plunder weapons, accoutrements, gun-caps, &c. The 'loot' continued for three days; each sepoy took three or four muskets, and as many swords and bayonets as he could. The Classics filled their houses with fine blacksmiths' tools, weapons, and gun-caps, which they sell by degrees, at the rate of two seers per rupee. The copper sheets were sold at three seers per rupee. In these successful days, the highest price of a musket was eight annas; however, the people feared to buy it; a fine English sword was dear for four annas, and one anna was too much for a good bayonet. Pouches and belts were so common, that the owners could not get anything for this booty of theirs. The gunpowder which was kept at Mujnoos Tila, more than half of it was plundered by Goojurs and countrymen, and the rest was brought to the city. Since the day of my arrival, till the day of my departure, I never found the bazaar opened, except a few poor shops. The shopkeepers and the citizens are extremely sorry for losing their safety, and curse the mutineers from morning to evening. Poor people and workmen starve, and widows cry in their huts. Respectable natives have confined themselves to their houses.

"A kotwal is changed every second day. The sepoys plundered every treasury in the city, and put the money in their own pockets; they did not give a farthing out of this to the king; so the sepoys of four or five regiments possessed thousands of rupees each, and under the weight of silver they could hardly walk, consequently they were obliged to change their silver for gold. The Mahajans charge them twenty-four or twenty-five rupees for a gold mohur, which is not worth more than sixteen rupees. Since the bankers were plundered by the sepoys, they also cheated them by giving them brass coins instead of gold ones. The poor regiments are very jealous of those who are rich, as the rich sepoys don't wish to go to fight, or to the field of battle

simply; they are very often insulted by their poor friends. I am of opinion their private feelings will compel them to fight with each other, some day or other, as, many times during my stay at Delhi, I heard there was very likely to be a quarrel between the rich and poor regiments. One regiment from Allygurh and Mynpoorie, 150 sowars, and some unarmed sepoy from Agra; one regiment and 200 sowars from Hansi and Hissar, some unarmed sepoy from Umballah, 200 sowars and two companies of Nizamut from Muttra, 6th light cavalry; two regiments from Jullundur, two regiments and artillery from Nusseerabad, reached Delhi before me, and joined the mutineers.

"I will acquaint you with the names of the stations from whence the rebels brought treasure for the king. Moradnuggur Tehseel (toll-gate, near Hindun-bridge), Rohtuck, Allygurh, Hansi, Muttra, Hursarogurhie, and Tirsaili: out of which his majesty pays four annas to each foot man, and one rupee to each trooper per diem. I am quite ignorant of the amount of the money; but I know as far as this, that on the 17th of June there was left one lac and nineteen thousand rupees in the king's treasury. The princes are made officers to the royal army—thousands of pitics for the poor luxurious princes. They are sometimes compelled to go out of the door of the city, in the heat of the sun; their hearts palpitate from the firing of muskets and guns. Unfortunately they do not know how to command an army; their forces laugh at their imperfections, and abuse them for their bad arrangements. The king sends sweetmeats for the forces in the field, and the guard at the door of the city plunder it like the property of an enemy. The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise; they are very clever indeed; when they wish to leave the field of battle, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by their friends. On the night of the 30th of June, at the Hindun bridge, the mutineers were quite out of their senses; a good many of them threw their muskets and swords in the wells, and scattering on the road, ran towards villages and jungles, as they thought themselves to have been pursued by English soldiers. Had the English forces taken them, they could have taken Delhi the same night, because the

sepoys did not return to the city till next morning, and many of them disappeared for ever; they were plundered and beaten by Goojurs, and did not bring a farthing back with them. The old king is very seldom obeyed; but the princes are never. The soldiers never mind their regimental bugle; disobey their officers, and neglect their duty; they are never mustered, and never dressed in uniform. The noblemen and begums, together with the princes, regret for the loss of their joyful days. They consider the arrival of mutineers at Delhi a sudden misfortune for them. The princes cannot understand the sepoy without an interpreter. The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city; and in the fort the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces. His majesty is very much alarmed when a shell bursts in the castle, and the princes show his majesty the pieces of it. Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear. The Delhi college was destroyed the first day. English books are lying in the streets still. The sepoy beat and imprison people for speaking English."

The following detail of events connected with the massacres at Delhi, was obtained by A. Farrington, Esq. (deputy-commissioner at Jullundur), from three servants of the rajah of Kaporthella, who had been sent to accompany a professor of music in the service of the rajah, to Delhi, where they arrived a month before the outbreak took place, and remained until the 26th of May. The men had been in the service of the rajah from childhood, and their statements were considered entitled to credit. The one selected as spokesman for the party says in his deposition—"First only five troopers came to Delhi from Meerut. They went first to the house of an agent of the king of Delhi; near the gate inside the town. He came out and said he was in the service of the king. They would not listen to him, but cut him down, and then murdered his wife and family, and told the people to plunder the house. They then went to the houses in Durya Gunj. Peer Buksh, one of the deponents, saw the troopers go to a pink-coloured house; the owner was a European; they killed him, and plundered and burnt the house. They plundered and burnt all the houses in the suburb, which is chiefly inhabited by clerks, and murdered all who could not escape. By this time other troopers and infantry and towus-

people joined in the work of destruction. A number of the fugitives took refuge in a building near the mosque of Aurungzebe's daughter, and began to defend it against the insurgents. These were held at bay. They left people all round, and the main body went off to the bank. There they were joined by more mutineers. They plundered and murdered wherever they found Europeans. The townspeople assisted warmly in the plunder, and the mutineers of the infantry were particularly active. The commissioner, Mr. Fraser, on hearing of the advent of the mutineers, had gone down to cut away the bridge, but was too late. On returning he met the mutineers at this place. The mutineers said to the commissioner's escort, 'Are you on the side of the Europeans, or on that of religion?' They said the latter. The commissioner, on hearing this, drove off in his buggy. His escort remained passive. The mutineers followed and cut down the gentleman. He fired one pistol. The mutineers killed people on the road, but being more intent on the magazine, they went to it. After arranging matters for surrounding the place, the insurgents and mutineers proceeded to the gaol. One of the sentries shot a man; but when they said they were fighting for religion, the guard joined them, and 500 convicts were released. They then closed all the gates and went into the fort. They paid their respects to the king: he made objections, and said he had no army; he at last consented. On the second day they went to the magazine, where many Europeans had taken refuge. After some firing on both sides, the natives, such as lascars, would do nothing; they hid themselves: the Europeans alone carried on the defence; but, seeing they could do nothing against so many, they blew up the wall towards the river; some 200 of the rebels or more were destroyed by this. They, however, got in and destroyed as many Europeans as they could, and plundered weapons, &c., leaving only the guns and powder. Two native infantry regiments were present. They searched, and wherever they could find Europeans they slew them. On the third day they went back to the house near the mosque where some Europeans had taken refuge. As they were without water, &c., for several days, they called for a subahdar (deponent was present) and five others, and asked them to take their oaths that they would

give them water, and take them alive to the king; he might kill them if he liked. On this oath the Europeans came out; the mutineers placed water before them, and said, 'Lay down your arms, and then you get water.' They gave over two guns—all they had. The mutineers gave no water. They seized eleven children (among them infants), eight ladies, and eight gentlemen. They took them to the cattle-sheds. One lady, who seemed more self-possessed than the rest, observed that they were not taking them to the palace; they replied, that they were taking them *viâ* Durya Gunj. Deponent says that he saw all this, and saw them placed in a row, and shot. One woman entreated them to give her child water, though they might kill her. A sepoy took the child and dashed it on the ground; the people looked on in dismay, and feared for Delhi. The king's people took some thirty-five Europeans to the palace; on the fifth day they tied them to a tree and shot them. They burnt their bodies. On the fifth day notice was given, that if any one concealed a European, he would be destroyed. People disguised many, and sent them off, but many were killed that day, mostly by people of the city. Matters remained pretty quiet for two days. The Durya Gunj bazaar was turned into an encampment for the mutineers. Shops were plundered in the Chandnee Chouk and Diereeba bazaar. The shops were shut for five days. The king went through the city, and told the people to open their shops. At each gate there is a company of native infantry. About 9,000 mutineers are assembled. No cavalry have joined, excepting from Meerut. Some 4,000 or 5,000 new men have been raised, but they are rabble. During the festival of Eed, while at prayers, there was the dust of a kafilâ of laden animals. An alarm arose—it was the English army; the people all rushed helter-skelter into the city. The king refused to go on the throne. The mutineers assured him that a similar massacre had taken place up to Peshawur and down to Calcutta. He agreed, and commenced to give orders, and appointed the following officers:—Hukeem, Nussuroola, Mahhoob, Allie, and one other belonging to the mutineers, but deponent knows not his name. His new levies receive four annas a-day. Guns are placed on the ramparts of the town. These are pronounced strong. The sappers and miners are mounting guns in Selim-

ghur. The mutineers say, when the army approaches they will fight; and that the native troops, with the army, are sure to join them. Many mutineers who tried to get away with plunder, were robbed; this has prevented many others from leaving. A tailor concealed no less than five Europeans; the deponent thinks many more are concealed."

On the 26th of May these men left Delhi on their return to Kaporthella, and state in their deposition, that "from Delhi to Rae they met with no troops; but that the police station-houses on the road were burnt, as also a *tahseel*, or collecting-house; and that the villages were being plundered. At Rae they met an advanced guard of the Jhind rajah's men. At Russowlee there was a similar party. They then went on to Paniput, but met with no annoyance. A number of horse artillery were there, but very few native troops. In the evening four Europeans came to search all travellers in the caravansary, and a man who had a quarrel on the road with them told them to search two Sikhs with a laden cart. On searching it they found 4,000 rupees, a number of weapons, and silver dishes of European gentlemen, evidently plundered from Delhi. The deponents then came to Kurnaul. It was all quiet. The Putteeala rajah's people were in charge of the road. A European regiment was encamped there. They heard in Kurnaul that the commander-in-chief had died there. In the caravansary there were some fifty Europeans, male and female, and about forty children, who had escaped from Delhi. They then came to Peeplee. There they met the siege-train from Phillour. A gun was in difficulty, and people were employed in extricating it. They met some of the European lancers about sixteen miles on this side. They then reached Shahabad. On arriving at Umballah, arrangements were going on for disarming a corps, and at Dourahah Serie they met the guides corps. At Lushkuree Khan Ke Serie they met a detachment of Sikh and Punjabee horse-men."

The civil officer by whom the above deposition was taken, says in conclusion—"The relater of these details has been with me. He speaks frankly and without fear, and is able to narrate, evidently, many a harrowing tale connected with the transactions in the city; but I did not wish to hear any. He seemed really to recall with dismay what he had witnessed." And this may well be

imagined to be the case when such atrocities were perpetrated as are described by a clergyman, who, writing from Bangalore, some time after, says—"No words can express the feeling of horror which pervades society in India; we hear many private accounts of the tragedy, which are too sickening to repeat. The cruelties committed by the wretches exceed all belief. They took forty-eight females, most of them girls of from ten to fourteen, many delicately-nurtured ladies—violated them, and kept them for the base purposes of the heads of the insurrection for a whole week. At the end of that time they made them strip themselves, and gave them up to the lowest of the people, to be abused in broad daylight in the streets of Delhi. They then commenced the work of torturing them to death, cutting off their breasts, fingers, and noses, and leaving them to die. One lady was three days dying. They flayed the face of another lady, and made her walk naked through the street. Poor Mrs. —, the wife of an officer of the — regiment, at Meerut, was soon expecting her confinement. They violated her, then ripped her up, and, taking from her the unborn child, cast it and her into the flames. No European man, woman, or child has had the slightest mercy shown them. I do not believe that the world ever witnessed more hellish torments than have been inflicted on our poor fellow-countrywomen. At Allahabad they have rivalled the atrocities of Delhi. I really cannot tell you the fearful cruelties these demons have been guilty of—cutting off the fingers and toes of little children, joint by joint, in sight of their parents, who were reserved for similar treatment afterwards."

A letter from Ullehpore, of the 6th of June, after describing several of the atrocities already mentioned, and the rapid advance of the avenging army towards Delhi, proceeds thus:—"The whole force is in excellent health, glorious spirits, and mad to be at the mutineers, who will get no mercy. We are all so exasperated at what we have heard and discovered within the last week, that the men are half inclined to kill every native they come across. Give full stretch to your imagination—think of everything that is cruel, inhuman, infernal, and you cannot then conceive anything so diabolical as what these demons in human form have perpetrated. On the 2nd we marched from Paniput to Rae. At this

place some of the poor fugitives from Delhi met with the most barbarous treatment. We burnt four villages on the road, and hung seven Lumberdars. One of these wretches had part of a lady's dress for his kummerbund; he had seized a lady from Delhi, stripped her, violated, and then murdered her in the most cruel manner, first cutting off her breasts. He said he was sorry he had not an opportunity of doing more than he had done. Another lady, who had hid herself under a bridge, was treated in the same manner, then hacked to pieces, and her mangled remains thrown out on the plain. We found a pair of boots, evidently those of a girl six or seven years of age, with the feet in them. They had been cut off just above the ankle. We hung many other villains, and burnt the villages as we came along. A man who witnessed the last massacre in Delhi, where he had gone as a spy, gives a horrid account of it, stating that little children were thrown up into the air, and caught on the points of bayonets, or cut at, as they were falling, with tulwars."

The following is the report of Major Abbott to the assistant adjutant-general, Meerut division, giving details of the occurrences of the 11th:—

"Meerut, May 13th, 1857.

"Sir,—As the senior surviving officer of the Delhi brigade, I have the honour to report, for the information of the major-general commanding the Meerut division, the following circumstances connected with the massacre at Delhi. On Monday morning, the 11th instant, the city of Delhi was entered by a party of the 3rd light cavalry, who possessed themselves of the bridge of boats. This party proceeded towards cantonments, but were met by a wing of the 54th native infantry, under the command of Colonel Ripley, but neither this detachment nor the guard of the 38th light infantry, on duty at the Cashmere gate, fired on the attacking party. The 54th excused themselves on the score of not being loaded. During the hesitation, or, more properly speaking, the direct refusal, of the 38th men to open fire, and the interval taken up by the 54th men in loading, five officers of the 54th native infantry fell, viz., Lieutenant-colonel Ripley mortally wounded, Captain Smith killed, Captain Burrowes killed, Lieutenant Edwards killed, Lieutenant Waterfield killed, Lieutenant Butler wounded.

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To explain the nature of the 38th mer refusing to fire, I beg to state that Captain Wallace, 74th native infantry, the field officer of the week, took command of the main-guard, and distinctly ordered the men of the guard to wheel up and fire. They would neither wheel up nor fire, but met the orders of Captain Wallace with insulting sneers. He urged them by every means in his power, but to no purpose: it was during this time the officers were shot down by the insurgents. These people, seeing the state of affairs, were entering the Cashmere gate of the city, when providentially the guns under the command of Lieutenant Wilson arrived, which had the effect of causing them to retreat into the city. About this time, Major Paterson having taken command of the detachment on the spot, directed Captain Wallace to proceed to cantonments to bring down the 74th native infantry, with two more guns.

"About eleven o'clock, I heard that the men of the 54th native infantry had refused to act, and that their officers were being murdered. I instantly rode off to the lines of my regiment, and got as many as there were in the lines together. I fully explained to them that it was a time to show themselves honest, and that as I intended to go down to the Cashmere gate of the city, I required good honest men to follow me, and called for volunteers. Every man present stepped to the front; and being ordered to load, they obeyed promptly, and marched down in a spirited manner. On arriving at the Cashmere gate, we took possession of the post, drawn up in readiness to receive any attack that might be made. Up to 3 P.M. no enemy appeared, nor could we during that period get any information of the insurgents. Suddenly we heard the report of heavy guns; and shortly afterwards a violent explosion announced the blowing-up of the magazine in the city. This was done by Lieutenant Willoughby, who, seeing all hopes of keeping the magazine gone, adopted this last resource, by which gallant act an immense number of the insurgents, who had effected an entrance into the magazine by scaling-ladders brought from the palace, were killed. Lieutenant Willoughby estimated the number killed to be little short of 1,000 men. I immediately sent round a company under Captain Gordon; but nothing could be done.

"Captain Gordon told me he thought

the men hesitated; but I could not see this. About this time I received an order to send back two guns to cantonments. This order I was on the point of carrying out, when Major Paterson told me if I did he would abandon the post, and entreated me not to go. He was supported by the civil officer, a deputy-collector who had charge of the treasury, who said he had no confidence in the 54th men who were on guard at the treasury. Although I strongly objected to this act of, as it were, disobeying orders, yet as the deputy-collector begged for a delay of only a quarter of an hour, I acceded to his request. When the quarter of an hour was up I made preparations for leaving the main-guard, and was about to march out, when the two guns I had sent back to cantonments under Second Lieutenant Aislabie, returned to the main-guard, with some men of the 38th light infantry. I inquired why they had come back, and was told in reply by the drivers, that the gunners had deserted the guns, therefore they could not go on. I inquired if any firing had taken place in cantonments. My orderly replied, he had heard several shots; and said, 'Sir, let us go up to cantonments immediately!' I then ordered the men to form sections. A jemadar said, 'Never mind sections, pray go on, sir.' My orderly havildar then called out, and said, 'Pray, sir, for God's sake leave this place—pray be quick.' I thought this referred to going up to the relief of cantonments, and accordingly gave the order to march. I had scarcely got a hundred paces beyond the gate, when I heard a brisk firing in the main-guard. I said, 'What is that?' Some of the men replied, 'The 38th men are shooting the European officers.' I then ordered the men with me (about a hundred) to return to their assistance. The men said, 'Sir, it is useless; they are all killed by this time, and we shall not save any one. We have saved you, and we are happy; we will not allow you to go back and be murdered.' The men formed round me, and hurried me along the road on foot, back to cantonments to our quarter-guard. I waited here for some time, and sent up to the saluting-tower to make inquiries as to what was going on, and where the brigadier was, but got no reply. The sun was setting, and the evening advancing, when my attention was directed to some carriages going up the Kurnaul road, and I recognised

two or three carriages belonging to the officers of my regiment, including my own. I asked what could be the meaning of the carriages going that way. The men of my regiment at the quarter-guard replied, 'Sir, they are leaving the cantonment; pray follow their example. We have protected you so far; it will be impossible for us to do so much longer; pray fly for your life.' I yielded to their wishes; and told them, 'Very well, I am off to Meerut. Bring the colours, and let me see as many of you at Meerut as are not inclined to become traitors.' I then got up behind Captain Hawkey on his horse, and rode to the guns, which were also proceeding in the direction the carriages had taken, and so rode on one of the waggons for about four miles, when the drivers refused to go any further, because, they said, we have left our families behind, and there are no artillerymen to serve the guns. All I could do I could not persuade them to come on. They then turned their horses, and went back towards cantonments. I was picked up by Captain Wallace, who also took Ensign Elton with him in the buggy.

"Ensign Elton informed me that he and the rest of the officers of the 74th native infantry were on the point of going to march out with a detachment, when he heard a shot, and on looking round saw Captain Gordon lying down dead; a second shot almost simultaneously laid Lieutenant Reveley low; he then resolved to do something to save himself, and making for the bastion of the fort jumped over the parapet down into the ditch, ran up the counter-scarp, and made across the country to our lines, where he was received by our men, and there took the direction the rest had, mounted on a gun. Up to this time, the sole survivors of the Delhi force, known to be such, and at Meerut, are Major Abbott, 74th native infantry; Captain Hawkey, 74th native infantry; Captain Wallace, 74th native infantry; Ensign Elton, 74th native infantry; Captain De Teissier, artillery; Second Lieutenant Aislabie, artillery; Farrier-sergeant Law, artillery. I saw some other officers going up the Kurnaul road, and recognised Captain Tytler, 38th light infantry, and Captain Nicoll, the brigade-major. The party with me went up the Kurnaul road until we came to the cross-road leading to Meerut, *viâ* Bhagpatta Ghaut, which we took, and arrived at Meerut about eight o'clock last night.

“With the exception of about five individuals, the whole of the European inhabitants of Delhi have been murdered. I understood from a native, who declared that he had seen the dead bodies, that the king ordered the slaughter of all the Europeans in the palace, including Mr. Simon Fraser, Captain Douglas, Rev. Mr. Jennings, his daughter, and some others. From all I could glean, there is not the slightest doubt that this insurrection has been originated and matured in the palace of the king of Delhi, and that with his full knowledge and sanction, in the mad attempt to establish himself in the sovereignty of this country. It is well known that he has called on the neighbouring states to co-operate with him in thus trying to subvert the existing government. The method he adopted appears to have been, to gain the sympathy of the 38th light infantry, by spreading the lying reports now going through the country, of the government having it in contemplation to upset their religion, and have them all forcibly inducted to Christianity.

“The 38th light infantry, by insidious and false arguments, quietly gained over the 54th and 74th native infantry, each being unacquainted with the other's real sentiments. I am perfectly persuaded that the 54th and 74th native infantry were forced to join the combination by threats that, on the one hand, the 38th and 54th would annihilate the 74th native infantry if they refused, and *vice versa*, the 38th taking the lead. I am almost convinced that had the 38th native infantry men not been on guard at the Cashmere gate, the results would have been different. The men of the 74th native infantry would have shot every man who had the temerity to assail the post. The post-office, electric telegraph, Delhi bank, the *Delhi Gazette* press, every house in cantonments and the lines, have been destroyed. Those who escaped the massacre fled with only what they had on their backs, unprovided with any provisions for the road, or money to purchase food. Every officer has lost all he possessed; and not one of us has even a change of clothes. Captain De Teissier, commanding the artillery at Delhi, will make a separate report, detailing the facts connected with the loss of his guns, No. 5 light field battery, 3rd company, 7th battalion artillery.”

The following list of persons killed and missing, and, as far as could be ascertained

at the time, of persons who escaped from the massacre of the 11th of May, was issued, by authority, for the satisfaction of their relatives and friends:—

Killed, certain.—Mr. S. Fraser, C.S., resident and governor-general's agent; Captain Douglas, 32nd native infantry, assistant and commandant of palace guards; the Rev. M. A. Jennings, chaplain; Miss Jennings; Miss Clifford; Mr. Berresford, secretary, Delhi bank, Mrs. Berresford, and five children; Mr. R. Nixon, assistant to resident; Mr. Collins, Mrs. Collins, and six children; Mrs. Fuller, Mr. George Skinner, Mrs. George Skinner, and child; Colonel Ripley, 54th native infantry; Captains Burrowes and Smith, 54th native infantry; Dr. Dopping, Lieutenant Edwardes, Captain Gordon, 74th; Lieutenant Hyslop, 74th; Lieutenant Reveley, 74th; Mrs. Staines and family, and a large number of government and bank clerks, press *employés*, sergeants, conductors, &c., with their wives and families. *Missing and beyond hope.*—Mr. J. P. Macwhirter, C.S., magistrate and collector of Kurnaul (on a visit); Mr. Hutchinson, C.S., magistrate and collector; Mr. A. Galloway, C.S., assistant to ditto; Mrs. Colonel Forster, since dead; Mr. F. Taylor, principal, Delhi college; Mr. S. G. T. Heatly, editor of the *Delhi Gazette*; Mrs. Heatly, mother and child; the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, missionary; the Rev. Mr. Sandes, ditto; Lieutenant Raynor, commissary of ordnance, and family. *Escaped.*—Brigadier H. M. Graves, Captain Nicoll (major of brigade), Mr. C. T. Le Bas, C.S., C. and S. Judge; Sir T. J. Metcalfe, joint magistrate and deputy collector; Mrs. Fraser, Mrs. Tronson, Dr. Balfour, Miss Smith, Mr. Wagentreiber, Mrs. Wagentreiber, and infant, Miss Haldane, Lieutenant Forrest, Mrs. Forrest (wounded), and two Misses Forrest, Dr. Stewart, garrison surgeon; Dr. Batson, 74th native infantry; Mrs. Batson and daughter, Mrs. Major Abbott (74th) and family, Major Abbott, Major Paterson, 54th; Colonel Knyvett, 38th; Captain Tytler, 38th; Lieutenants Holland and Gambier, 38th; Dr. Wood (38th), severely wounded; Mrs. Wood, Lieutenant Peile, 38th; Mrs. Peile, Lieutenants Taylor, Grant, Mew, and Drummond, 74th; Mr. L. Berkeley, principal Sudder Ameen; Mrs. Berkeley and infant; Captain De Tessier, artillery; Mrs. De Tessier, Lieutenant Willoughby (since killed by villagers).

Measures were at length taken by the commander-in-chief for the suppression of the revolt. The forces from Umballah were put in motion, and a strong cordon of troops, from various contingents, was reported to be drawing round Delhi, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, who availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the non-appearance of an attacking force, to throw up intrenchments and erect batteries for the defence of the approaches to the city.

In the case of Delhi, as in that of Meerut, it is impossible to ignore the fact of a gross miscalculation of the extent of danger that had, for months previous, been evident to the most superficial observer; and the no less gross neglect of the means at hand for successfully grappling with the difficulty as soon as it became tangible. At Meerut, with a European force upon the spot more than sufficient to have crushed, at one blow, the then infant hydra of sepoy revolt, the mutinous troops were permitted to wreak their mad vengeance unchecked, until their purposes were consummated by the murder of their European officers, the reckless destruction of valuable property, and the slaughter of unoffending women and children. At Delhi, no such means for arresting the progress of rebellion, should it break out, existed; for by a most extraordinary and overweening confidence in the repressive influence of the European name, every precaution that might have promoted, if not ensured, the safety of the city and its Christian inhabitants, had been deemed altogether unnecessary. At the time of the outbreak at Meerut, and for months before the first notes of sepoy discontent had sounded over the plains of Hindostan, Delhi had been the focus of communication between the native troops and the immediate adherents of the last descendant of the Monghol emperors. It was the great depository for military stores, treasure, and ammunition, to be distributed over an important division of the presidency. It was the residence of a large European population; and the native Christians in dependence on them amounted to a very considerable number of persons. The whole of India had for several months been agitated by visions of impending danger—undefined, yet palpable in its obscurity; and in the face of all these strong reasons for timely caution and unremitting vigilance, this important station was left with-

out the protection of a single company of European soldiers!

Thus, with the living representative of a once mighty race enthroned amongst them—with the means of defence or aggression, in almost exhaustless abundance, placed in their hands—with their passions excited by suspicion of intended wrong—the flames of revolt glaring in the distant horizon, and the traditions of bygone empire newly awakened in their memories—it seems to have been expected that the sepoy garrison of Delhi would have been loyally deaf to the appeal of their countrymen, when the latter should have turned their arms against the alien and aggressive government that had, within less than a century, placed its foot upon the necks of their prostrated native kings.

But there is yet further ground for astonishment in connection with the seizure of Delhi on the morning of the 11th of May. It was known to the officer in command, at a very early hour, that a mutiny had broken out the previous night among the native troops in cantonment at Meerut, and that in all probability some, if not all, the surviving mutineers would find their way to the capital. Yet, up to the last moment it was possible for delay to be endured, no steps were taken by Brigadier-general Graves to prevent the access of the rebels to the troops under his command, who were yet apparently free from the taint of insubordination. The approaches to the city were left unobstructed; the gates as usual unclosed; and nothing whatever was done with a view to check the advance of the Meerut rabble, until it was actually under the wall of the city and its onward progress could no longer be effectually resisted; and thus, as if by a sudden fatality, the temporary loss of Delhi was accelerated by the joint acts of those by whom especially its safety should have been provided for. The native regiments in cantonment or within the city, instead of being kept isolated from the contaminating influence of the rebel forces, were actually, at the last moment, marched out to meet, and, as a matter of course, to parley with them: the next step was to fraternise, and to join hand and heart in any project that might ensure the destruction of the hated "Feringhee!" and restore to empire their native monarch. Of the valour and endurance of the gallant men who had officered the native regiments at Delhi until the morning of

the 11th of May, 1857, the military records of their country bear imperishable and grateful evidence. Of the want of foresight, and even of ordinary prudence, of their commander, who acted as if unconscious of the danger that menaced his charge, until opportunity for useful resistance to it had passed by, the same records will only immortalise sentiments of astonishment and unavailing regret.

The importance of the charge intrusted to General Graves, with the inadequate means afforded him for its security, should have impressed him at all times with an earnest sense of his great responsibility; but this, it may charitably be supposed, he was unconscious of. That the military de-

partment at Calcutta should have inconsiderately left the ancient capital of Hindostan, with its military stores, its treasure, its European population, and its titular native king, to the sole protection of three sepoy regiments, for months after the sullen murmurings of disaffection had broken the repose of the metropolis of British India, was an unpardonable error. That under such circumstances, the officer intrusted with a charge so important and so hazardous, should have contented himself with doing nothing to provide for an emergency, or to arrest a positive danger as it approached his position, was more than an error—if it was not actually a crime that no subsequent triumphs can expiate or atone for.

CHAPTER VI.

APPEARANCE OF DISSATISFACTION AT UMBALLAH; MUTINIOUS DEMONSTRATIONS AT PEROZEPORE AND LAHORE; MOVEMENTS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; COUNCIL OF WAR AT PESHAWUR.

TURNING for a moment from the headquarters of rebellion, as established at Delhi, we now proceed to trace the progress of the outbreak in other districts of British India, and to describe the steps taken to arrest the further spread of the disorder that ravaged the country.

From the beginning of January it had gradually become manifest that an unquiet and discontented feeling was gaining strength among the troops in several stations of the Bengal presidency, and the attention of government was repeatedly invited to the

subject; but the measures adopted at Barrackpore and other places, were thought to have effectually checked the mischievous impulse; and so little was its revival anticipated, that the commander-in-chief sought a temporary relaxation from the duties of his onerous position in a sporting tour, that occasionally took him to a distance from any telegraphic communication. Upon his return in March, his excellency visited the school of musketry at Umballah,* and from thence proceeded to Simla,† where he purposed to remain during the season. The

* Umballah has long been an important station of British subsidiary troops, and was the capital of a small province in the Sikh territory; it stands about 120 miles N.N.W. of Delhi, on the route to Lahore, and is 1,076 miles from Calcutta.

† Simla is a station much resorted to by European invalids, on account of its salubrious and bracing atmosphere. It stands at an elevation of 7,300 feet above the sea, and is distant from Delhi about 200 miles, and from Calcutta little more than 1,150. The town has an English appearance; many of the houses corresponding, in architectural features, to buildings in this country. It possesses a very fine magnetic observatory, and generally has a large and fashionable population. Simla is regarded as the Cheltenham of the East, and, like its prototype, its society is ever changing. Its permanent residents

are comparatively few, but each successive season adds to their number. From its first establishment, it has been a favourite retreat with every governor-general and commander-in-chief; and the bishop has repeatedly visited it for several months at a time. To the latter it is indebted for the formation of a dispensary, the enlargement and improvement of its church, and many other benefits. Simla is in two divisions, major and minor; the bridge, erected in 1828 by Lord Combermere, the then commander-in-chief in India, forming the line of demarcation. That bridge was the first step towards the improvement of the station, where there were then only two or three houses, and no roads. It connects Simla and Chota Simla, or Simla Minor, the south-east portion; between which there is a deep ravine, down the sides of which, in the rainy season, flows an impassable

cartridge difficulty had by this time become a subject of frequent discussion among the men attached to the school at Umballah; but the facts had been quietly explained to them, and their objections appeared to be removed, as they had ceased to express any disinclination to use the missile when offered to them for practice. To prevent, however, even the appearance of an intention to offend their religious prejudices in this matter, the cartridges were delivered to them in an unfinished state, and they were permitted to complete them with an unobjectionable material in lieu of the offensive grease. Still, notwithstanding this concession to their feelings, wild and vague reports were continually floating about the station; and frequent and secret meetings were held without the lines, at which some of the native officers assisted. At length, it happened that a man of the 9th lancers, quartered in the cantonment, was stabbed while sleeping in his bed, on the night of the 18th of April. Upon investigating the circumstances, it appeared that the same evening the man, while strolling about the vicinity of the lines, by mere chance came suddenly upon a group of native soldiers, who were earnestly discussing some topic upon which they exhibited considerable warmth. The unintentional intruder upon their privacy was no sooner observed than the discussion ceased, and the man was surrounded, and hustled by an angry crowd. He, however, effected a retreat, and got safely to his quarters. During the night an attempt was made upon his life by an unknown assassin; but fortunately the wound inflicted was not mortal; and, on the following day, the man appeared before a committee of inquiry, and made a statement to the foregoing effect. As no clue could be obtained to the perpetrator of the intended assassination, and the man was not seriously hurt by the attempt upon his life, the matter was suffered to drop without further effort to unravel the mystery attending it.

The dissatisfaction of the native troops continued occasionally to exhibit symptoms of its increasing strength and extension; and, at length, the European officers at Umballah ventured to suggest the expediency of discontinuing for the present a further issue of the objectionable cartridge.

torrent. Each division has a bazaar corresponding with its population; that of Simla Major is large, well supplied, and has many native dealers residing in it, whose stores consist entirely of European

The facts were duly submitted to the consideration of the commander-in-chief at Simla; and, ultimately, his excellency coincided with the opinions of the officers; and with a view to allay the excitement that by this time had become apparent throughout the North-West Provinces, the following circular and general order were issued:—

“Adjutant-general’s office, head-quarters, Simla, May 14.—The commander-in-chief desires, that all firing for drill or target practice purposes shall be suspended until further orders. It is to be thoroughly explained to the men, that the sole object of this order is to sooth their minds, now so excited, and also to remove the possibility of their being supposed by their comrades at other stations, or by the people at their homes, to be using any objectionable cartridge.”

The general order, dated “Head-quarters, Umballah, May 19,” ran as follows:—

“The commander-in-chief, on May 14, issued a general order, informing the native army, that it had never been the intention of the government to force them to use any cartridges which could be objected to, and that they never would be required to do so either now or hereafter. His object in publishing that order, was to allay the excitement which had been raised in their minds, although he felt that there was no cause for it. He hopes that this may have been the case; but he still perceives, that the very name of new cartridges causes agitation; and he has been informed, that some of those sepoys who entertain the strongest attachment and loyalty to the government, and are ready at any moment to obey its order, would still be under the impression that their families would not believe that they were not in some way or other contaminated by its use. The rifle introduced into the British army is an improvement upon the old musket, and much more effective; but it would not be of the same advantage in the hands of the native army, if it were to be used with reluctance.

“Notwithstanding, therefore, that the government have affirmed that the cartridge is perfectly harmless, the commander-in-chief is satisfied that they would not desire to persist in its adoption, if the feelings of the sepoys can be thoroughly calmed

goods. This town is one of the Indian stations for carrying on the important magnetical observations which are taking place nearly all over the civilised world.

by its abolition. His excellency, therefore, has determined that the new rifle cartridge, and every new cartridge, shall be discontinued; and that in future, ball ammunition shall be made up by each regiment for its own use, by a proper establishment entertained for this purpose. The commander-in-chief solemnly assures the army, that no interference with their *castes* or religion was ever contemplated, and as solemnly he pledges his word and honour, that none shall ever be exercised. He announces this to the native army in the full confidence that all will now perform their duty free from anxiety or care, and be prepared to stand and shed the last drop of their blood, as they have formerly done, by the side of the British troops, and in defence of their country."

On the promulgation of the above order, the men employed at the school professed to be perfectly satisfied, and relieved from much anxiety. They, however, constituted but a small portion of the native troops in cantonment; and it was among the main body that the latent fires of disaffection and revolt were nursed and encouraged, until circumstances became favourable for their bursting forth with terrible and devastating energy.

The resentful feeling that existed in this quarter was developed in March by the commencement of a series of incendiary fires, which continued at intervals through the month of April, under the circumstances described in an official communication from the chief commissioner of the North-West Provinces, to the government, enclosing a statement from a magistrate of the Umballah cantonment, respecting the conflagrations that had occurred at the station; in which he says—"It will be perceived that the first attempt at arson occurred with a view to burn the property and hut of Subahdar Hurbunsee Sing, 36th regiment native infantry, attached to the musketry depôt lately formed at this station. This happened on the 26th of March last, and at that period just when reports among the native population of this station began to spread relative to the new cartridge introduced at the musketry depôt, the using of which it was said the sepoys considered an innovation derogatory to their *caste* and religion. This native officer had previously come forward, and publicly stated his willingness to fire with such cartridges, and saw no objection to them. I am induced

particularly to remark on this, as it will be seen that with this first fire was disclosed the *animus* existing against government and the men comprising the rifle depôt, more particularly on those who did not object to cut or break the newly-introduced cartridge. Although even then it was supposed this might be the act of an incendiary, still there was no proof whatever to say it was such. All remained quiet up to the eighteenth day, when a second small fire broke out in the same lines (this was on the 13th of April); it was followed by another fire on the 15th—viz., an attempt on some outhouses in a compound in the 60th native infantry lines (which lines adjoin those of the musketry depôt.) This was attended on the 16th by two fires in one night, with great loss of government property, estimated at about 30,000 rupees. There remained no doubt now but that such arson was committed at the hands of an incendiary; for it was utterly impossible, and not to be conceived, that the burning of two government buildings, such as the hospital in the musketry depôt, and No. 9 barrack in the European infantry lines, at a considerable distance from each other, on the same night, could have been caused by accident. This was followed up the following night by an empty bungalow in the 5th regiment native infantry lines being entirely consumed by fire, and an attempt to fire the stables of Lieutenant Walker, 60th regiment native infantry, on the 19th of April. It was strange that the stables of a house in the 60th regiment native infantry lines should be set on fire and burnt; strange, because the house was then occupied by three officers, Lieutenants Craigie, 36th regiment, Ross, 9th regiment, and Corfield, 9th regiment, attached to the musketry depôt. The same night a second fire burst out, and a civil chowkee, in which there were rajah of Jhind's sowars, was consumed; and a third attempt was made on the hut of Nownurain Sing, subahdar 3rd company, in the 5th regiment native infantry lines. On the 20th of April attempts were made on the houses of the jemadar and havildar of the 5th regiment, both these men being attached to the depôt; and under the bed of the jemadar powder and brimstone had been placed, showing that this had been done with a malicious view to injure the person as well as the property of the jemadar. From this date I am inclined to be of opinion that the sepoys, whom I

suspect, without doubt, deemed it advisable that the conflagrations should not be confined any longer only to the houses and property of those attached to the rifle depôt; consequently, to lull suspicion, they commenced firing not only the huts in their own lines, but also extended the arson to other parts of cantonments; for, on the 21st of April, several huts, which contained property of men of the 60th regiment native infantry, who had proceeded on furlough leave, were fired in the 60th native infantry lines. On the 22nd the sheep-house in the mess compound of the 5th regiment native infantry was ignited, as also Major Laughton's (engineers) stables, in the European infantry lines. Some suppose this latter fire to have been caused by accident; but from the report of the sentry on guard over the bungalow, I am confidently of opinion that it was the act of an incendiary; for the sentry distinctly described the 'dripping of fire,' which leads me to believe that brimstone was employed, and that as it ignited (being placed standing on the roof) it naturally fell burning, and thereby caused the 'dripping of fire' so minutely and exactly described by the sentry. On the 23rd of April an attempt was made to fire a house in her majesty's 9th lancers lines, occupied by Captain Sanders, 41st regiment native infantry, attached to the musketry depôt. The combustible here used was powder and brimstone, wrapped in fine 'dohtee.' Some burnt cartridge paper of a bluish-greyish colour was also picked up; this also had been used. On the 25th of April the band-master's house of her majesty's 9th lancers (regimental property of that corps) was completely burnt down. On the following day it was reported that about mid-day an attempt was made to fire another bungalow in her majesty's 9th lancers lines, the property of Lieutenant and Riding-master Shaw, her majesty's 9th lancers. Since then, with the exception of an attempt to burn a house in the lines of the 5th regiment of native infantry, on the night of the 1st of May, belonging to a sepoy named Bojeenath, attached to the musketry depôt, all has remained quiet up to this date.

"The emanating cause of the arson at this cantonment, I conceive, originated with regard to the newly-introduced cartridges, to which the native sepoy shows his decided objection, it being obnoxious to him from a false idea (which, now that it

has entered the mind of the sepoy, is difficult to eradicate) that the innovation of this cartridge is derogatory both to his *caste* and religion; and that such is actually the cause is apparent from the evident dissatisfaction amongst the sepoys generally on this point throughout the whole native army, similar burnings and conflagrations having, it appears, occurred at Barrackpore, Oude, Meerut, and Lahore, all owing to the supposed impure and tainted cartridge.

"That this has led to the fires at this cantonment, in my own private mind, I am perfectly convinced; and were it the act of only one or two, or even a few persons, the well-disposed sepoys would at once have come forward and forthwith informed; but that there is an organised leagued conspiracy existing, I feel confident; and though all and every individual composing a regiment may not form part of the combination, still I am of opinion that such a league in each corps is known to exist; and such being upheld by the majority, or rather connived at, therefore it is that no single man dared to come forward and expose it. Proof (as matters at present stand) is wanting to convict any particular sepoy; but from the combustible materials which have been picked up and brought before me, these alone are sufficient presumptive and circumstantial evidence to prove that this arson is the act of sepoys, and not, as some supposed, of *ghurramees* (thatchers.) Was it one of the latter class, the reward offered of 1,000 rupees would have been too tempting for one of these men (when he could have obtained such a prize) not to have informed ere this, even if the incendiary had been one of his own brethren. Moreover, the whole cantonment would have been fired, and the burning would not have been alone confined to the south half of the station; for in the staff artillery and native cavalry lines, nor yet in the Suddur Bazaar, up to this date, has a single fire taken place.

"That it is urged how can it be the sepoys, when they have roll-calls, patrols, pickets, &c., and are not permitted to quit their own lines, and with all this, fires, nevertheless, have occurred in other parts of the station, is easily answered by other similar questions—namely, how is it, then, that with all this precaution and preservatives, fires have actually occurred in the sepoys' own regimental lines? for similarly

as no person could leave his own lines, so, in the same manner, how could any outside person enter those lines, and yet fires have thus happened in those very guarded lines. And again, are there not detached guards told off for duties out of the sepoy's lines, such as for the brigade-major, pay-office, &c., &c., and could not an evil-disposed man quit such guard on any trifling excuse, and the whole cantonment be roused, some ten or twenty minutes after, by the alarm of fire, naturally the incendiary taking good care to be far away when the flame first shot up?

"Every possible precaution that could be has been attended to by Brigadier R. D. Halifax, commanding the station, with a view to put a stop to and check this arson. Both mounted and dismounted patrols and pickets have been established, and by his orders all fakirs, travellers, and idle persons not belonging to the station have been expelled. All leave sepoy, and also all discharged sepoy, passing through cantonments have been directed to quit and pass on through the station, without halting or resting in it. All sepoy whose regiments are located at this station, and who had taken their furlough leave but had not proceeded to their homes, have been directed to be seized and made over to their commanding officers. This has all tended much to put a stop to the fires, and I sincerely trust now that arson is eventually checked at this station.

"I shall not fail in continuing to exert my utmost endeavours to trace out the incendiaries; and although at present no further clue has been obtained than what I have mentioned, I hope time will discover the combination which, in my opinion, exists amongst the sepoy at this cantonment, and which has been led to by the reports that have reached them, of the disaffection and discontent prevailing in the native army at large; through this the sepoy has been deluded and led astray. This, together with the formation of the rifle depôt, in cantonments, has brought matters to the present pass, and the sepoy vainly imagines, that by his present deeds, he is showing to government his firm resolve and determination not to have forced on him an injury by being made to use the new cartridges, and by doing which he considers his honour, credit, reputation, and *caste*, will and must be lessened and disparaged, as also his religion lost."

"Statement of Fire at Umballah.

- March 26.—Depôt musketry (late 28th regiment native infantry lines), attempt to fire the house of Subahdar Hurbuns Sing, 36th regiment native infantry, attached to musketry depôt.
- April 13.—Depôt musketry Europeans, necessary chuppur burnt.
- " 15.—60th regiment native infantry lines, Riding-master Boucher's out-houses set on fire.
- " 16.—Hospital (late 28th regiment native infantry) in which the European musketry depôt were located, but empty when fired.
- " 16.—No. 9 European infantry barrack, in which were 442 casks of beer for European soldiers.
- " 17.—60th regiment native infantry lines, Lieutenant Whiting's bungalow fired; attempt to fire Lieutenant Walker's stables, 60th regiment native infantry
- " 19.—60th regiment native infantry lines, house occupied by Lieutenant Craigie.
- " 19.—36th regiment, Ross; 9th regiment, Corfield; 3rd regiment, officers attached to the musketry depôt, stables burnt; fired also the house of Seu Marain Sing, Subahdar 3rd company 5th regiment native infantry lines, and a civil police chowkee, on the Grand Trunk road.
- " 20.—Attempt to fire the houses of the jemadar and havildar 5th regiment native infantry lines, both attached to musketry depôt.
- " 21.—Six or seven houses 6th company 60th regiment native infantry fired, in which was the property of sepoy proceeded on furlough.
- " 22.—5th regiment native infantry mess-compound sheep-house set on fire; European infantry lines, Major Laughton's stable attempted to be fired.
- " 23.—9th lancers lines, attempt to fire Captain Sander's house, 41st regiment native infantry, attached to the musketry depôt.
- " 25.—9th lancers lines, band-master's house, her majesty's 9th lancers, regimental property burnt.
- " 26.—Attempt (during the day) to fire Lieutenant and Riding-master Shaw's house, 9th lancers lines.
- May 1.—Bojeenath sepoy's hut (5th regiment native infantry lines), burnt.
- " E. W. E. HOWARD,
" Cantonment Joint Magistrate.
" Umballah, May 4th, 1857."

This statement was accompanied by a letter from G. C. Barnes, Esq., commissioner and superintendent of the Cis-Sutlej states, in which he states, that although in consequence, as he infers, of the moonlight nights, the fires had not been of late so frequent, he did not attribute the falling off to the prevalence of any better feeling on the part of the sepoy.

On the 10th of May (the fatal Sunday of Meerut) there appeared to be considerable excitement among the men in cantonment, some of whom seized their arms as if expecting a simultaneous movement on the part of their comrades. At one period of the day an outbreak of the whole native garrison seemed imminent; but, by the judicious interference and counsel of some of the native officers, backed by the influence of the Europeans present, the men gradually calmed down, and ultimately expressed their willingness to adhere to their duty. They then continued quiet for the remainder of the day; but their conduct was far from being satisfactory to the Europeans in their vicinity.

The following letter from Umballah, of the 14th of May, refers to the attempted outbreak at that place on the Sunday previous:—"The native troops for some time have been showing a discontented spirit, without breaking out into open mutiny. There are here two native infantry regiments, the 5th and 60th, and one regiment of native cavalry—viz., the 4th light, besides some irregulars; and we have only one regiment of Europeans—viz., the 9th royal lancers, and two troops of horse artillery. Last Sunday, after we had returned from church and had just finished our breakfast, at about 10 A.M. the alarm sounded for the regiment to turn out. The men were lying in the barracks undressed, and many of them asleep; but in an almost incredibly short time they were all on parade mounted and fully equipped; the artillery were ready nearly as soon. When on the parade-ground we found that the 60th native infantry had mutinied and turned out with their arms; but we could not go down, because they had their officers prisoners and threatened to shoot them if we came down; but that if we did not they would return quietly. If our men had had the chance to go in at them, they would have made short work of them, they are so enraged at having had so much nightwork lately in consequence of the fires, which are all attributed to the sepoys. They (i.e., our men) only get about two nights a-week in bed. At twelve o'clock, noon, we were turned out again in consequence of the 5th native infantry having turned out; but we were again disappointed. They appeared to think us too attentive, and returned to their barracks. For the last two nights the wives of married officers are sent down to the canteen for better security. An officer remains at the main-guard all night, and an

artillery officer with the guns, which are loaded, and ammunition is served out to the men. Two patrols go out every hour, and all is alert. Yesterday (May 13th) three companies of the 75th (her majesty's) marched in from Kussowlee. They started at noon on Tuesday, and arrived at about 2 P.M. on Wednesday. The distance is forty-eight miles—a wonderful march under an Indian sun, when the thermometer was 92 to 94 degrees in the shade. They had not a single straggler."—The arrival of this reinforcement restored to the station an appearance of comparative tranquillity; it was, however, but an appearance, and it was of short duration.

Leaving Umballah for a short time, we shall now refer to the official reports connected with the events already described, and the progressive steps resorted to for the purpose of arresting the growing evil. The first communication upon the subject, from an authentic source, reached the commander-in-chief late in the evening of the 12th of May, when a *peon* (messenger) arrived at Simla in breathless haste, bearing intelligence of the revolt and massacre at Meerut; and on the following morning the telegraph at Umballah announced the occupation of Delhi by the following communication from Brigadier Graves, commanding at that station:—

"May 11, 1857.—4 P.M.—Cantonment in a state of siege. Mutineers from Meerut. 3rd light cavalry, numbers not known (said to be 150 men), cut off communication with Meerut; taken possession of the bridge of boats: 54th native infantry sent against them, but would not act. Several officers killed and wounded. City in a state of considerable excitement. Troops sent down, but nothing certain yet. Information will be forwarded."

The same day a note was received by the adjutant-general at Simla, from Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., commanding the Sirhind division at Deyrah, a station near Umballah, in which the general reported that a message had just been received by the officers at the electric telegraph from Delhi, to the following effect:—"We must leave office. All the bungalows are burning down by the sepoys from Meerut. They came in this morning. We are off—don't —. To-day— Mr. C. Todd is dead, I think. He went out this morning, and has not returned yet. We heard that nine Europeans were killed. Good-bye."

General Barnard then writes in continuation :—"As Delhi has a large magazine, and only native troops in cantonments there, the intelligence may be of importance. Philloor, also, with a large magazine, has only native troops, who have been in a state of disorganisation. As it is possible this may be a combined movement, I have sent private despatches to the officers in command in the hills, to hold their men ready (quickly) to move at the shortest notice. * * * * It may be possible that this message is greatly exaggerated; but coming at the present crisis, and from the authority of Europeans attached to the telegraph, I have deemed precaution desirable, and that his excellency should be made acquainted with the circumstances without delay."

The foregoing intelligence was immediately transmitted to government by the adjutant-general, who, at the same time, announced the stoppage of all communication by telegraph or otherwise below Meerut. He also notified, that the headquarters of the army had been removed from Simla to Umballah, where the commander-in-chief, General the Hon. G. Anson, had arrived on the 13th. At this time, the force under the command of General Anson consisted of two troops of European horse artillery, the 9th lancers, the 4th light cavalry lancers, the 75th foot, the 1st and 2nd regiments of European fusiliers, and the 5th and 60th regiments of native infantry. The European regiments were unusually weak in regard to numbers, the three corps mustering only 1,800 effective rank and file among them.

On the 14th of May, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces transmitted to the governor-general the following telegram from Agra :—"We have authentic intelligence in a letter from the king, that the town and fort of Delhi, and his own person, are in the hands of the insurgent regiments of the place, which joined about a hundred of the troops from Meerut, and opened the gates. The commissioner (Mr. Fraser) and his assistant, Captain Douglas, are mentioned in the letter to be killed, and also Miss Jennings. We have made all our plans here, and shall act vigorously and look confidently for success, should the insurgents, as is likely, march down on this. I have communicated with the native corps, and their tone appears satisfactory to me."

Later on the same day, the lieutenant-governor announced, that by a letter from

Meerut on the 12th, it appeared the fort and treasury at that place were safe, and the troops ready to repel any attack upon them: the tradespeople and servants were returning, and parties on horseback preparing to scour the neighbourhood for fugitive rebels. The only name given in this communication of the officials killed in the outbreak is that of Mr. Tregear of the educational department. The lieutenant-governor strongly urged that martial law should be at once proclaimed in the Meerut district, and a general order was immediately issued by the governor-general in council, authorising the appointment of general or other courts-martial, whenever found necessary for the repression of disorder.

On the 15th of May, Mr. Colvin further communicated by telegraph, as follows :—"I have had a very satisfactory review of the troops this morning. I had previously ascertained, from undoubted authority of natives of confidence of all classes, that a deep and genuine conviction, however absurd, has seized the minds of the sepoys of the army generally, that the government is steadily bent on making them lose *caste* by handling impure things. Men of their own creed, trusted by them, were sent by me into their lines, and the most distinct assurances given to them on the subject. I spoke to the same effect at the parade, and the men said this was all they wanted to be certain of. I believe that, under the present circumstances, the men are now staunch. If mutineers approach in any force it is our determination to move out the brigade and fight them. We shall go with the brigade: a reinforcement of a battery of guns, and some of the contingent cavalry will be here from Gwalior the morning after to-morrow. It is most urgently recommended, from the result of present experience, that a proclamation to the army be at once issued by the supreme government, saying, if it be so thought fit, that the lieutenant-governor, North-West Provinces, has informed them, that he has found a gross misconception to be prevalent; that, being so informed, it is at once declared to its faithful troops, that it would in every manner respect and protect their feelings and usages of religion and *caste* as it has always scrupulously protected them; that it declares the notions which have got abroad on the point to be an utter delusion, propagated by some designing persons to mislead good soldiers; and the army may remain thoroughly satis-

fed that no attempt whatever will be made in any way to injure in the least their religious rites and practices. Armed with a simple and direct assurance of this kind, it would rapidly, I think, quiet the minds of the troops. An inducement, too, is wanted for not joining the mutineers and for leaving them. I am in the thick of it, and know what is wanted. I earnestly beg this, to strengthen me."

According to a subsequent telegram of the 15th, the lieutenant-governor reported as follows:—"Further information received of the events at Delhi this morning. The massacre of thirty Europeans in the city and civil station is dreadful; but this must be passed over. All the native corps, with the battery of artillery in the cantonment, are stated to have joined; but there may possibly be a mistake in this. The rebels have declared the heir-apparent king. The following message gives the pith of the report of their plans. The rebels are apparently organising a plan of a regular government; they still remain in the place. Their policy is supposed to be to annex the adjoining districts to their newly-founded kingdom. They are not likely, therefore, to abandon the country or leave Delhi; they have, probably, strengthened themselves there. They may have secured fifty lacs of rupees. If this account be all true, the regiments that have joined are the 11th, 20th, 38th, 54th, 74th. Many of these cannot be staunch in their hearts to this new kingdom. We are strengthening ourselves in every way here. Gwalior and Bhurtpore are aiding us heartily. The native regiments here are weak, and whatever their feelings may be, they are not likely to rise of themselves without other support; we do not, therefore, show distrust of them. None of the native chiefs will have any sympathy with this new Delhi monarchy."

Notwithstanding the difficulty that attended every attempt at open communication, the telegraph at Agra continued actively employed; and on the 16th, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces transmitted the following message to the seat of government:—"This message just received from the magistrate of Allygurh. A letter giving a full detail of events has just arrived from Great-hed. It is brought by one of my messengers. Events at Delhi are far more disastrous than was supposed. The com-

missioner writes as follows:—"The mutineers reached Delhi on Monday night (11th) or Tuesday morning (12th.) The Delhi troops fraternised with them, the 38th taking the lead, and shooting their officers; all the Europeans put to death with the exception of a few, who avoided them by crossing the Jumna. Major Abbott, Captain Wallace and his wife, Mrs. Murphy, Captain De Teissier and his wife, Mrs. Hutchinson and her children, are here. It is quite certain there is no European at Delhi now. The mutineers took the guns they had taken to the palace, and were received by the king. Lieutenant Willoughby blew up the magazine at Delhi. The powder-magazine alone fell into the hands of the insurgents. The commissioner's letter, which is a very long one, will be sent by this afternoon's mail to Agra. Well done Willoughby!"

The same day, the governor-general informs Mr. Colvin, that "every exertion must be made to regain Delhi; that every hour is of importance; and that General Hewitt has been ordered to press this upon the commander-in-chief." His excellency further says—"I will send you a proclamation to-morrow morning by telegraph. I thank you sincerely for all you have so admirably done, and for your stout heart." To this communication the following reply was telegraphed from the lieutenant-governor at Agra:—"Many thanks for your full confidence; I shall endeavour to deserve it. The worst of the storm is past, and the aspect of affairs is fast brightening. Martial law has been proceeding at Meerut, as was authorised by you. A proclamation has been issued by me, to explain generally our arrangements for surrounding and crushing the mutineers; a copy of this will go by post to-night; I trust it will do good all over the country. The following is the intelligence of the morning from General Hewitt. The commander-in-chief has sent her majesty's 75th regiment and fusiliers down there. The Sirmoor battalion is expected here to-night. Some of the Puttialla and Jhind rajah's people, with a police battalion, and some cavalry, are to assemble at Kurnaul on the 20th, to be supported by her majesty's 75th regiment, 9th lancers, and four guns. Puttialla rajah reported as having been invited to join the rebels. Martial law proclaimed in Meerut; no communication by telegraph about this; the rebels were to settle their plans yesterday evening after prayers; I have sent for

a wing of the 4th irregulars, and asked for another. The Bhurtpore force of horse, and six guns, with three British officers, reached Muttra last night, and quite re-established confidence there. It shall soon be vigorously patrolling the country round Delhi, until the mutineers can be attacked or dispersed. Be sure that confidence and forwardness now mark every step."

On the 17th of May, the following proclamation was forwarded from Calcutta, and immediately distributed over the disturbed districts, with results far less satisfactory than had been anticipated :—

"Fort William, Home Department, May 16.

"PROCLAMATION.—The governor-general of India in council has warned the army of Bengal that the tales by which the men of certain regiments have been led to suspect that offence to their religion or injury to their *caste* is meditated by the government of India, are malicious falsehoods. The governor-general in council has learnt that this suspicion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded men, not only in the army, but among other classes of the people. He knows that endeavours are made to persuade Hindoos and Mussulmans, soldiers and civil subjects, that their religion is threatened secretly as well as openly by the acts of the government, and that the government is seeking in various ways to entrap them into a loss of *caste* for purposes of its own. Some have been already deceived and led astray by these tales. Once more, then, the governor-general in council warns all classes against the deceptions that are practised on them. The government of India has invariably treated the religious feelings of all its subjects with careful respect. The governor-general in council has declared that it will never cease to do so. He now repeats that declaration, and he emphatically proclaims that the government of India entertains no desire to interfere with their religion or *caste*, and that nothing has been or will be done by the government to affect the free exercise of the observances of religion or *caste* by every class of the people. The government of India has never deceived its subjects, therefore the governor-general in council now calls upon them to refuse their belief to seditious lies. This notice is addressed to those who hitherto, by habitual loyalty and orderly conduct, have shown their attachment to the government and a well-founded faith in its protection and justice. The governor-general in council enjoins all such persons to pause before they listen to false guides and traitors who would lead them into danger and disgrace.—By order of the governor-general of India in council.

"CECIL BEADON,
"Secretary to the government of India."

At length, on the 18th of May, General Hewitt, commanding the Meerut district, found opportunity to communicate the events of the 10th instant to the governor-general in council by the following telegraphic message :—"On the evening of the 10th, the 20th and 11th native infantry, with 3rd light cavalry, broke into open

mutiny; shot down the officers who were on parade; liberated all the prisoners, 1,200 in number; fired cantonments south of the Nullah, as well as part of the civil lines, and joined by the inhabitants of the city and cantonments, bazaars and neighbouring villages, pillaged houses, murdered every European man, woman, and child who fell into their hands. The mutineers were driven out of the station, and the European artillery, dragoons, and infantry defended the barracks. On the 12th, the garrison of Delhi joined with the mutineers, burning that station, and murdering all the officers who were in their power. There are about fifty of the 3rd light cavalry who remained with their officers, and about 130 of the 11th. Every night all the European troops are under arms, who prevent the barracks being attacked and burnt by the populace. The loss of life at Meerut amounts to about forty. The casualties at Delhi are not yet known. The women and stores at Meerut are safe in the artillery school of instruction, which is being fortified, to enable part of the garrison to join in the combined movements on Delhi, when the commander-in-chief's arrangements are completed. Telegraph having been closed, reports were sent by dāk."

Comment upon this tardy announcement is not necessary in this place, since the incidents of the outbreak referred to have been already fully described. The official character of the communication alone warrants its introduction at a period so remote from the date of the occurrences it records.

It had by this time become evident, that independent of the mutinous demonstrations at Meerut and Delhi, the seeds of disaffection and revolt were germinating, and rapidly attaining maturity, in other districts of the presidency; and a succession of disturbances in places far distant from each other, but evidently moved by the same impulsive cause, afforded ample proof that the most energetic measures would be required to preserve the integrity of British power in India. It was in vain that the suspicions and fears of the credulous and excitable sepoys had been alternately met with explanation and concession, by positive indulgence, or by rigorous punishment: the evil yet existed in its full strength; and the efforts as yet made to eradicate it, only served to lessen the *prestige* of a government that could tamely concede the high principle of absolute command,

and accept from its troops a conditional service, in lieu of unhesitating and implicit obedience. Circumstances had enabled the Mohammedan and Hindoo elements embodied in the mass of the native armies of British India, to put the screw of their prejudices and assumed privileges upon the impressible nature of the government; and the ravages at Meerut and Delhi were but the early results of an influence that, by timely caution, might have been altogether prevented.

FERROZPORE.—At this important station—situate also in the North-West Province, on the left bank of the Sutlej, distant about 175 miles from Lahore, and 1,181 from Calcutta—a new source of disquietude had now arisen to embarrass the authorities. In the early part of May the garrison at this place consisted of the 45th and 57th regiments of native infantry, the 10th native light cavalry, and her majesty's 61st foot. On the night of the 12th a detachment of the 57th regiment was on guard duty at the magazine, which was situated within the lines of a fortification near the town, and at a short distance from the cantonment. In consequence of some suspicion as to the loyalty of the native troops at the station, a company of her majesty's 61st regiment was told off for the relief on the following morning. No opportunity was afforded for discussion or inquiry among the troops, respecting the sudden alteration of the *roster* for the day; and the new guard, in due course, was marched to the post assigned to it. Upon the arrival of the relief, the two guards remained together, while orders were carried into effect for the immediate removal of the women and children, and of the unarmed Christian population, to the magazine fort for safety. During this operation the 10th light cavalry and the two native regiments of infantry were paraded at the cantonment, and the 45th was ordered to march to the Suddur Bazaar, situated at some distance, and in an opposite direction from the fortifications. The regiment marched out in obedience to orders; but as soon as it had reached the entrance to the bazaar, the men halted of their own accord, and, facing about, immediately proceeded at quick-step towards the magazine. Having reached the north-west bastion of the fortifications, they managed to communicate with some men of the 57th regiment, yet within the walls; and the latter proceeded to throw out ropes, and put over ladders to assist them in scaling the

fortifications. By these aids the moat was crossed, and the outer defences carried by the mutineers, who numbered about 3,000. Having succeeded thus far without difficulty, they next attempted to force the inner gate leading to the depôt for ordnance stores; but here they were met by Colonel Redmond, and five men of the 61st regiment, who fired a volley, and killed six of the assailants—the colonel being in return shot in the thigh and disabled. Repulsed at this point, the mutineers endeavoured to obtain access to the interior of the fort by another gate; but again they were driven back with loss, and being dispirited by their failures, they commenced a precipitate retreat over the walls they had just scaled, many of them falling in the attempt by the butt-ends of the muskets of the 61st. In the midst of this affair a reinforcement of two companies of the Queen's regiment, with two guns, under the command of Lieutenant Angelo, arrived at the magazine; and the guard of the 57th, which had been standing quietly in front of the European relief, while the struggle with their mutinous comrades was proceeding in another part of the fortification, now began to exhibit symptoms of defiance by loading their muskets. Lieutenant Angelo had his two guns charged with grape, and turned their muzzles upon the company, which was then immediately disarmed by her majesty's 61st, and turned out of the intrenchment. The 45th native infantry retreated towards the Ice-pits, and carrying their dead with them, left the bodies at the Mussulman graveyard, adjoining that of the Europeans. The remainder of the day was passed in comparative quiet; but as soon as night had thrown her veil of darkness over the scene of the morning's struggle, about 200 of the mutineers returned to the cantonment, and in gangs took lighted torches and set fire to the church, chapel, two vacant hospitals, her majesty's 61st mess-house, Captains Salmon, Harvey, Woodcock, Cotton, and Bloomfield's bungalows, and several others. They were not even molested in committing this incendiarism except at the chapel, where a young lad, the son of Mr. Hughes, a merchant, shot one of them: every one seemed panic-stricken. The next day, the 14th, the mutineers began to plunder some of the officers' houses, when a party of her majesty's 61st and 10th light cavalry drove them out, and shot some of them; Lieutenant Prendergast and the sergeant-major of the cavalry were both fired upon, and as the

magazines of the 45th and 57th native infantry were in danger of falling into the hands of the mutineers, the artillery brought their guns to bear upon the buildings, which were blown up by a couple of shots fired into them. On the same day the 57th native infantry were disarmed, and the mutineers of the 45th, to the number of two hundred, sent in the colours of their regiment, and surrendered their arms and themselves. That night a false alarm at 11 P. M., caused a short fusillade from the intrenched magazine at the imaginary foe. The guns, too, of the fortification sent forth showers of grapeshot. The alarm was taken up by the men of the 61st at their lines, and by the detachment of the same corps and artillery posted at the south-west flank of cantonment. In the confusion, a man of her majesty's 61st was shot, through being mistaken for one of the mutineers in the dark.

It is stated that the men of the 57th regiment did not follow the example of those of the 45th, by indulging in acts of violence; but that, on the contrary, for some time after their disarmament, they performed their duties of guard-mounting, &c., with *lattees*, instead of muskets or other weapons.

The official report of the circumstances connected with this outbreak is contained in the subjoined communication of the 16th of May, from Brigadier James, the officer commanding at Ferozepore, to the adjutant-general of the army. The brigadier says—“I assumed command on the 11th. On the 12th I heard of the events at Meerut, and paraded the troops on the morning of the 13th, that I might judge for myself of the apparent disposition of the native soldiery. It appeared to me to be haughty. I addressed the 45th and 57th before dismissing them, and sent the native officers of each corps to the mess-houses. At this time, Lieutenants-colonel Liptrap and Darvall reported the state of their corps to be satisfactory, and I believed the 45th to be so.

“At noon (13th) I received information of the massacre at Delhi. I immediately determined on the occupation of the intrenchment by a detachment of her majesty's 61st and European artillery company, and to move the native troops out of cantonments. I made arrangements for their march accordingly, and moved the European artillery, with twelve guns, in progress to the intrenchment, so as to overawe or destroy the two native corps. A detach-

ment of the 61st, under Major Redmond, moved into the intrenchment, and the 61st, under Colonel Jones, was held in readiness to move on any point. The 10th cavalry, whom I believed loyal, and who have since proved so, I encamped in the neighbourhood of the new arsenal, and entrusted to them the magazine and its contents. All these arrangements were made to take place simultaneously by five o'clock, and the native troops were not aware of any of these arrangements, more than that they had to march. I proceeded to the parade-ground of the 45th, assembled them in quarter-distance column, addressed them, and was glad to see them move off without hesitation. The 57th followed their example, and I believed that everything was satisfactory.

“The 45th, on passing the Suddur Bazaar and neighbourhood of the intrenchment, broke into open mutiny, and made a rush at the intrenchment with scaling-ladders, which must have been previously prepared. They were gallantly beaten off by the detachment of her majesty's 61st, under Major Redmond, who was wounded, and, on making a second attempt, were beaten off by Captain Deacon. Colonel Liptrap and his officers used their utmost endeavours to control their men, and did succeed in leading a party of about 150 men to the place where I desired them to encamp; the remainder broke off through the bazaars and cantonments. As I had every reason to believe that the 57th would follow the example of the 45th, I, with Colonel Jones, determined to maintain the barrack and intrenchment, and called in the 10th light cavalry to our support. Colonel Rainey was entrusted with the command of the 61st. I am glad to be able to report that the 57th did move, and remained staunch with Colonel Darvall. The 45th, moving in bodies through the cantonments, burned the church, Roman Catholic chapel, 61st mess-house, and sixteen other houses. During the night they made several attempts on the intrenchment, and were beaten off, with the assistance of reinforcements from her majesty's 61st. When I found that we could maintain the barracks and intrenchment, I sent parties of cavalry to clear the cantonments. During this period I had several communications with Colonels Liptrap and Darvall regarding the state their men were in. On hearing from Colonel Liptrap that the 45th intended to seize their magazine on the morning of the 14th,

I determined to blow up the magazines both of the 45th and 57th. Moving, I found it impossible to procure carriage for the ammunition. This was done by a detachment of artillery and cavalry under Major Harvey and Lieutenant Franks. The blowing-up of the magazine so enraged the 45th that they immediately seized their colours and marched off towards Furreed Kote. On Colonel Liptrap reporting this, I desired him to march in with those that stood faithful, and lay down their arms to the 61st; 133 of all ranks did so. Three troops of the 10th light cavalry, under Majors Beatson and Harvey, and two guns, I sent in pursuit of the mutineers. Major Marsden, deputy-commissioner, having volunteered his services, and from his knowledge of the country, I intrusted to him the command of the whole. He followed them for about twelve miles. They dispersed in all directions, throwing away their arms and colours into wells and other places. A few were made prisoners, and the country-people have since brought in several. The above occurrences took place on the 14th. In the early part of the day, I acquainted Colonel Darvall that I would receive such men of his regiment as would come in and lay down their arms. The light company, under Captain Salmon, were the first to obey, and owing to his exertions, almost to a man did so. On laying down their arms, I permitted them to return to their lines. It was immediately reported that stragglers from the 45th had entered their lines and threatened them, on which a company of the 61st cleared their lines. Unfortunately, the 57th, seeing European troops in their lines, believed that their light company were being made prisoners, which caused a panic in the 57th, and prevented their coming in to lay down their arms, which Colonel Darvall reported they intended to have done. On regaining confidence, several parties came in under their officers, and in the evening Colonel Darvall brought in men of all ranks, with his colours, and I required them to lay down their arms, which they did without hesitation, but with a haughty air. I am unable to furnish present states, but I believe that of the 57th about 520 men are present, and about half that number of the 45th.

"It is gratifying to state, that the 10th light cavalry have remained stanch, and have done good service. The greatest credit is due to Major M'Donell and his officers

for keeping his regiment together, for this corps must have the same ideas as the other portions of the native army. On the 15th, I had great anxiety on account of the reported approach of the disarmed 8th light cavalry, 16th, 26th, and 49th native infantry from Lahore, who determined to move on this place and arm themselves. The civil authorities have aided me by breaking the bridge and seizing the ferries. If they do come in any numbers, the position is strong enough to hold our own, and should they make any attempt, I will use my utmost endeavours to destroy them. Every preparation has been made to do so. I cannot conclude this part of the report without stating the gallant and enduring conduct of the 61st, artillery, and 10th cavalry, who have been under arms day and night; and the excessive heat is very trying to the Europeans, who cheerfully stand sentry on the scorched walls of this intrenchment. The 10th cavalry are constantly in the saddle. * * * * In conclusion, I must state for his excellency's information, that the chief danger of the position is the enormous powder-magazine and the thatched barracks, which incendiaries might fire, although I have taken every precaution to prevent such a distressing event.

"P.S.—Had I not, on the 13th, required the families of officers and Europeans to leave the cantonment and take refuge in a portion of the barracks given up to them by Colonel Jones, they might have shared the fate of those at Meerut and Delhi. The only accidents that have taken place are Major Redmond, severely wounded in the leg, but doing well, and one private of the 61st, killed on picket."

A second report, of the same date, announced, that on the 13th the 61st regiment took charge of the magazine, and that a portion of the ammunition in the new arsenal, in front of the light cavalry lines, had been removed to the intrenched fort, where as much as possible of it was buried, in order to lessen the peril of the accumulation.

LAHORE.—By this time a suspicion existed among the Europeans at this station, that the fidelity of the troops in the cantonment at Mean-mere, consisting of the 16th, 26th, and 40th regiments of native infantry, and the 8th light cavalry, could no longer be relied on; and, as a matter of prudent caution, Brigadier Corbett, the officer in command, with the concurrence of Sir John

Lawrence, determined upon disarming them. It fortunately happened at the time that her majesty's 81st regiment, and two battalions of English artillery, were also in cantonment, and afforded the means for carrying such determination into effect without difficulty. These regiments, it was known, were merely awaiting a favourable opportunity to break out into open revolt; but they lost the chance by delay, and the cool but decisive arrangements of Sir John Lawrence. A ball had been announced at the station for some weeks, and the patrons of it were now desirous that the *élite* of the European residents should attend as if nothing had occurred at Delhi, or other places, to occasion alarm. This appearance of ignorance deceived the ringleaders of the intended revolt, and induced them to make their final arrangements with more leisure than was compatible with success. Dancing was kept up with great zest and spirit, until an early hour of Thursday, the 14th of May; but when the native regiments marched at daybreak to the parade-ground, intending to commence the insurrectionary movement, they were panic-stricken by the preparations made to receive them. The European artillery had taken a position immediately in front, and the 81st regiment was formed in line in rear of the guns; the latter were charged with grape before they were brought on the ground; and the 81st received the order to load. The order for disarming the native troops was then read by Brigadier Corbett; and, at its conclusion, he commanded the sepoys to pile their arms, and the cavalry to throw their swords on the ground, and retire to the rear of the infantry. To the great astonishment of the Europeans, the order was obeyed without hesitation or remonstrance; and the arms being collected were placed in waggons, and escorted by a detachment of the 81st regiment to the fort at Lahore. The men of the native corps were then dismissed from parade, and almost immediately left the station, without committing any outrage, but dispersing in various directions about the country.

The ancient importance of Lahore, as a favourite residence of the early Monghol princes, entitles it to more than a mere passing notice. Erected upon the foundations of a city whose name has been buried under the accumulated dust of centuries, it has always been esteemed the capital of the Punjab, and of the important province after which it is designated. The city is

situated in lat. 31° 36' N., long. 74° 18' E., on a branch of the Ravee, (*Hydraotes*, of the Greeks), which in this place is about 300 yards broad. The distance of Lahore from Calcutta is 1,356 miles, and from Delhi, 380. Its population is estimated at about 150,000 souls. The city is protected by a double wall; the exterior one embracing a circuit of about seven miles. Under its independent rulers Lahore formed the great intermediate station between Affghanistan and the interior states of Hindostan; but in 1520 the emperor Baber, in a successful effort to recover the dominions of his ancestors, from which he had been driven by Tartar invaders, obtained possession of Lahore, and reduced it to ashes. The city, however, gradually rose from its ruins; and, shortly after the accession of Akbar Khan, in 1556, to the throne of the Moguls, it became the seat of government, and a magnificent palace was erected, which was subsequently beautified by the emperors Jehangeer and Ferokshere. In the zenith of its prosperity, Lahore was deemed one of the most beautiful of the cities of Hindostan; and enough is still seen to entitle it to the admiration of European travellers. The modern city of Lahore occupies the western angle of the ancient capital, and is enclosed by a strong embattled wall, which is, however, useless for its protection. The houses are for the most part very lofty; and the streets being very narrow, are rendered offensively filthy by open gutters, that pass along the centre of each. The royal mosque, of which there are still extensive remains, was a fine building of red sandstone, brought from the neighbourhood of Delhi by the emperor Aurungzebe. There are also large portions of the ruined palace, founded by Akbar, and afterwards, in its decay, the abode of Runjeet Sing. The terraced roof of the inhabitable portion of the magnificent structure is covered with *parterres* of rich and variegated flowers, whose fragrance perfumes the air, while they suggest to the charmed beholder an idea of the hanging gardens of Babylon.

The noblest monument of Lahore's ancient greatness is the *Shah Dura*, or tomb of the emperor Jehangeer, on the north side of the Ravee. This is a quadrangular building, with a minaret at each corner, rising to the height of seventy feet. It is composed principally of a red stone and marble, which is laid on in alternate courses throughout the structure. The sepulchre of the em-

peror is of most beautiful and chaste workmanship, covered with inscriptions and ornaments in mosaic, in the execution of which the natural tints of roses and other flowers are exquisitely imitated by the arrangement of different-coloured stones. Two lines of black letters, on a band of white marble, announce the name and title of Jehangeer, "The Conqueror of the World;" and more than a hundred different epithets, in the Arabic and Persian character, signifying the names of God, are scattered over all parts of the sepulchre. The floor of this portion of the edifice is of Mosaic workmanship; and the tomb itself was originally surmounted by a dome, which was thrown down by Bahadur Shah, that the dew and rain of heaven might fall on the tomb of his grandfather. Another object of great interest at Lahore, is the garden of Shah Jehan, called the "Shalima," or "house of joy:" this magnificent relic of Monghol grandeur extends for about half a mile in length, having three terraces ascending from each other: a canal, brought from a great distance, intersects the garden, and supplies water for 450 fountains, that cool and refresh the atmosphere.

Lieutenant Burnes, in a volume of *Travels through India*, has described a private audience with which he was honoured by the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, in the ancient palace of the Monghol emperors. He says—"On our arrival at the palace, we found the maharajah seated on a chair, with a party of from thirty to forty dancing girls, attired uniformly in boys' clothing. They were principally from the valleys of Cashmere, or the adjacent districts, and grace and beauty had been lavishly bestowed on all. Their figures were of the most perfect symmetry, and their features exquisitely lovely; while the Don Giovanni style of costume in which they were attired, and the jewelled bow and quiver in the hands of each, rendered the *tout ensemble* of the old chieftain's body-guard perfectly enchanting."

Resuming the thread of a narrative de-

* This fortress, in the vicinity of Amritsir, is of great strength, and was the stronghold of Runjeet Sing, in which, for many years, he kept his arsenal and treasure.

† The city was built by the emperor Akbar, who called it "Peshawur, or Peshawer" (the advanced post), in consequence of its being a frontier town of Hindoostan, towards Afghanistan. It is situated in a fertile plain, about eighteen miles east of the Khyber Pass, and forty-four miles west from Attock.

voted to far less agreeable recollections, it may be stated, that the telegraph from Lahore to Peshawur, acquainted General Reid, in command there, of the disarming of the troops at Lahore on the day of its occurrence; and that the ferry at Attock by which the communication with Lahore is effected, was placed under a guard of natives on whom it was believed dependence could be placed. The event also speedily became known at Amritsir, a station about forty-six miles from Lahore, and measures were immediately taken to put the fortress of Govind Garrah* in a state of security, as it was thought probable the disarmed men from the cantonment at Mean-meré would endeavour to gain possession of it. The 59th native regiment, then in cantonment, was called out, and divided into pickets, with European officers in charge, for the prevention of any disturbances on the part of the fugitives, if they came in that direction: and, for the satisfaction of the native troops, a commission of native officers and sepoys was appointed, which met on the 15th of May, when the cartridge question was fully discussed; and no effort was spared to allay the disquietude of the sepoys, who appeared wavering in their fidelity, and were becoming a source of great anxiety to their officers. The alarm was, however, put an end to for a time, by the arrival of her majesty's 81st regiment, with a company of artillery *en route* for Jullundur, where the 61st native infantry had exhibited symptoms of a mutinous spirit, and it had been considered prudent to deprive them of their arms—a step that, fortunately, was accomplished without difficulty.

It was at length felt to be necessary that some plan should be adopted to check the spirit of insubordination that had become apparent in many districts of the Punjab; and for this purpose a council of war, composed of Major-general Reid, Brigadiers Chamberlayne and Cotton, and Colonels Edwards and Nicholson, was held at Peshawur† on the 13th of May. After due cou-

In the early part of the present century it was a flourishing town, about five miles in circuit, and was said to contain a population of 100,000 individuals. In 1818, the place was devastated by Runjeet Sing, the "Lion of Lahore," who demolished the Bala Hissar (the state residence), and laid waste the surrounding country. The fortress, erected by the Sikhs on the ruins of the Bala Hissar, is a square of about 220 yards, with a round tower at each angle, surrounded by a mud wall sixty feet high, and a wide moat.

sideration of the state of the country, it was arranged, that the troops scattered about the hills should be concentrated in Jhelum, the central point of the Punjab. In accordance with this resolution, her majesty's 27th foot from the hills at Nowshera, her majesty's 24th foot from Rawul Pindie, one European troop of horse artillery from Peshawur, the guide corps from Murdan, 16th irregular cavalry from Rawul Pindie, the native Kumaon battalion from the same place, the 1st Punjab infantry from Bunnoo, a wing of the 2nd Punjab cavalry from Kohat, and half a company of sappers from Attock, were ordered to concentrate at Jhelum, from whence the Punjab could be

secured. These measures were taken just in time; for the 24th, 27th, and 51st native infantry, and 5th light cavalry, were all disaffected, and gradually showed a spirit so dangerous, that on the 29th of May the four regiments were disarmed without offering resistance. A party was at the same time sent, under Lieutenant-colonel Nicholson, to disarm the 55th native infantry, in garrison at Murdan, a fort in the centre of the Peshawur valley. The corps resisted; a fight ensued; and the sepoys lost about 200 men, killed and prisoners, the remnant making good a retreat to the hills, where they were pursued and scattered by Major Vaughan with his mountain train.

CHAPTER VII.

DISURBANCES IN BOMBAY; THE PARSEES, OR FIRE-WORSHIPPERS, AT BAROACH AND SURAT; THE RAJAS OF GWALIOR, PUTTEALA, JHIND, AND BHURTPORE; THE CITY OF AGRA; PROCLAMATION AND ENERGETIC CONDUCT OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES; MEERUT DESERTERS AT ETAWAH; EXECUTION AND MUTINY AT ALLYGURH; OUTRAGES AT MYNPOORIE; HEROISM OF LIEUTENANT DE KANTZOW.

WHILE the fires of rebellion were thus spreading over the presidency of Bengal, that of Bombay was not at this period entirely free from disquietude, although the cause of it did not appear to be connected with any of the grievances that convulsed the sister presidency. In Bombay and several of the principal towns bordering upon the Gulf of Cambay, large numbers of a singular people, called Parsees (descended from the Guebres, or Fire-worshippers of Persia), had located themselves after their expulsion from that country by the Mohammedians. They are described, at the present time, as an active, intelligent, and loyal body of men, contributing greatly to the commercial prosperity of the settlement in which they are resident. The mercantile property and wealth of Bombay are principally in their hands, as it is usual for every European house to have one or more Parsee partners, who supply a large portion of the capital. In personal appearance they are taller, better formed, more athletic, and, as a race, have handsomer features than the Hindoos generally. In early youth their females are delicate and handsome; but with the advance of age, which is apparent in them sooner than in Indian women in general, they

grow coarse in their persons. The higher classes wear an upper garment of white cambric muslin fitted tight to the waist, where it is bound round with a sash or cummerbund of white muslin; it then descends in an exceedingly full skirt to the feet, covering a pair of handsome silk trowsers. A Parsee group, thus attired, in despite of their mean and unbecoming head-dress (a peculiarly ugly turban), make a good appearance. Nearly all of them speak English; their children are invariably taught that language, and many converse in it fluently: they, however, adhere scrupulously to their ancient religious customs and observances. Morning and evening they crowd together to the esplanade or the seashore; to prostrate themselves in adoration before the sun. It is observable that, although the men are found in service in every European family, they do not allow their wives and daughters to become domestics to foreigners; they are permitted only to become servants to their own people.

The funerals of the Parsees are of a remarkable character. The repository for the dead is a large cylindrical structure, twenty-five feet in height, fifty-five feet in diameter, and open at the top. It is built up with

solid masonry to within five feet of the summit, with the exception of a sort of well, fifteen feet in diameter, in the centre. Two circular grooves, three inches deep, are formed around the well; the first at the distance of four, and the second at the distance of ten, feet from the well. Similar grooves, four feet distant from each other at the outer part of the outer circle, are carried straight from the wall to the well, communicating with the circular grooves to take off the water. Thus the sepulchre, or tomb, has three circles of partitions; the outer for men, the middle for women, and the inner for children. Agreeable to this arrangement, the bodies of the deceased are deposited between the well and the wall, each being wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, and left to be devoured by vultures, numbers of which are always to be seen hovering over these spots. The work of destruction having been speedily performed, the bones are from time to time cast into the well in the centre, from the bottom of which, as they accumulate, they are removed through subterraneous passages. Thus the well never becomes full. There are five or six of these public receptacles—expressively called “Towers of Silence”—in the island of Bombay, all of which are from two to three miles distant north-westwardly from the fort. Some of the more wealthy Parsees have similar depositories for their dead constructed in their own grounds.—The outbreak we are about to describe occurred at Vaejulpore, the Parsee suburb of Baroach,* on the morning of the 12th of May, when,

* This place was formerly considered of some importance as a commercial depôt. The town is situated on the north bank of the Nerbudda river, about 177 miles from Bombay, and 86 miles north of Surat. Bishop Heber describes it, at the time of his visit, as poor and dilapidated, though placed in the midst of a delightful country, and still carrying on some trade in cotton manufactures. Previously to the famine that ravaged India in 1791, by which the town and immediate neighbourhood were nearly depopulated, the number of inhabitants was estimated at 81,000; from that period, they have decreased, and do not now probably exceed 23,000. In 1772, Baroach was besieged by an army from Bombay, commanded by General Wedderburne, who was killed under the walls. A few days after his death the town was carried by storm, though at that period a place of considerable strength. By the treaty concluded with the Peishwa and the combined Mahratta powers in June, 1782, the city and pergunnah of Baroach were ceded to the East India Company; but, in the month following, they were privately made over to Madhjee Scindia; ostensibly as a recompense for his humane treatment of the English prisoners and hostages taken at Nargaum,

without any previous indication of bad feeling, about half the Mussulman population of the place, and as many more of the same faith as could be gathered from the neighbouring villages, assembled with arms at a shrine called Bawa Rahan, about a mile from the city; and, after a brief consultation, marched into the Parsee quarters, and immediately commenced a ferocious and indiscriminate attack upon the defenceless inhabitants. They struck down and mutilated every Parsee that came in their way, pulled down and plundered the dwellings and warehouses belonging to them, and perpetrated the most outrageously indecent attacks upon women. During the tumult, one unfortunate individual in particular became an object of their vengeance; they chased him from house to house as he sought refuge, and at length dragged him from his last place of shelter, strangled, and then inflicted innumerable wounds on him with all sorts of weapons, even after he had expired. They also murdered the high-priest of the Parsees in the fire-temple, which, together with the Tower of Silence (adjacent), the fanatical Mohammedans desecrated in a manner most offensive to the feelings of the Parsees. The deputy-magistrate being one of that people, very narrowly escaped being stoned and stabbed. As soon as the chief magistrate and superintendent were informed of the tumult at Vaejulpore, they repaired to the scene of disturbance, but were insulted, and even roughly handled. At length it was found necessary to send for a detachment of sepoy, for the purpose of re-

but, in reality, for his assistance in bringing about the pacification, which, at that crisis, was urgently required, on account of Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic. However, from Madhjee Scindia's successor, Dowlat Rao, it was captured by the army under Colonel Woodington in August, 1803, and it has ever since remained in our possession. There is, or was recently, at Baroach, a *pinjrapole*, or hospital for brute animals, supported by taxes and donations from the Hindoo inhabitants. A similar establishment at Surat we have seen thus described:—“A large space enclosed by high walls, and divided into numerous courts or wards for the reception of sick and lame animals of all kinds, which are tended with the greatest care by persons appointed for that purpose. A peaceful asylum is also afforded to such as are old. When an animal breaks a limb, or meets with any other accident, the owner brings it to this hospital, and it is received without any regard to the *caste* or country of its owner. Not only quadrupeds, but birds, insects, and even various reptiles, are admitted, and carefully fed during the remainder of their existence; and in 1772 an aged tortoise was known to have been there seventy-five years.” The hospital nurses form a peculiar class of society.

storing order; but these also were rudely assailed, on their arrival, by the infuriated populace; and as they were not allowed to fire in their own defence, the ravages of the mob continued until a large amount of property had been destroyed, and several valuable lives were sacrificed. An eye-witness of the occurrence says in his narrative—"What a contrast do the native states present to the British government in the way of quelling such disturbances! The former, instead of showing the leniency which the British government invariably evince to the rioters, would have ordered the troops to fire upon them without feeling the slightest compunction. But for the stringent and peremptory injunctions of the government against such proceedings on the part of the ruling authorities, they argue, the magistrate and the commanding officer would have dispersed the crowd in an instant. The Parsees all agree in the belief, that none of the influential Mussulmans (among whom they number three government servants, the Foujdar, the Cazeer, and the Moulvee) could possibly have been uncognisant of such a deep-laid and deliberate scheme, the eventuation of which must have and did actually last several days. The only respectable Mohammedan gentleman whom they honourably acquit of any participation in the plot, and whom they believe to have actually expressed his abhorrence of the same, is the old Hukinjji, the joint moonsiff of Baroach, who, indignant at the nefarious scheme, and yet incapable of preventing or counteracting the machinations of his brethren, had left the town in disgust some days before the catastrophe occurred. Some of their own relations are reported to have given warning to their Parsee friends, several days before the storm burst upon their heads, to keep aloof. This shows that these officers had some knowledge of the preconceived plan, and could have averted the catastrophe if they would." The narrator then proceeds to say, that "the exertions made by the magistrate, in concert with Lieutenant Bell and Captain Bates, to preserve order, and to prevent a recurrence of a similar attack threatened to take place in the Parsee quarters in the town, and not the suburbs, were above all praise. These offi-

cers guarded the different avenues and gates all night, with the aid of a detachment of foot and the irregular horse. None of these officials have known rest since this unhappy occurrence. There are several rumours still afloat, that the gaol, where the prisoners apprehended in the act of making assaults were incarcerated, will be stormed; that a renewal of the onslaught will take place on the 'Ead,' and that loot will be in future the real object, and the rescue of the assailants the ostensible one. Several delinquents remain still unapprehended, and judicial investigation is still in abeyance."

At Surat,* also, about the same time, there were indications of a gathering storm. In a letter from that city, dated May 20th, 1857, the writer says—"I regret to inform you that affairs here are by no means settled; apprehensions are entertained that the Mussulmans of this city are intending to follow the example of their brethren at Baroach. From two to three thousand men assemble every morning in the 'Andrew' Musjeed, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means to be adopted for rendering a revolt successful. Great numbers of Mussulmans are coming in daily from the surrounding villages; and it is openly talked of, that an attack upon the Parsees is meditated. The kotwal of Surat has ordered the doors of the fire-temple to be closed, with the exception of one small side, by which ingress and egress can be obtained for the purposes of prayer. The consequence is, that much consternation prevails amongst the Parsee community generally. The civil authorities do not permit the military officers and soldiers to move about anywhere. The judge of Surat has gone to Baroach with 200 sepoy, to bring the rioters at that place to Surat for trial. As, however, it seems that so many men cannot be spared from Surat, an order has been sent for their recall. The military force at Surat is not sufficient to preserve order in the event of anything serious occurring. Orders have, in consequence, been sent to Bombay for more European troops. There is a place called Ranee Tullao, where both Mohammedans and Parsees are located; but as the latter are the fewest in number, they are obliged to keep their doors closely bar-

* This city, in which the first mercantile establishment of the East India Company was formed in 1615, is situated on the south bank of the Taptee, twenty miles from its mouth in the Gulf of Cambay. The place is still of great importance, possessing a

strong fort garrisoned by European troops, and is the seat of a high court for the presidency of Bombay. Here, as at Bombay, a great number of wealthy Parsees are found among the native inhabitants.

ricaded—a fact which is anything but creditable to the English government. I have also to inform you, that a dispute has occurred between the kotwal and the buxshie, which has ended in the transfer of the first officer from Surat to Baroach.”

When these serious causes for apprehension arose so near the capital of the presidency, there was not, it is stated, a single field-piece of artillery in Bombay available in case of disturbance; and it was further affirmed, that “with the exception of the park guns of the mountain train just returned into arsenal upon their arrival from Bushire, there is not a gun fit for service in the place.” The writer then very reasonably asks—“Where is the commander-in-chief? Is it the business of the governor, or of his excellency Sir Henry Somerset, to see after such matters? Where is the adjutant-general, at the moment when troops are being ordered hither and thither at an hour’s notice? At Mahableschwur!* Where is Willoughby, the inspector-general of ordnance and magazines? At Mahableschwur! The quartermaster-general? At Mahableschwur! The matter is really unpardonable, and is a scandal to the head-quarters of the army.”

Returning to the progress of the sepoy mutiny, we may observe, that the recently-annexed kingdom of Oude (which, under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, had been reduced to a political grade subordinate to the presidency of Bengal) was at this time considered perfectly safe under the vigorous supervision of Sir Henry Lawrence, notwithstanding an abortive mutinous attempt of the 7th Oude irregular infantry on the 3rd of May,† which had been promptly met and effectually crushed. The principal native chiefs were yet faithful; and no occasion had been given to doubt the sincerity of their allegiance. Scindia, the rajah of Gwalior, was the first to tender assistance to the government after the affair at Meerut, by offering to the lieutenant-governor at Agra, through the political agent, the services of the whole or any part of his troops. This offer was partly accepted; and the maharajah’s body-guard, composed of horse artillery and cavalry, together with a detail of picked infantry, was immediately detached

to await the disposal of the lieutenant-governor; and but for a serious indisposition at the time, the rajah would himself have headed his troops on the service. The rajahs of Bhurtpore, Jhind, and Putteeala, also promptly dispatched their contingents to the aid of the English authorities: and of the devotion of the last-mentioned chief to the obligations imposed upon him by his allegiance, the following honourable testimony is furnished by a letter from Mr. Douglas Forsyth, deputy-commissioner of the Umballah and adjacent districts. This gentleman says—“The rajah has shown himself such a staunch and valuable ally, that I am only doing him justice in endeavouring to bring him before the British public. It is a well-acknowledged fact, that if it had not been for the rajah of Putteeala, none of us in these Cis-Sutlej states would now be alive. On the first news of the Delhi and Meerut massacres, I sent for him, and called for his aid, which he furnished in the most prompt manner. The presence of 1,000 or 1,800 men was essential to our safety here, and he gave the men at once. Since then he has been foremost in taking all the onerous duty of guarding the out-stations, furnishing escorts for convoys of stores, protecting the country, cutting off stragglers, and even in recovering districts which had fallen into the hands of the rebels. Moreover, he has lent us £40,000; and will give more as we require it. His princely generosity to the survivors of the Hansi and Hissar massacres deserves to be publicly known. He not only sent out men to hunt for fugitives, and cover their retreat, but on their arrival in his territory he furnished them with everything—money, food, clothing, &c.; and gave a general order, that whatever they should call for, was to be at once supplied gratis. Common gratitude would make us anxious to do everything to serve our ally, and I very willingly now take up his cause. He has no grievance to be redressed; but as in these days people are too apt to suspect every native of hostility to us, it is not surprising that disparaging remarks should now and then be made; and one or two, suspicious of his fidelity, have found their way into print, and greatly disquieted the rajah. He is most anxious

* This is a convalescent station in the Ghauts of the Concan, about eighty miles south-east of Bombay, having an elevation of 4,500 feet above the sea. The place was founded by Sir J. Malcolm in 1828:

it is accessible by good roads; and from the number of Europeans who avail themselves of its sanitary influence, it has quite a European aspect.

† See *ante*, p. 52

to show his friendliness, and to have it believed. He has been conferring with me, and expressed great fear lest, through the representations of his enemies, he should suffer. * * * I have done my utmost to reassure him, and have promised to do my utmost to place before the British public a statement of his services. He has proved himself a warm and steady friend, when our empire around him seemed to be crumbling into dust; and we ought, by every means in our power, to show that we are not unmindful of his services. This will not only reassure him, but encourage others."—The same authority mentions also, in terms of high praise, the conduct of the rajah of Jhind, a relative and neighbour of the rajah of Putteeala; of whom he says—"This chief, though of lesser note, has done his duty well and nobly, and held the country to the rear of our camp from the commencement of our attack on Delhi. He, like the Putteeala rajah, is a Sikh; but their territories are at the eastern extremity of the Cis-Sutlej states, and therefore they are peculiarly accessible to the influences at work in the North-West Provinces, from which, indeed, the Putteeala rajah is divided by a merely imaginary line."—Of the rajah of Jhind, also, we have the following characteristic anecdote, in a letter from Meerut, of the 18th of May:—"It is said that the king of Delhi sent some of the insurgents (native cavalry) to the rajah of Jhind, asking his assistance in coming against the English; the rajah of Jhind happened to be out shooting, or parading his regiment; and immediately he found out on what errand the cavalry had come, he turned round to his soldiers, and ordered them to cut down every man of them."

Such instances of fidelity present honourable exceptions to the general conduct of the native princes at the commencement of disturbances that have since involved many of them in ruin.

Our attention must now be directed to events connected with the city of Agra—capital of the Anglo-Indian province of the same name, and seat of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces. This important station is situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, in lat. 27° 12' N., and long. 78° 6' E. Its distance from Delhi is 130 miles; and from Calcutta, about 839 miles. Up to the close of the 15th century, Agra was but an inconsiderable village; but, early in the 16th cen-

tury, it was enlarged by the emperor Sekunder Lodi, who conferred upon it the rank of an imperial city, and made it the capital of his dominions, under the name of Bhadulgue. Fifty years subsequent the city was further enlarged by the emperor Akbar, who erected a magnificent palace, and again changed its name to Akbarabad. The city continued to be the seat of the Monghol government until 1647, when it was removed to Delhi by the emperor Shah Jehan; from which period the progressive decline of Agra may be traced. Shah Jehan, who resided at Akbarabad in the early part of his reign, among other adornments to the place, built a superb mausoleum over the remains of his favourite wife, the begum Noor Jehan, or "Light of the World." This structure, which is called Taj Mahal, or "Crown of Edifices," is built of white marble, on a terrace of white and yellow marble. It contains a central hall, within which are the tombs of the begum and of Shah Jehan; and around the hall are several smaller apartments and corridors. The mausoleum, which has been considered the finest specimen of Indian architecture extant, is reported to have cost £750,000; and with its clusters of light mirrors, its great gateway, mosque, and Jumaul Khana, form the most exquisite group of Oriental architecture in existence; and although the more costly mosaics of twelve different sorts of stones within the mausoleum have been partially despoiled of their riches, the general beauty of the structure remains to this day nearly unimpaired. The height of the Taj Mahal, from the lower terrace to the golden crescent which surmounts the principal dome, is upwards of 250 feet, and the erection of the building occupied twenty years. A monthly sum continues to be allowed by the British government to keep it in repair; and although now 200 years old, it is described as having the fresh appearance of a building of recent date.

Respecting this tomb, the late Bishop Heber says—"After hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations. The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and having at its angles four tall minarets of the same material. In the central hall, inclosed within a carved screer of elaborate tracery, are the tombs of the begum and, slightly raised above her, of the emperor himself. Round this hall are a number of

smaller apartments, corridors, &c.; and the windows are carved in lattices of the same white marble with the rest of the building and the screen. The pavement is in alternate squares of white and Sienna marble; the walls, screens, and tombs are covered with flowers and inscriptions, executed in beautiful mosaic of cornelians, lapis-lazuli, and jasper; and yet, though everything is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room chimney-piece, the general effect produced is rather solemn and impressive than gaudy."

Agra possesses a college, supported by the government; at which, in 1843, there were 251 pupils, four-fifths of whom are Hindoos. The houses in Agra are chiefly built of stone, and are very lofty, while the streets are so narrow as scarcely to allow a carriage to pass through them. The city contains many public baths, caravansaries, and mosques; but most of the principal buildings, especially the splendid palace of Akbar, are in a very dilapidated state. In 1784 Agra was taken by the Mahratta chief, Madhaje Scindia, and was retained by him until 1803, when it was captured, after a siege, by the forces under Lord Lake. It is now the seat of British government for the province; and it has been suggested as the most convenient place for the seat of government for the whole of India. During the last few years a very large expenditure has been applied on public works, including court-houses, record-rooms, revenue offices, a new burial-ground, bridges, roads, &c. Up to November, 1847, upwards of thirteen lacs (£130,000) had been expended on the road from Agra to Bombay alone. The Hindoo inhabitants hold the city in great veneration, as the place of the *avatāra*, or incarnation of *Vishnu*, under the name of *Parasu Rama*.

On the 13th of May a general parade was held of the troops in cantonment at Agra, when the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces (Mr. Colvin) addressed them, assuring them, if they had any cause of dissatisfaction, and wished to leave the Company's service, they might say so, and they should be allowed to depart peacefully. The men replied, in a body, that they were satisfied and happy, and had no wish to leave so good a service. The lieutenant-governor then addressed the European troops, telling them to consider the native soldiers as brothers, and to be as kind to them as possible. These harangues were favourably listened to by

the whole of the force present, and both natives and Europeans cheered the lieutenant-governor as he left the ground under the usual salute.

The local authorities appear to have acted with judgment and firmness at the crisis presented to them; and the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces proved equal to the emergency by at once proclaiming martial law in the districts of Meerut, Moozuffernuggur, Boolundshuhur, and the Delhi territory east of the river Jumna, in the following terms:—

"PROCLAMATION.—The lieutenant-governor announces, for the information of the faithful subjects of the British government in all towns, stations, and districts of the North-Western Provinces, that active measures have been commenced, and will be promptly and vigorously prosecuted, for the signal punishment of the band of mutineers and murderers who have, in the cities and cantonments of Meerut and Delhi, disgraced the honourable names of soldiers, and have committed a series of treacherous and coldblooded barbarity even upon helpless women, which will draw down upon them the exemplary vengeance of the European and other regiments. The forces from Meerut, Umballah, and the hills, are being fast concentrated, and will co-operate with the contingents of the Rajpootana states in surrounding the insurgents, and preventing their escape from their richly-merited retribution. The lieutenant-governor calls on all the allies of the British power, and on the loyal people of the British districts, to watch vigilantly against the possibility of successful attempts at flight on the part of the insurgents after they have been attacked and dispersed by the British troops. European and native portions of the military forces now rapidly assembling will honourably and eagerly vie with each other in the extirpation of the traitorous criminals who have endeavoured to sow utterly groundless distrust between the powerful and munificent British government and its attached native soldiery, whom it has protected and distinguished with favour from the formation of its empire, and who have made themselves famous in history by the devoted bravery and zeal which they have displayed in its service. The British government will always highly value and reward the services of its good soldiers. It will ever strictly respect their rights, usages, and religious feelings, and consider them as its children, entitled to its protection in the vigour and in old age. It will punish the acts of faithless traitors with swift justice. Evil-minded men have tried to deceive the minds of the native soldiery by gross and unfounded misrepresentations of the intentions of the British government. Those intentions are what they have always been—of scrupulous regard for the faith and customs of every class and sect of its subjects and servants. The population of the country generally will pursue their accustomed occupations in tranquillity and security. Whenever it may be necessary, additional police or other forces will be raised for their protection. But the chief care of all must be, to render impossible the escape of the fugitive criminals, who will now be attacked in whatever part of the country they may be found.

"The lieutenant-governor North-Western Provinces, is hereby pleased, in virtue of authority

delegated to him by the right honourable the governor-general in council, to order the suspension as regards the offences against the state, specified in Section 1, Regulation X. of 1804, of the functions of the ordinary criminal courts of judicature within the districts of Meerut, Moozuffurnuggur, Boolundshuhur, and the Delhi territory east of the river Jumna, in which the inhabitants have lately been guilty of acts of violence and plunder, and to establish martial law in those districts until further orders. Immediate trials will be held by courts-martial of all persons of the class specified in Section 2, Regulation X. of 1804, taken in arms in open hostility against the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state, or in the act of openly aiding and assisting traitors and enemies of the British government within any part of the districts before mentioned; and such persons, on conviction by the sentence of a court-martial of any of the offences above enumerated, will be liable to the punishment of death and to the forfeiture of their property and effects real and personal, as declared in Section 3 of the foregoing regulations.

“By order of the Lieut.-governor N.W. Provinces.
“May 18, 1857.”

It might have been expected that the effect of the above proclamation would have been seen in the improved condition of the district; but such was not the case; and after a very short period of comparative quiet, abundant demonstration was afforded of the fact, that the snake of revolt in that portion of British India had been merely scotched—not killed.

Up to the middle of May, however, affairs had continued tolerably satisfactory at Agra; and the state of the surrounding districts was such as afforded no extraordinary cause for apprehension. An official report from the civil superintendent of Etawah—a town on the Jumna, in the upper province of Bengal, and about sixty-three miles south-east of Agra—is expressive of the good feeling that prevailed among the troops at that place in the early part of May. The document was officially addressed to the commissioner, Sir Henry Lawrence; and ran as follows:—

“Sir,—I had the honour yesterday to report demi-officially the precautions that I had quietly adopted at this station, with a view to preventing any depredations that it was possible might be attempted here by any of the straggling mutineers from Meerut or Delhi. These precautions have proved not altogether useless. Last night, about midnight, I received an express from Agra, acquainting me with the entire success of the measures hitherto adopted for the repression of this sudden, and even to

the parties actually concerned in it, unexpected outbreak, and assuring me of the government's perfect confidence in the fidelity of the 9th native infantry—fidelity of which we were soon to have practical demonstration.

“About one hour later, my new kotwal, Mohammed Alee Jan, received information, whilst patrolling the Agra road with three sowars of the 8th irregular cavalry, of the approach of men armed with pistols and swords. On coming up with and challenging them, their replies were unsatisfactory, and he told them that they must be brought before the magistrate; on this, they cocked their pistols and threatened to shoot him if he came near them. He, however, talked quietly to them, and induced them to come to me; and I, as their story seemed improbable, sent them away to Captain Corfield, the officer commanding the station, directing the kotwal to strengthen his patrol *en route*, in order to guard against any attempt to escape.

“Scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed before I was roused by a smart firing as I thought at the treasury: all arrangements for a surprise had been made beforehand, and within three minutes I was at the treasury, armed and dressed. There I found the soldiers all on the *qui vive*, muskets loaded, cheery, and manifestly ready to fight any one or every one: they thought the firing was at the lines. I ran home and drove my wife in my carriage, already harnessed, over to Captain Ross's, which is *en route* to the lines, and where there is a guard of regular troops; took up Captain Ross, and dashed off to the lines. On our way we were joined by Messrs. Volk and Daniel on horseback, armed; and I suppose ten minutes from the firing of the first shot had not elapsed before we were all at the quarter-guard, where the medical officer almost immediately joined us.

“There I learned that, as directed, the kotwal had gone from my house to Captain Ross, when he was joined by three other sowars. Captain Ross questioned the men. They repeated, as before, that they belonged to the 2nd cavalry; had gone with remounts from Cawnpore, and were then returning from Agra. They had, however, no uniform; were armed to the teeth; had no single paper of any kind with them, and no money. Captain Corfield then came up, and, on questioning them, considered their story so very suspicious, that he directed

them to accompany him to the lines; this they did, though somewhat unwillingly. When near to the quarter-guard, he, Lieutenant Allen, the kotwal, and Meer Hossein Ali, the duffadar of the irregulars, dismounted, and ordered them to give up their arms: one did this; but on Captain Corfield's handing the weapons to the duffadar, their owner snatched them away violently: one man then shot Captain Corfield, who fell instantly (pistol-wound in the right shoulder—believed not severe—ball not extracted); another man dashed at Lieutenant Allen, who had a double-barrelled gun in his hand, the lock of which arrested the pistol-bullet of a third (fired point-blank at that officer's chest); knocked him down, and, kneeling on his chest, would have murdered him in a minute, when the kotwal, at whom three of the others fired simultaneously, killed him, dividing his backbone with a home tulwar blow; by this time, the sepoys in the lines (only fourteen or fifteen) rushed up (they had not before been able to fire, as the parties were all mixed up together), and poured in a volley; two were shot; one killed, as above, by the kotwal, and two more cut down by the sowars, and two escaped at the time; but of these, one was subsequently captured by the police.

"Of the men cut down by the sowars, one man is still alive and has confessed. He states that his name is Sher Andaz Khan; that he is a Patan of Garra Kote, of Zillah Futtehpore; that he is a lance naik of the 1st troop of 3rd cavalry, and was engaged in the late disturbance at Meerut; that his six companions are also all Patans of the same place, and fellow-mutineers. At first he stated that his party came here hoping to induce the 9th to mutiny; but he afterwards declared that, in reality, they were only trying to get home unobserved; and this I believe to be the true state of affairs.

"It is not for me to praise the coolness and gallantry displayed on this trying occasion by Lieutenants Corfield and Allen; but it is absolutely necessary that I should bring to the notice of government the excellent behaviour of the troops under their command, reduced by escort duties, sickness, and leave, to about twenty-six men, divided over four or five guards; as well as of the small detachment of the 8th irregular cavalry attached to the Thuggee department here, and placed at my disposal by Captain Ross. I solicit permission to ex-

press to them all publicly, on the parade, the approbation of the government of their steadiness in this particular instance, and of the great readiness evinced by each separate detached guard, to stick to its post, and do its duty come what might."

The excellent conduct of the men of the 9th native infantry, was noticed in commensurate terms of approval by the general commanding the district, and by his excellency the chief commissioner; and it was hoped the example of fidelity and soldier-like obedience to orders, afforded by these men, would have had a beneficial influence over their less principled and vacillating comrades in the surrounding districts. Of the determination of Sir Henry Lawrence to enforce subordination throughout the province under his charge, by a stern and rigid exaction of unhesitating obedience, there could be no question; and had his efforts been seconded by equally decisive conduct on the part of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, it is possible that much of the evil which subsequently arose in that part of Bengal might have been avoided.

The 9th regiment of native infantry, whose good conduct had been thus favourably noticed at Etawah, had its headquarters at Allygurh, with detachments at Mynpoorie, Etawah, and Boolundshuhur. At the last-named place, an emissary of the mutineers from Delhi had been detected while endeavouring to tamper with the loyalty of the men; some of whom, who were yet untainted by a mutinous spirit, became indignant at his intrusion, and repudiated the doctrine he was disseminating among their comrades. Finding their remonstrances of no avail, they at length seized the traitor, and conveyed him a prisoner to the officer in charge of the detachment, who forwarded him to Allygurh, where he was tried by court-martial, and, upon the evidence of the soldiers from Boolundshuhur, was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. The three men who, in the execution of their duty, had been thus instrumental in arresting the career of a traitor, stood alone in their loyalty, the remainder of the detachment having taken an opposite view of their duty as soldiers; and upon hearing the result of the proceedings at Allygurh, the whole of them deserted their post, and joined the headquarters of the regiment, bitterly upbraiding their comrades for the part they had taken

against a Brahmin sepoy. The morning of Thursday, the 21st of May, was appointed for the execution of the rebel from Delhi, and the regiment paraded in the usual manner for carrying the sentence into effect in the presence of the whole corps. The proceedings had gone on without any appearance of disorder on the part of the men, until the hangman had performed his duty, and the body of the traitor hung suspended from the gallows, when one of the Boolundshuhur sepoys rushed forward, and declared aloud to his comrades, "that they had destroyed a martyr to the cause of their religion, since the Company's government had determined on sacrificing *caste* throughout India!" The men listened, awed into silence by the frightful denunciations of the sepoy; they then conversed together—wavered, and finally broke from their ranks with frantic and threatening shouts, declaring their intention to march at once for Delhi, in the name of "Deen and the King." Some of the better disposed men gathered round the European officers, and assured them, that although they could not prevent the dispersion of the regiment, they would protect them, and take care no harm should befall them; and they kept their promise; but the remainder of the regiment, after plundering and partly burning the station, marched off for Delhi, taking with them their comrades from Boolundshuhur and Etawah, which latter place they also plundered.

During the tumult occasioned by these proceedings, the European inhabitants of the town sought safety in flight, and, with the civil authorities, formed a station at Hattrass until assistance and instructions could be received from Agra, from whence a party of troops belonging to the Gwalior contingent, and about fifty volunteers, were promptly dispatched. Upon their arrival at Allygurh, such of the mutineers as had lingered behind the main body for the sake of plunder, were compelled to leave the town. The rescuing party were also in time to release six Europeans, whom the mutinous soldiers had shut up in a factory at Malose, one of the suburbs; and then proceeded to make a successful attack upon the Brahmin, Rao Bhopal Sing, of Burtowlee, a small village close to Allygurh. This man had plundered and burnt several neighbouring villages, "had seized on the tahseelee at Khyr," another adjacent village, "ejected the government officers, and proclaimed his

independence by beat of drum." This gentleman was captured by the volunteers, assisted by a few sowars, and was hung on the spot. A large amount of treasure was recovered on this fortunate expedition.

On the evening of the 23rd of May, intelligence of these events reached the station of Mynpoorie, a town about fifty miles southwest of Agra, where another detachment, consisting of two companies of the 9th native infantry, had been posted, and the men did not hesitate to follow in the steps of their mutinous comrades. Unlike them, however, their conduct was not marked by outrage; and owing to the judicious behaviour of an officer with the detachment, Lieutenant De Kantzow, who temperately reasoned with them upon the folly of their conduct, they were induced to leave the place without inflicting any injury, or offering any insult to the Europeans. The latter on the departure of the sepoys, formed a volunteer corps among themselves, for the purpose of protecting the treasury and the property of the inhabitants.

The circumstances connected with this affair are detailed at length in the following report from the magistrate of Mynpoorie to the secretary of the governor of the North-Western Provinces:—

"May 25th, 1857.

"In the absence of the commissioner of the division, I have the honour to report, for the information of his honour the lieutenant-governor, the details of the mutiny of the three companies of the 9th regiment of native infantry at this station, referred to in my demi-official letters to the lieutenant-governor of the 23rd instant. Late on the night of the 22nd, Munsoor Ali, tehseeldar of Bhowgaon, came in to me and informed me that he had heard positively of the mutiny at the head-quarters of the 9th native infantry at Allygurh, and warned me to beware of the conduct of the companies at this station. I immediately proceeded to Mr. Cocks' house to consult with him, and we first decided on removing the ladies of the station in a shigram, which the tehseeldar of Bhowgaon had brought with him.

"Arrangements being made for their departure, I may here mention that fourteen females, consisting of ladies, sergeants' and writers' wives, with their children (an unlimited number), left the station under the charge of Mr. J. N. Power, the assistant-magistrate, who accompanied them a stage towards Agra, from whence they were escorted by Sheikh Ameenooddeen, a trusty

sowar of my own, as far as Shekobod, from which place I have been glad to hear they have arrived safe in Agra. Mr. Cocks and I then proceeded to the house of Lieutenant Crawford, commanding the station, and this officer agreed directly to take the detachment out of the station and march them to Bhowgaon. After leaving a small guard at the treasury and quarter-guard, which I visited with him, Lieutenant Crawford then left the station, and I then returned to my house, where I found Dr. Watson, the Rev. Mr. Kellner, and Mr. Cocks assembled. This was about four or five in the morning; and I had not retired to rest more than ten minutes before Lieutenant Crawford galloped back to my house, and informed me that his men had broken out into open mutiny, and after refusing to obey him, had fired at him with their muskets. Lieutenant Crawford stated, he had then found it useless to attempt commanding his men, and that he had thought it best to hurry back to Mynpoorie to warn the station, and that he believed Lieutenant De Kantzow was killed. Mr. Cocks and the Rev. Mr. Kellner immediately decided on leaving, and the former tried to induce me to leave also: as I informed him that I did not desire to leave my post, he honoured me by terming my conduct 'romantic,' and immediately departed in company with the Rev. Mr. Kellner. I then left my house, which I had no means of defending, and which I was informed the sepoy meant to attack, and proceeded to the large bridge over the Eesun, on the Grand Trunk road. My brother determined on accompanying me, and to share my fate; and I shall not be accused of favouritism, I hope, when I state that his coolness and determination were of the greatest aid and comfort to me throughout this trying occasion.

"On proceeding to the bridge, I was joined by Dr. Watson, and shortly afterwards by Rao Bhowanee Sing, the first cousin of the rajah of Mynpoorie, with a small force of horse and foot; Sergeants Mitchell, Scott, and Montgomery, of the road and canal departments, and Mr. McGlone, clerk in the Mynpoorie magistrate's office, also joined me at the bridge. I was, at this time, most doubtful of the fate of Mr. De Kantzow; for I had not coincided in Lieutenant Crawford's opinion, that he had been killed, Lieutenant Crawford not having seen him fall; and on this account I was unwilling to leave the position

I had taken, though strongly urged to do so. The sepoy returned at this time to the station, having utterly thrown off all control, dragging (as I afterwards learnt) Lieutenant De Kantzow with them. They passed the dāk bungalow, and fired a volley into the house of Sergeant Montgomery (which was close by), the inmates of which had fortunately left, and they then searched the whole house over, with the view of finding money; they also fired at Dr. Watson's house, who had, as I have mentioned, joined me, and they then proceeded to the rear-guard, the magazine of which they broke open, plundering it completely of its contents.

"Lieutenant De Kantzow informed me that the rebels took the whole of the ammunition away, and being unable to carry it themselves, they procured two government camels for that purpose from the lines: each man must have supplied himself with some 300 rounds or more; and an immense quantity of other government stores was taken by them besides. Lieutenant De Kantzow informs me that his life stood in the greatest danger at the rear-guard at this time. The men fired at random, and muskets were levelled at him, but dashed aside by some better-disposed of the infuriated brutes, who remembered, perhaps, even in that moment of madness, the kind and generous disposition of their brave young officer. Lieutenant De Kantzow stood up before his men; he showed the utmost coolness and presence of mind; he urged them to reflect on the lawlessness of their acts, and evinced the utmost indifference of his own life in his zeal to make the sepoy return to their duty. The men turned from the rear-guard to the Cutcherry, dragging Lieutenant De Kantzow with them. They were met at the treasury by my gaol-guard, who were prepared to oppose them and fire on them; but Mr. De Kantzow prevented them from firing, and his order has certainly prevented an immense loss of life.

"A fearful scene here occurred; the sepoy tried to force open the iron gates of the treasury, and were opposed by the gaol-guard and some of the gaol officials; the latter rallied round Mr. De Kantzow, and did their best to assist him; but they, though behaving excellently, were only a handful of twenty or thirty (if so many), and poorly armed, against the infuriated sepoy, who were well and completely armed, and in full force. It is impossible

to describe, accurately, the continuation of the scene of the disturbance at the treasury: left by his superior officer, unaided by the presence of any European, jostled with cruel and insulting violence, buffeted by the hands of men who had received innumerable kindnesses from him, and who had obeyed him but a few hours before with crawling servility, Lieutenant De Kantzow stood for three dreary hours against the rebels at the imminent peril of life. It was not till long after Lieutenant De Kantzow had thus been situated at the treasury that I learnt of his being there. I was anxious, with all my heart, to help him; but was deterred from going by the urgent advice of Rao Bhowanee Sing, who informed me that it was impossible to face the sepoys with the small force at my disposal; and I received, at this time, a brief note from Lieutenant De Kantzow himself, by a trusty emissary I sent to him, desiring me not to come to the treasury, as the sepoys were getting quieted, and that my presence would only make matters worse, as the beasts were yelling for my life. At this time, the most signal service was done by Rao Bhowanee Sing, who went alone to the rebels, volunteering to use his own influence and persuasion to make them retire. It is unnecessary to lengthen the account; Rao Bhowanee Sing succeeded ably in his efforts—drew off, and then accompanied the rebels to the lines; where, after a space of time, they broke open and looted the bells of arms, the quarter-guard carrying off, it is supposed, 6,000 rupees in money, and all the arms, &c., they found of use to them. I had retired, and the Europeans with me, to the rajah of Mynpoorie's fort on the departure of Rao Bhowanee Sing, according to his advice; and shortly after the sepoys left the treasury, Lieutenant De Kantzow joined me, and I again took possession of the Cutcherry. I found, on my return, the whole of the Malkhana looted, the sepoys having helped themselves to swords, iron-bound sticks, &c., which had accumulated during ages past. The staples of the stout iron doors of the treasury had alone given way, but the doors themselves stood firm. My motives in taking up a position at the bridge were, first, that I might keep the high-road open; second, to keep the sepoys from proceeding to the city, and the bud-mashes of the city from joining the sepoys.

"The effect of the victory (if I may use such a term) over the sepoys, trifling though

it may appear, has been of incalculable benefit. It has restored confidence in the city and district, and among the panic-stricken inhabitants; and I hope the safety of the treasure, amounting to three lacs, will prove an advantage, in these troubled times, to government. It is wholly impossible for me duly to praise Lieutenant De Kantzow's meritorious conduct; but I express my earnest hope that it will meet with the approval and award of his honour the lieutenant-governor. Rao Bhowanee Sing's conduct has been deserving in the extreme; I believe he has saved the station and our lives by his coolness and tact, and has supported the ancient character of his race for loyalty to the British government.

"During the insurrection of the sepoys, I was joined by Dumber Sing Resseldar, of the 2nd irregulars, a fine old Rajpoot, who did me right good service; and by Pylad Sing, duffadar of the 8th irregulars. These men guarded the gaol, which the sepoys threatened to break into. Their conduct I beg to bring to the special notice of his honour the lieutenant-governor. These officers have since raised for me a most excellent body of horse, composed chiefly of irregulars, which I have placed under the care of the Resseldar. I append a list of the gaol officials, and others, who have behaved well to Lieutenant De Kantzow, and to whom I have distributed rewards. The mutinous conduct of the 9th native infantry, I consider more infamous than that of any other corps. Their misconduct has been deliberate, and wholly unprovoked; and they have been broken up into four separate bodies, and had the example of no other corps to lead them astray; a few of the men behaved well to Lieutenant De Kantzow, whose letter regarding them I herewith append.

"Previous to the mutiny, they committed several acts of insubordination, which have only now become known. Rajenath Sing, a sepoy of the 20th, and evidently one of the mutineers at Meerut, returned to his village at Jewntee. I sent some police and a naik to seize him; and ten men of the 9th native infantry were ordered out to assist in his apprehension. The sepoys deliberately assisted in the escape of Rajenath Sing, reporting that he had left Jewntee before their arrival. Ramdeen Sing, of the 9th, fired off his musket, loaded with ball, while on guard at the Cutcherry. He was sent to Allygurh under

a guard. The guard released him on the way, and filed off his irons. After the departure of Captain Tonnochy, by orders of the lieutenant-governor, a guard of the 9th was placed over his house, and my brother consented to sleep there for the protection of the ladies. On Mr. Cocks and myself preparing the ladies for their departure, and desiring my brother to accompany them, one of the sepows proposed to shoot my brother; but another advised his comrade against doing so, remarking, with some consideration, that my brother was merely the Chotta Sahib, and it would be better to slaughter the Burra Sahib, meaning myself. The presence of Dr. Watson with us is a great advantage and comfort, and he is ready to assist us in any way; and I cannot speak too highly of the indefatigable exertions of Sergeants Montgomery, Mitchell, and Scott, and Mr. McGlone. They have helped, by their skill, to fortify the office, and we can easily stand a siege in it."

Upon receipt of the above report, the secretary to the government of India addressed the following note to the secretary to the government of the North-Western Provinces:—

"Fort William, June 15, 1857.

"Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 29th of May, and its inclosure, I am directed to express the admiration of the right honourable the governor-general in council, of the courage and sound judgment shown by Lieutenant De Kantzow, of the 9th native infantry, during the recent mutiny of three companies of that regiment at Mynpoorie. The governor-general in council requests that the honourable the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces will convey the thanks of government to Lieutenant De Kantzow. His lordship in council is glad to see, by another report received from his honour, that Lieutenant De Kantzow has been placed in command of a special body of police.

"I have, &c.—R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

A further mark of the high importance attached to the intrepid and judicious behaviour of Lieutenant De Kantzow, appears in the subjoined letter from the governor-general to the young lieutenant of the 9th regiment:—

"Government-house, Calcutta, June 7, 1857.

"My dear Sir,—I have just read, in a report from the magistrate of Mynpoorie, the account of your conduct upon the occa-

sion of the mutiny of a portion of the 9th regiment of native infantry at that station on the 22nd ult. I have read it with an admiration and respect I cannot adequately describe. Young in years, and at the outset of your career, you have given to your brother-soldiers a noble example of courage, patience, good judgment, and temper, from which many may profit. I beg you to believe that it will never be forgotten by me. I write this at once, that there may be no delay in making known to you that your conduct has not been overlooked. You will, of course, receive a more formal acknowledgment through the military department of the government of your admirable service.

"I am, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,
"CANNING."

The following adventure of the young officer has a dash of heroism about it that is well entitled to be remembered. He says, in a letter from Mynpoorie, describing some subsequent operations in which he was concerned—"I was returning from reconnoitring, when information was brought me that five troopers of the 7th light cavalry were coming along the road. An immediate pursuit was of course ordered by me, and my thirty-nine troopers tore away at full speed after me. I was just coming up to them, and had already let drive among the murdering villains, when lo! I came upon 200 of their comrades, all armed with swords and some with carbines. A smart fire was kept up at a distance of not more than twenty-five yards. What could thirty-nine do against 200 regular troopers well-horsed and armed, particularly when walked into by the bullets of a hundred of the infantry? I ordered a retreat, but my cavalry could not get away from troopers mounted upon good stud-bred horses; so we were soon overtaken, and then commenced the shindy in earnest; twelve troopers surrounded me; the first, a Mohammedan priest, I shot through the breast just as he was cutting me down; this was my only pistol, so I was helpless as regards weapons, save my sword; this guarded off a swinging cut given me by No. 2, as also another by No. 3; but the fun could not last. I bitterly mourned not having a couple of revolvers; for I could have shot every man. My sword was cut down, and I got a slash on the head that blinded me; another on the arm, that glanced, and only took a slice off. The third caught me on the side,

but also glanced and hit me sideways. I know not how I escaped. God only knows; as twelve against one were fearful odds, especially as I was mounted on a pony bare back. Escape, however, I did; and after many warm escapes, too numerous to mention, I got back here; fourteen of my brave fellows were killed, four wounded, six missing: total, twenty-four, out of thirty-nine. Good odds, was it not?"

In a second communication, Lieutenant De Kantzow states, that he has been praised by the major-general and the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and his conduct brought to the notice of the governor-general, who had again expressed his satisfaction with his conduct; and that he had been entrusted with the command of the station of Mynpoorie, and the remains of three native regiments collected there.

The following extract from a private letter, dated Mynpoorie, May 26th, also refers to the mutinous conduct of the detachment, and to the very narrow escape of the females and children at the station:—

"We had three companies of the 9th native infantry regiment here. On the evening of the 23rd we received intelligence of the mutiny of their head-quarters at Allygurh; but whether the men here knew it or not, is a secret as yet undiscovered. At a council of war, at which I was not present, it was resolved to send all the ladies and children to the fort in Agra, and meanwhile to march the men at once out of the station. This was done; but after marching out a few miles, they refused to go any further, fired on their officers, and came back to the station about five in the morning, just as the last of the ladies left for Agra. We got on our horses and divided; part rode for Agra, and part for the fort of the rajah of Mynpoorie. In about two hours the mutineers, having killed no one, and only plundered their own regimental treasury, left for Allygurh, and we in the fort at once returned to the Cutcherry, where we intend to remain. We are hourly expecting a mutiny at Futteghur, forty miles off; but as yet the men there have kept in their lines."

CHAPTER VIII.

REPORT OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES; PROCLAMATION OF CONDITIONAL PARDON; ITS SUPPRESSION BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; OFFICIAL AND APOLOGETIC CORRESPONDENCE; STRICTURES OF THE INDIAN PRESS; THE AFFAIRS OF OUDE; ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER AND PRINCES IN ENGLAND; TORTURE IN INDIA.

CONTINUING the narrative of events connected with the sepoy revolt, we find that, on the 22nd of May, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, transmitted to his excellency the governor-general an official detail of the occurrences at Meerut and Delhi on the 10th and 11th of the month, with observations upon the state of the adjacent districts since those dates; in the course of which he represented, that the collector and his deputy at Goorgaon had abandoned their station, in consequence of the menacing behaviour of the contingent troops at that place; and he proceeded to observe—"The lieutenant-governor regrets the determination to quit the station on Mr. Ford's part, because he does not doubt that the best mode, especially in India, of staying violent outbursts

against authority of this kind, is to remain at the post to the last, even at the direct risk of life. Withdrawal from a post, except under immediate attack and irresistible compulsion, at once destroys all authority, which, in our civil administration, in its strength is respected, if exercised only by a chuprassy; while, in the event of any general resistance, accompanied by a defection of our military force, it has in truth no solid foundation to rest upon: but the lieutenant-governor has not thought it necessary, on this account, after such alarmingly emergent circumstances as had occurred at Delhi, to censure Mr. Ford for the course which he adopted." The report further stated, that a great deal of excitement had occurred at Agra; and proceeds thus:—"I held a parade of the troops on

the morning of Wednesday, the 13th instant; and spoke to them, plainly and fully, on the subject of the gross delusions that have so widely prevailed regarding the intention of the government to meddle with their religious feelings or habits. I offered to any of them to take their discharge, if they were not satisfied with my explicit explanations and assurances. They all, at the moment, expressed their belief of my communications to them; and I have seen them, in a familiar way, on several occasions since. They have undoubtedly been infected by a deep distrust of our purposes. The general scope of the notion by which they have been influenced, may be expressed in the remarks of one of them, a Hindoo, Tewarree Brahmin—to the effect, that men were created of different faiths; and that the notion attributed to us, of having but one religion because we had now but one uninterupted dominion throughout India, was a tyrannical and impious one.* The lieutenant-governor then observes—“Measures have been taken to strengthen the fort, and to place in it some considerable amount of supplies: but it is not by shutting ourselves in forts in India, that our power can be upheld; and I will decidedly oppose myself to any proposal for throwing the European force into the fort, excepting in the very last extremity. I need only add, that no effort in my power has been, or shall be wanting, which shall contribute to support the public tranquillity, or to restore the full exercise of the authority of the civil government.”

Whatever advantage might have resulted from the judicious measures adopted by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces on the 14th of May, and from his proclamations of the 18th, it appears certain, that the good effect of the whole was at least neutralised by a proclamation issued by him on the 25th of the same month, which met with the unqualified disapprobation of the government, and was immediately, as effectually as possible, suppressed. How far the chagrin occasioned by this unfortunate error may have tended to accelerate the progress of a disease that shortly afterwards eventuated in Mr. Colvin's death, could only be known to him who is now beyond the reach of human censure. The proclamation referred to was couched in the following terms:—

* Parl. Papers, Session 1857.

“PROCLAMATION.—All soldiers engaged in the late disturbances who are desirous of going to their homes, and who give up their arms at the nearest civil or military government post, and retire quietly shall be permitted to do so unmolested. Many faithful soldiers have been drawn into resistance to government only because they were in the ranks and could not escape from them, or because they really thought their feelings of religion and honour injured by the measures of government. This feeling was wholly a mistake, but it rested on men's minds. A proclamation now issued by the governor-general in council† is perfectly explicit, and will remove all doubts on this point. Only evil-minded instigators of the disturbances, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished. All those who appear in arms against the government, after this proclamation is known, shall be treated as open enemies.”

On the same day (May 25th), the lieutenant-governor telegraphed this proclamation to the governor-general in council, grounding the measure upon his conviction that the existing mutiny “was not one to be put down by indiscriminating high-horsed authority;” and that it was essential to give a favourable turn to the feelings of the sepoys who had not yet entered the lists against the government. Mr. Colvin further stated, that he had taken the grave responsibility of issuing, on his own authority, the proclamation transmitted; and concluded by “earnestly soliciting the confirmation of the act.”

His message had no sooner reached the seat of government, than the most unequivocal disapprobation was expressed in every quarter; and early on the 26th, the following order to arrest its issue and prevent its further circulation, was telegraphed to Agra:—

“Your message and proclamation have been received: use every possible means to stop the circulation of the proclamation, and send word immediately how far this can be done, and at what distance from Agra it has already become known. Has it reached Delhi? Do everything to stop its operation, except in the cases of any who may already have taken advantage of it. The proclamation is not approved; and the embarrassment in which it will place the government and the commander-in-chief, will be very great.”—The reply of the lieutenant-governor to this message, expressed a fear that the proclamation was past recalling; and, at the same time, his confidence that it had already done much good among the troops to whom it had been made known. Lord Canning, however, held to

† See ante, p. 118.

his own view of its pernicious effect; and, on the 27th of May, superseded it by the following proclamation:—

“The governor-general of India in council, considers that the proclamation issued at Agra on the 25th instant, and addressed to those soldiers who have been engaged in the late disturbances, might be so interpreted as to lead many who have been guilty of the most atrocious crimes, to expect that they will be allowed to escape unpunished. Therefore, to avoid all risk of such misinterpretation, that proclamation is annulled by the governor-general in council, who declares as follows:—Every soldier of a regiment which, although it has deserted its post, has not committed outrages, will receive a free pardon if he immediately deliver up his arms to the civil or military authority, and if no heinous crimes be shown to have been perpetrated by himself personally. This offer of a free and unconditional pardon cannot be extended to those regiments which have killed or wounded their officers or other persons, or which have been concerned in the commission of cruel outrages. The men of such regiments must submit themselves unconditionally to the authority and justice of the government of India. All who, before the promulgation of this present proclamation, may have availed themselves of the offer contained in the proclamation issued at Agra on the 25th instant, will enjoy the full and unreversed benefit thereof.”

The lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces was directed to have the foregoing document translated, and widely circulated, with all possible speed. He was instructed to spare no expense to get it conveyed within the walls of Delhi; and to inform the commander-in-chief when he had done so. This injunction produced from Mr. Colvin the following note to the governor-general, dated Agra, May 28th:—

“I assure you most earnestly and honestly, that my proclamation is thoroughly understood here exactly. The sense of yours is certainly better, and more explicit words. My time is torn by a thousand distractions, and I cannot always frame my words perfectly as I could wish; but I repeat, that the sense of this is just as you yourself would desire. Under the present circumstances here, openly to undo my public act where really no substantial change is made, would fatally shake my power for good; and I say it truly, that on me everything here depends. I propose, therefore, as communication with Meerut is no more open, to send the commander-in-chief, as more clearly explanatory of the purport of my proclamation, the passage of yours beginning, ‘every soldier of a regiment,’ &c., down to the ‘authority and justice of the government of India.’ This explanation,

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which only shows more clearly the meaning of my notification, can be added on the spot, by the commander-in-chief, with good effect; while the current of feeling here would not be disturbed. Not a man in Delhi is likely to act on my notification before the commander-in-chief is close to it. Therefore there will be but one consistent act at Delhi. Here, I cannot too strongly insist that nothing more be said or done in the matter. I give my honour, that there is not the least chance of our clear good faith being brought in question by the course which I propose; while to discredit me is, I feel, ruin to our great cause.”

The sensitiveness and the arguments of the lieutenant-governor, were alike ineffectual to shake the opinion entertained at the council-board in Calcutta; and on the 29th, the governor-general wrote to him thus:—“Your message regarding the proclamation is received. It is necessary there should be no mistake at Delhi, when the commander-in-chief arrives there, as to the meaning of government. Your proclamation, however it may be understood at Agra, will not express the meaning of government to those in Delhi. The question is not one of words, but of substance. The government cannot offer pardon to the murderers of its officers; and your proclamation does this. A proclamation of the supreme government is herewith sent to you. It is to be conveyed, together with the message which precedes it, to the commander-in-chief as quickly as possible from Agra. It will also be forwarded to him by way of Cawnpore and Futteghur.”

At the same time, the following message was transmitted to Major-general Sir H. Wheler at Cawnpore, with instructions to transmit it, with all possible dispatch, to the commander-in-chief:—“The proclamation of the lieutenant-governor, issued on the 25th instant, offers means of escape to the men who murdered their officers. This must not be. Therefore, the following proclamation, by the governor-general in council, is to be issued by you upon your arrival at Delhi. It will then supersede the proclamation of the lieutenant-governor. It is not issued at once in the North-Western Provinces, in order that the authority of the local government may not be weakened at a critical moment; and it will be for you, in any proclamation which you may

think necessary to issue yourself, to specify the regiments which come under the free pardon."

The proclamation sent with the above message, was the same in effect as that forwarded to Mr. Colvin on the 27th of May. Simultaneously with this message to the commander-in-chief, the following lengthened communication was forwarded, by the secretary to the government of India, to the secretary to the government of the North-Western Provinces:—

"Fort William, May 29th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general in council to communicate to you, for the information of the honourable the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, the following remarks of the government of India on the proclamation issued by his honour on the 25th ultimo. The proclamation issued by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western provinces, on the 25th instant, is open to grave objection. By the first clause, it allows all 'soldiers engaged in the late disturbances,' who gave up their arms, to go to their homes unmolested. By the third clause, the operation of the first is limited, in so far that it is declared, that 'every evil-minded instigator in the disturbances, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished;' but it is expressly said that only these shall be punished. In the course of these disturbances, officers have been killed by their own men, or by the men of other regiments; and it is known that two regiments have made themselves especially infamous by such traitorous and murderous acts.

"It cannot have been intended by the lieutenant-governor that the sepoys who participated in the murder of officers should escape punishment; yet it is at least doubtful whether, under the proclamation, they are not entitled to go free, as soon as their arms have been delivered up; and certainly their liberty could not be refused to them unless the term 'private persons' (crimes against whom are the only crimes denounced) be interpreted as including officers engaged in commanding their men. To stretch interpretations on the side of severity, in a matter affecting the lives of men, is not a right course; and it is especially necessary, in the case of a proclamation of pardon, to avoid even the appearance of straining the plain meaning of such a procla-

mation, in order to take the lives of any persons who have surrendered upon the faith of it. But furthermore, upon any interpretation of this proclamation, the whole burden of proof that a mutineer has been guilty of the crimes selected for punishment, is, by this proclamation, thrown upon the government. It is not impossible that government may be unable to prove one of these punishable crimes against any of those who surrender; and as the officer of government to whom the sepoy may present himself to deliver up his arms cannot be expected to have any knowledge of the man's conduct, it is difficult to see how there can be any investigation whatever, even in the cases of the men known to belong to the regiments by which the worst outrages have been committed.

"No power is reserved to detain a sepoy for the purpose of inquiring into his conduct before conceding to him permission to seek his home unmolested; and though this power might possibly be assumed in the case of individuals against whom suspicion should arise, it would be nothing less than a snare to use it against all the men of a particular regiment, without having given notice of the intention to do so. There is, then, no reason why, with this proclamation in his hand, every sepoy of the 20th or 38th regiments should not leave Delhi, present himself at the nearest civil or military post, and claim of right to go free. In whatever sense the proclamation may be understood by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, no action can hereafter be taken under it which shall put the good faith of the government of India above suspicion, except such as would allow of the unimpeded escape of men who have murdered their officers. This would be a heavy and lasting reproach to the government of India, and a severe blow to the future discipline of the army. On this account, it is unavoidable that the proclamation should be cancelled or superseded with as little delay as possible.

"But the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces has earnestly deprecated this course, as one which would weaken his power and discredit his authority. Seeing the difficulties with which the local government at Agra has to deal, there is force in this appeal. Absolutely to annul an offer of pardon made, however unauthorised, by so high an authority as the lieutenant-governor of Agra, might

have a dangerous effect at this crisis; and in the present aspect of affairs, the governor-general in council does not fail to see the advantages, as tending to hasten the suppression of the rebellion, and the punishment of the more heinous criminals, of the offer of a large measure of mercy to that portion of the mutineers, who, under any circumstances, if they were now to submit, would be leniently dealt with. The number of men who have committed themselves to the rebellion, puts the punishment of all quite out of the question. Moreover, the immediate revocation of the terms on which pardon has been offered, and the substitution, before there had been time to take advantage of such terms, of others less favourable, could not fail to increase the mistrust and fear which has possessed the minds of the sepoys in the North-Western Provinces who are still in the performance of their duty. It is therefore resolved, that the proclamation of the lieutenant-governor shall not be set aside until the commander-in-chief, now advancing upon Delhi, shall approach the city, when his excellency will be instructed to issue the following proclamation, in the name of the governor-general in council.*

"The governor-general in council cannot conclude his remarks upon this subject without an expression of his regret, that the honourable the lieutenant-governor should, without necessity for any extreme haste, have taken the step of issuing a proclamation of this grave character, affecting the reputation of government in every part of India, and the discipline of the Bengal army, without previous reference to him. The consequences have been very embarrassing. When the proclamation was issued, his honour had, a few hours before, received a telegraphic despatch, showing that the general views of the governor-general respecting the treatment of the mutineers, were such as to be wholly irreconcilable with the spirit of the lieutenant-governor's proclamation. Against these views, as being, in his opinion, too severe for the existing position of affairs, he remonstrated in a telegraphic despatch, to which, in ordinary course, his honour might have expected an answer in a very few hours.

"The governor-general in council is unable to concur with the lieutenant-

* The proclamation is, in words and substance, the same as that forwarded to the lieutenant-governor on the 27th of May.—See *ante*, p. 138.

governor, in thinking that the terms of his proclamation are substantially consistent with the views expressed in that answer; and however that may be, the proclamation was issued without awaiting that answer. It would not have caused a delay of more than twenty-four or thirty-six hours, to have referred the proposed proclamation in terms to the government of India, to which authority, in ordinary course, the decision of such an important military question belonged; and as the main object of the measure was to work upon the mutineers at Delhi, even if circumstances had been such as to render the delay of a telegraphic reference to the governor-general in council inadmissible, the commander-in-chief, then on his march to that city, was the subordinate authority to whom the responsibility of ceding in the matter, without the order of government, should naturally have fallen. The point is one of so much importance, that his lordship in council feels it necessary to explain himself to the lieutenant-governor thus fully upon it; but he makes every allowance for the great difficulties of his honour's position; and he is assured that his honour acted as he judged best for the public interests in a time of danger.—I have, &c.,

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

Previous to the arrival of this severe criticism and unqualified reproof, the lieutenant-governor had again addressed the secretary to the government at Calcutta, justifying the language of his unfortunate proclamation, which he still considered had been misunderstood at the seat of government; and in this communication, also, of the 31st of May, he says—"I thank you for the consideration shown me by the mode of proceeding now adopted [evidently referring to the arrangement by which the corrected proclamation was not to be issued by the commander-in-chief until after his arrival at Delhi.] The proclamation by the governor-general in council shall be sent on at once. I have already acted on my proposal contained in my message of the 28th, and forwarded to him, *verbatim*, the explanatory message of your former order, as indicated in my former message. I beg, however, in justice to myself, to say, that my proclamation certainly offers no pardon to soldiers who have murdered and injured their officers: the meaning of my proclamation in this point has been wholly mistaken. The words, 'that those guilty of

heinous crimes against private persons shall be punished,' were meant expressly to include crimes against officers as well as against all other persons; in fact, crimes against every subject of the government. The word 'private' was used to mark the distinction between mere resistance to public authority and the commission of acts against lives or persons of individuals. It could not be for a moment supposed, that an attack by soldiers on their officers was to be held less subject to punishment than attacks upon the subjects generally of the state. All such attacks were included in one class, and punishment denounced against them all. A better word than 'private' might have been used; but the true sense was, I submit, such as I have stated. It pains me much that such a construction should have been put upon the word; and I beg to be allowed to take out from the message to the commander-in-chief the following words; viz.—'The proclamation of the lieutenant-governor offers means of escape to the men who murdered their officers.' God forbid that I should ever have done this! The word in the Oordoo proclamation gives the genuine sense of all subjects of the government, as being intended by the 'private persons.' I never dreamt for a moment that any other meaning could be given to it at the same time, I express my deep regret that I should have used words which, in the sense placed upon them in Calcutta, shows them to be ill-chosen and improper. My apology is due for this, and I make it."

This explanatory and apologetic note of the lieutenant-governor, the following curt reply was immediately telegraphed from the governor-general, and dated May 31st:—

"I beg you to send my message to the commander-in-chief at once, without curtailing it. The question is not what was meant by the proclamation, but what is said by it. It is not the use of the word 'private' alone which will enable the greatest criminals to escape. The proclamation promises liberty to every man who delivers up his arms, unless he is an instigator of disturbance, or guilty of heinous crimes against private persons; but throws the burden of proof upon the authority to whom the arms are given up; and every man of the regiments which are believed to have murdered their officers, may, with this proclamation in his hand, claim his discharge unmolested, unless proof is ready against him individually, which is not possible: a discharge could not

be refused to him without a breach of faith. To refuse it to all the men of particular regiments, without notice to that effect, and after they surrendered, would be monstrous; and yet if this is not done, every man of the 20th and 38th may claim his pardon under the proclamation. I am sure that this was not intended, but it is not the less the fact; and my opinion, as expressed to the commander-in-chief, remains unchanged."*

While this unpleasant correspondence was yet pending between the head of the Indian government and one of its most responsible servants, public opinion found expression, in no measured terms, deprecatory of the tone of Mr. Colvin's proclamation of the 25th of May. That the precise language of that document was at the moment unfortunate—as being open to a charge of ambiguity, when the most positive and clear definition of the meaning of government in relation to the question of pardon for the less guilty of the mutineers was imperatively necessary—there can be no doubt; but it may be now fairly questioned whether, after all, the single error of Mr. Colvin's political life was so heinous as to justify the severe condemnation passed upon him tacitly by his superiors at the council-board, and positively by that great exponent of popular (and sometimes *private*) opinion—the press. He became instantaneously, as it were, an object of hostility, and his proclamation was criticised with unsparing severity. Condemned alike for the intention, and for the act by which it was sought to be carried into effect, Mr. Colvin suddenly found himself and his policy the objects of popular displeasure; while in addition to the natural feeling of disappointment occasioned by the failure of his purpose, he was exposed to the mortification of having an important public act of his administration censured and superseded by the government. It was not therefore surprising, that with health enfeebled by a long residence in India, with the weight of anxiety inseparable from the position he held at the outbreak of the mutiny, and under the mortifications to which he was exposed through the proclamation of the 25th of May, that his strength should fail him in the struggle, and that the regrets of his perhaps too hasty and uncompromising colleagues in the government of India, should have been uselessly pronounced over his grave.

* Parl. Papers, Session 1857.

The following is a mild sample of the tone adopted by the Indian press in reference to the proclamation. Under the title of "Bounty for Crime," the *Friend of India*, of May, 1857, observes thus:—"Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, has issued an address which we print elsewhere. Mr. Colvin proceeds upon the supposition, that men who have been born and bred as soldiers, whose very parents and brothers are now perhaps enjoying pensions (the fruit of long and honourable service), will, after having completely ignored the daily bounties of their rulers, become repentant at the sight of a few words read aloud, perhaps jeeringly, by one of their comrades. He seems to have an idea that Asiatics place faith in words, that they think that the organs of speech were given them otherwise than for the purposes of deceit. But the proclamation does not even effect that for which it was apparently intended. If none of the guilty are to be punished, how can there be any retribution? Many will plead that they never saw the notification, that they had no means of seeing it, that the leaders of the mutiny burnt all that fell into their hands, and threatened to shoot all those who concealed them. How can these men be punished? If mercy dictated the last act of Mr. Colvin, how does it effect its object? We feel utterly unable to fathom the motives which could lead to the promulgation of such an address as that of Mr. Colvin to the mutineers. What opinion can we form of a man who, in the midst of the disturbed districts, whose mind must be filled with all the horrors perpetrated in the recent revolt, could calmly sit down and write an edict virtually pardoning the murderers of his own nation, perhaps even of his own friends? It has long been a subject of complaint that our government is formidable only to the petty villain; it awards punishment for thefts, whilst murders, so that the murderers be numerous, go unpunished. We require a little of the old Roman spirit, which disdained to treat with a victorious enemy, and at the time of its greatest inferiority threatened punishment. Neither trouble nor treasure are of any moment when compared with the extermination of those men who have dared to break their allegiance, and have consummated their treachery with the pangs of helpless women and children. A fitting climax! Scenes in real life are often tragedies, but they are tragedies which

generally punish the guilty; the curtain seldom drops leaving a villain prosperous in his wickedness. The horrible often borders upon the grotesque; but we think that even Mr. Colvin will see that this is not a time for philanthropic minutes, or for dexterous strokes of policy purchased at too dear a rate. There are men who know when to be clement and when to be severe, when the dictates of mercy ought to bow before the requirements of justice. Mr. Colvin has shown himself not to be one of these. His threats seem to proclaim that his mercy wears the garb of expediency."

An article in the *Homeward Mail* of July, 1857, descanting on the same proclamation, says—"There is sometimes tendered to a man a supreme test, on the issue of which the world judges all his after-life. Such an event has happened in the case of Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, and we are grieved to say that he has fallen far below public expectation. Under the influence of a feeling which reason cannot justify nor common sense fathom, he issued the proclamation of the 25th of May, by the tenor of which, it will be seen, that nothing less than a complete amnesty is promised to the rebels, on the sole condition that they will consent to do no more mischief. No class of offender is exempted from this act of grace. The instigators of the mutiny, as well as its victims; the truculent wretches who find their fitting vocation in murder and robbery, as well as the poor fools who have not the strength of mind to resist temptation, are equally cared for. The rebels might have one grand carouse after reading the proclamation; one glorious night, in which they could recount their deeds of unchecked villany, and concert schemes of future violence; and then, having shared the plunder of the treasuries and the bank, they would have but to shoulder their muskets, lay them at the feet of Mr. Colvin, and depart to their homes in peace.

"There are no words to express such folly—no terror inspired by the vicinity of the rebels so great as that which is naturally felt in contemplating the rule of Mr. Colvin. He has destroyed in a day the reputation of a lifetime; and we have to thank wiser heads and bolder hearts, that his policy has not worked to the dishonour of government and the Anglo-Saxon race. Instructions, we believe, have been sent to

the chief military authority, to consider the proclamation as waste paper, except where its promises have been relied on in such a way as to render them clearly binding. The folly of the rebels will have hindered them from taking advantage of the loopholes thus amiably made for them; but wherever a villain escapes the punishment of his crimes, the probability is, that justice will be defrauded through the agency of Mr. Colvin."

The affairs of the kingdom of Oude have been so intimately connected with the progress, if they did not actually supply the only solid grounds upon which the Bengal mutinies were based, that it becomes necessary to diverge for a moment from the continuous stream of events, and take a retrospective glance at the circumstances attending its extinction as an independent state, and the existing dissatisfaction of its people.

The territory originally comprised in the dominions of the nawab of Oude, extended 200 miles in length, and 120 in breadth, covering an area of 24,000 square miles, with a population estimated at from three and a-half to five millions. Its ancient capital was called Ayodhya; for ages famous in the traditionary lore of the Hindoos as the dwelling-place of Desaratha, the father of the god Rama. The magnitude of the city is still attested by the wide extent of its ruins; but it now possesses little importance beyond that which attaches to any favourite resort of pilgrims. Lucknow, the modern capital, is situated on the Goomty, a tributary of the Ganges, and is about 174 miles north-west of Benares, and 649 miles from Calcutta. The city, in 1856, had an imposing external appearance, and contained many noble edifices, though most of its streets were close and exceedingly filthy, especially those inhabited by the poorer sort of the people, which are mostly ten or twelve feet below the surface of the ground. Lucknow attained the meridian of its prosperity about the commencement of the present century, when its population was estimated at 300,000. The palace built by Asoph-ud-Dowlah, in 1776, was long considered one of the finest edifices in India. The tomb of that prince, called Imam-barah, was also an elaborate specimen of architectural beauty.

The political connection of the East India Company with the affairs of Oude com-

menced in 1764, after a battle near Buxar, with the troops of the emperor Shah Alum, commanded by Shuja Dowlah, the vizier of the Mogul, and nabob of Oude, whose tyrannical authority over his superior lord had been such, that upon his discomfiture by the English forces under Major Munro, the emperor took advantage of the retreat of his vizier, to place himself under the protection of the English commander. The emperor was received as an ally, and the territory of his vizier was seized by him as feudal lord. Circumstances subsequently occurred, that rendered it desirable, for political reasons, that Shuja Dowlah should be reinstated in his possessions, subject to certain conditions; and he consequently resumed the government, which continued to be held by his successors, as nawabs of Oude, until the close of the 18th century, when Sadut Ali, the reigning prince, was compelled, by the rebellious conduct of his troops, to place himself in the hands of the Company for protection. By the interposition of the Marquis Wellesley, then governor-general, the difficulties between the nawab and his army were speedily removed, and the leader of the insurrectionary force was delivered over to the British government, and detained a prisoner, first in Fort William, and afterwards at Vellore, where he died. The army of Oude was then disbanded, and the nawab expressed his desire to resign a position he found full of danger and anxiety. The conditions on which he proposed to relinquish the government, were, however, rejected; and it was deemed necessary, for the peace of the country and the safety of neighbouring states, that the late army should be replaced by a European force of 13,000 men, in return for which, by a treaty with the nawab in 1801, the provinces of the Doab and Rohilcund were ceded in perpetuity to the Company, the gross revenues of the territory so relinquished, amounting to one crore, thirty-five lacs, and 23,474 rupees.

Sadut Ali, thus protected by the English, continued upon the musnud until his death in 1814, when he was succeeded by his son, Ghazee-ood-Deen, who, in 1819, was encouraged by the Marquis of Hastings, then governor-general, to assume the royal title, and renounce the nominal allegiance he owed to the Mogul, whose influence it was intended to check by the creation of a rival independent sovereignty.

The internal administration of Oude ap-

pears to have been in a disorganised state prior to the commencement of the present century, and the decline of the kingdom became a frequent subject of earnest consideration on the part of the Company's government. In the reign of the second king, Nusseer-ood-Deen, the English resident at the court of Oude reported, "that the country had reached so incurable a stage of decline, that nothing but the assumption of the administration of its affairs by the Company, could preserve it from utter ruin." The details forwarded to Calcutta at this juncture by Mr. (afterwards Sir Herbert) Maddock, were so serious, that Lord William Bentinck determined to satisfy himself of their accuracy, and accordingly visited the court of Oude in 1829. The result of his lordship's personal observation was such, that the king was informed, that unless his territories were thenceforth governed upon other principles than those in operation, and the prosperity of the people be made a principal object of his administration, the precedents for interference afforded by the principalities of the Deccan, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, would be applied to the kingdom of Oude, and to the entire management of the resources of the country, and that the sovereign would be thenceforth considered a pensioner of the honourable Company. A period of transient improvement followed this warning, and the threatened annexation was for a time averted.

Upon the death of Nusseer-ood-Deen, a pretender to the throne was supported by the widow of the deceased king; but as his title was not recognised by the British authorities as valid, he was speedily put down; and, under their auspices, the crown of Oude was placed on the head of Mohammed Ali. A new treaty was proposed between the Company and the king, which entailed upon the latter the necessity for maintaining an increased military force; but the court of directors refused to sanction it, as being opposed to the spirit of the treaty of 1801, when the maintenance of the contingent was provided for by the cession of certain districts. By the 6th article of that treaty, it was stipulated, that "if his majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British government, or its local representative; or if (which God forbid!) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the

Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatever portion of the Oude territory—either to a small or great extent—in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary." The court of Lucknow, by some oversight or neglect, was not apprised of the refusal of the Company to recognise the treaty proposed by Mohammed Ali; and thus arose the greatest difficulty in the way of the subsequent annexation. Upon the death of Mohammed Ali in 1842, he was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Wurjud Ali, whose misgovernment even surpassed that of his predecessors in entailing misery upon the country. The present ex-king of Oude, Wajid Ali Shah, succeeded to the throne in 1847; and the effect of his administration may be gathered from the facts represented by his minister to General Outram, then British resident at Lucknow—namely, "that the revenues of the kingdom could not be collected; that the troops were unable to coerce the landholders to pay their land-tax; that the pay of the army was several months in arrear; and that, for want of means, when the troops were sent upon an expedition against the refractory landholders, no commissariat arrangements were thought of; and each man provided for himself as best he could, by plundering the inhabitants: if encamped, they found shelter for themselves by stripping off the roofs of the adjacent villages; the villagers themselves were forcibly seized, and compelled to carry the soldiers' bundles and kits." In addition to this military oppression, the people were ground to the earth by the collectors of taxes, which were gathered by contract, and whole districts were assigned to the highest bidder. An extensive system of bribery was associated with that of the collection; and consequently, the *amils*, or contractors, extorted immoderate sums in excess of the amount to be paid into the royal treasury: resistance, and frequently bloodshed, followed every attempt at collecting the taxes; and it was not at all a rare occurrence for a man to be beaten to death by order of the collector, in expectation of extorting money. Among other cruelties perpetrated under this system of lawless oppression, fathers have been compelled to sell their children, that the exac-

tions of the tax-gatherer might be satisfied. Again, it was represented "that not a day passed without an affray among the people, which the government was without power to suppress. Thuggee flourished more rankly in Oude than in any other part of India. Many villages were inhabited exclusively by avowed and professional thieves (*Dacoits*); and the population of two, in particular, were given—namely, Surajpore, 9,000, hereditary robbers; Pipar, 4,000, of the same class." In 1854, 212 cases of Dacoite were reported; in which 128 villages were burnt and plundered, 454 persons forcibly carried away, and 1,391 were killed and wounded; in a period of seven years, terminating at that date, 547 villages had been destroyed, 1,488 persons made prisoners, and 11,014 had been killed and wounded; while men guilty of any atrocious crimes in the Company's territories had only to flee into Oude, where they immediately ensured protection by entering the service of a zemindar, or landholder. Under such circumstances, it was not wonderful that the cultivators of the land should seek service in the Company's armies, rather than remain to endure the oppression they were exposed to by the neglect of their own government.

On the accession of Wajid Ali Shah, in 1847, the treasury contained nearly £1,200,000 sterling, which in less than five years had diminished to £75,000; this sum also disappeared in two months, with £200,000 anticipated from the revenue of the following year; while the payments to the stipendiary members and dependents of the royal household, or in the nominal service of the king, amounting to 135,000 persons, had fallen into arrear, to the amount of more than half a million.

The conduct of the king was reported by Colonel Sleeman, immediately after his accession, as "frivolous and sensual in the extreme;" and in the autumn of that year (1847), Lord Hardinge, then governor-general, felt himself constrained to proceed to Lucknow, and address a final and solemn warning to his majesty. By order of the court of directors, two years were offered as a period of probation, at the expiration of which, if no improvement should take place in the management of the kingdom, the condition of the people, and the personal conduct of the sovereign, his majesty was informed, the consequence would be the direct assumption of the government by the

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Company. Lord Hardinge was succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie as governor-general in 1848, but no change in the administration of Oude took place, and the period of grace was extended two years further. At the expiration of that time, Colonel Sleeman reported to the governor-general as follows:—"His majesty has not in any way changed his course. He continues to show the same utter disregard to his duties and the responsibilities of his high office, and of the sufferings of many millions of those subject to his rule. His time and attention are devoted entirely to the pursuits of personal gratification: he associates with none but those who can contribute to such gratification—namely, women, singers, and eunuchs. Dressed in female attire, Wajid Ali Shah enters into rivalry with nautch girls, or trifles in his garden with swarms of beautiful women, dressed in transparent gauze, with wings fastened to their shoulders, in imitation of the Houris of the Mohammedan paradise. He never, I believe, reads, or hears read, a report or complaint, or public document of any kind. He takes no interest whatever in public affairs, nor does he seem to know or to care anything about them."

Notwithstanding the urgent necessity that existed for interference, the first step was yet delayed, although it was felt to be imperative that it must eventually be taken, on the mere ground of humanity towards five millions of people. The impediments placed in the way of extensive and important internal changes, by the occurrence of the second Burmese war, were at length removed; and Lord Dalhousie, with the advice of his council, prepared to act in the affairs of Oude. His lordship was fully aware that the overthrow of the reigning dynasty could be effected by simply withdrawing the British contingent; but he was reluctant to take a course which would have brought upon Oude all the horrors of revolutionary warfare. Freed from the restraint imposed by British troops, every powerful talookdar would have sought to establish an independent state of his own; and the inevitable result would have been an internecine "war of the barons," and unutterable misery to the cultivators of the soil. He wisely, therefore, adopted a more active and energetic policy.

At length, on the morning of the 4th of February, 1856, the British resident, Major-general Outram, proceeded to the palace,

and, having obtained an audience of the king after some explanation, tendered for his majesty's signature a treaty, by which he resigned into the hands of the East India Company the exclusive government of his territories, in return for which a princely income was offered, with sundry privileges and immunities. After carefully reading the document, the king gave way to a passionate burst of grief; and as no argument could prevail on him to sign the treaty, the resident closed a long and painful interview by declaring, that he had no alternative but to inform his majesty, that his instructions were to assume the government at the expiration of three days.

At the end of that period—namely, on the 8th of February—a proclamation was issued, announcing to the people of Oude that they must thenceforth consider themselves subjects of the British government. By a well-concerted arrangement, the army of the king was disbanded without tumult or difficulty; the best men were draughted into the Company's service, and liberal allowances were made to the others, and to persons in the civil employment of the Oude government. The system of administration introduced was founded on that which had acted well in the Punjab; and Major-general Outram was appointed the first commissioner of the territory of Oude. A fair and moderate assessment of taxes was made; justice was administered to the people, and confidence was restored to the cultivators of the soil.

By the act of annexation the ex-king was secured an income of £120,000 per annum; which would have been increased to £150,000, had he consented to sign the treaty. A palace was assigned to him in Lucknow, and two spacious parks were set apart for his enjoyment, within the limits of which he could exercise exclusive jurisdiction, but without the power to inflict capital punishment.

It is to be observed, that, in former times, the rulers of Oude had, on emergencies, advanced considerable sums to the company, the whole of which had been returned with the exception of about two millions sterling. This balance the king was induced to claim as private property; but the court of directors, considering that the money was originally advanced from the public revenues, resolved to apply it to public purposes, and consequently disallowed the claim.

On the 10th of January, 1857, a return, ordered by the House of Commons,

was published, containing a copy of a letter addressed by the court of directors of the East India Company to the governor-general of India in council, on the 10th of December, 1856, relative to the assumption of the government of Oude, and the introduction into that country of a system of administration superintended by British officers. The letter commences with congratulatory expressions upon the fact, that "an expanse of territory embracing an area of nearly 25,000 square miles, and containing 5,000,000 of inhabitants, has passed from its native prince to the Queen of England without the expenditure of a drop of blood, and almost without a murmur." The directors proceed to notice the circumstances attending the king's refusal to accept the new treaty, and then to consider the question of his future stipend. They then determined upon the following arrangement:—By the withdrawal of the additional grant of three lacs of rupees for the maintenance of the palace guards, and by the limitation of the titular sovereignty to the present king, the warnings of your government will be sufficiently vindicated; while, by confining to these forfeitures the threatened consequences of his majesty's ill-advised refusal, we shall relieve the minds of the royal family of all anxiety with respect to their future provisions. We shall also make manifest that, in achieving a great object in the interests of good government, and the happiness of a large population, we have fulfilled our determination to act with every proper and humane consideration of all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted. We desire, therefore, that in the arrangements which may be made for the endowment of the royal family of Oude, the twelve lacs of rupees set apart for the annual provision of the present titular king, be considered an hereditary grant, to descend, without diminution, to his heirs; that is, to his direct male descendants born in lawful wedlock. We leave it to your government, with reference to Article VI. of the proposed treaty, to decide what members of the royal family shall be supported out of this hereditary grant of twelve lacs per annum, and what members shall be brought under the provisions of the above-mentioned article. We think, also, that some stipulation should be made as to the education and conduct of the young princes, and a proper superintendence of them, in the hope, which we trust is not

visionary, of their becoming hereafter useful citizens. The directors wish the governor-general to consider the suggestion, that a part of this allowance be commuted for an hereditary jaghire, not exceeding five lacs per annum: the duties and occupations of that position 'might possibly save them from sinking into the degraded habits of life of which we have, unfortunately, so many examples in the families of deposed princes. The directors refer in terms of satisfaction to the demeanour of the landowners and soldiers of Oude, and express their approval of the governor-general's determination to grant certain pensions and gratuities, and to discharge in full the arrears of regular pay due to the army by the Oude government. The letter concludes with the following paragraphs:—"We have read with attention the very interesting and able letter of instructions which was addressed to the chief commissioner of Oude on the 4th of February, wherein the whole system of administration to be introduced into the country is clearly stated in detail. In all its leading features, it corresponds with the system under which the affairs of the Punjab have been successfully administered. We approve of the liberal sentiments expressed in the 122nd and two concluding paragraphs, and we desire that every effort may be made to carry out the benevolent objects glanced at in those passages. A fertile country, occupied by a fine race of men, has suddenly passed under our rule: and, as it is our first duty to render the introduction of our government a blessing to our new subjects, so it is our first wish that this duty may be so effectually performed, that there shall henceforth be no conflict of opinion regarding the beneficent result of the peaceful revolution by which the kingdom of Oude has been converted into a province of the British empire in the east. We cannot conclude this despatch without expressing our high appreciation of the wisdom and energy which have distinguished the proceedings of your government throughout the whole of these momentous transactions; and of the judgment and vigour displayed by your agents."

The annexation of Oude to the vast territorial possessions of the East India Company, during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, has not yet ceased to be looked upon by many as an arbitrary and unjust proceeding on the part of the Indian government; and the dissatisfaction of the deposed family

and its immediate personal retainers, who had chiefly profited by the abuses that flourished under the native rule, was not mitigated by a policy that deprived them of the means of prolonging a system of mal-administration, which had become ruinous to the people subjected to its tyranny and caprice, and was dangerous to the tranquillity of the neighbouring governments. It was not surprising, therefore, that the more energetic of the family, and the more ambitious, or perhaps loyal, of its adherents, should eagerly avail themselves of any possible opportunity, and adopt any plausible expedient, to create and encourage among the people of Oude the growth of a feeling antagonistic to the arrangement by which they were transferred from the independent rule of their native princes, to the care of an intrusive government alien alike to their faith and to their country. However great were the demerits of the system under which they lived, many among the intelligent classes of the population did not consider the reasons assigned for the act of sequestration, sufficient to warrant an exercise of power by which their nationality was destroyed; while the bulk of the people—from which, in a very great degree, the sepoy armies of Bengal were recruited—became gradually impressed with a belief, that the subversion of the independence of their country was an arbitrary and despotic act, which they were bound to submit to only until opportunity should occur for throwing off the foreign yoke and re-establishing a native government. With these seeds of mischief silently germinating upon its borders, and spreading widely over its territory by means of the very agents that would be employed to repress any hostile manifestation of its existence, we can scarcely wonder at the rapidity with which the flames of revolt have spread over the provinces of Bengal.

Independently of whatever dissatisfaction might have existed among the people of Oude, on the ground of personal feeling towards the race of their native sovereigns, there was another and yet more substantial cause of offence introduced by the changes consequent upon the annexation of the country. The question of land-tenure has been for many years, in India, a source of dispute and litigation, arising from the innovations made by the Company's government upon the ancient system by which landed property was held by the people. For ages, the soil of India

had been held by a class of superior owners, termed Zemindars, or Talookdars, who were recognised by the native princes as chiefs and proprietors, upon whom the sub-holders, or cultivators, were dependent. The Company sought to destroy this system by admitting the village communities to the rights of ownership also, and merely recognised in the talookdars a class of hereditary middle-men, or farmers, holding large tracts of land by civil tenure, and responsible to government for the revenue of their respective districts. The rights conferred upon the sub-holders were not sufficiently defined when the change was introduced, and there has been no more fertile source of argument and litigation in the courts of India than the rights of the class whose title to the land was, for the purpose of revenue, thus interfered with. Many among the talookdars obtained decrees in the civil courts against the government, and others were pacified by a per-centage in compromise of their claims. In Oude, the "Talookdaree" system was almost universal. Nearly the whole country was parcelled out among great "Zemindars," or "Talookdars," and, though under a Mohammedan government, those men were almost universally Hindoos. As native chiefs, they had obtained great prescription, exercised great power and authority, and were, in fact, the feudatories of the native government. They had their own forts, and troops, and guns. Under this system, the rights of the village proprietors, where any existed, were naturally precarious, and dependent upon the pleasure of the talookdar. This primary authority over the land was contrary to the system by which the Company recognised the title to land in its other territories, and it was thought fit to assimilate the tenure by recognising an ownership in the sub-holders. But when the government took possession of Oude, a difficulty naturally arose, as to the parties with whom the question of tenure was to be settled? The "Talookdars" were strong, and in possession; the communities dormant, broken, and ill-defined. It would naturally take some time to regulate the claims of the one, and establish the rights of the other: but it was attempted; and the general result of the interference with the talookdars was to deprive them of the immunities they had enjoyed under the native rule, and to make direct village proprietaries. This naturally created a deep sense of wrong among a powerful and in-

fluent class of the people of Oude. The revolt of the native troops in the adjacent presidency furnished an opportunity for the active manifestation of their discontent, and the military revolt became in Oude a popular insurrection. In a moment, the whole foundations of government were shaken. Time had not yet elapsed sufficient to destroy the strength of the talookdars, or to enable the village proprietors to appreciate their rights, and identify themselves with the government that would have established and strengthened them. Consequently, the talookdars almost universally resumed what they considered to be their own, and they met with popular support in so doing. Thus they became committed against government; and as the rebellion progressed, and they were compelled to act on one side or the other, they declared against the aggressive rule of the Company without reserve. We had no longer any friends in Oude, and a Hindoo confederacy acquired consistency under the rajah Maun-Sing, who, at the first opportunity, took the field before Lucknow with all the warlike clans of Oude ranged under his banner.

Beyond these various grounds of dissatisfaction, as consequent upon the recent changes, if we refer to the language of an authority entitled to all respect—namely, Sir Henry Lawrence, who, as chief commissioner of the province of Oude, necessarily possessed a most extensive and accurate knowledge of its affairs and its people—we have the assurance that "Oude has long been the Alsatia of India. In that province," he says, "were to be met (even more than at Hyderabad or at Lahore), the Afreedes and Durukzye of the Khyber, the Belooch of Khelat, and the Wazaree of the Sulimani range. There also congregate the idle, the dissipated, and the disaffected of every native state in India; besides deserters from the British ranks." And in an article published in the *Calcutta Review*, in September, 1856 (some months previous to the commencement of the outrages that have since convulsed India, and, as it were, with a prophetic foresight of their approach), the same authority says—"The earliest days of annexation are not the safest. Be liberal, moderate, and merciful; but be prompt, watchful, and even quietly suspicious. Let not the loose characters floating on the surface of society, especially such a society as Lucknow, be too far tempted or trusted."

Upon glancing at the foregoing *epitome* of the history of Oude, since its recognition as a kingdom in 1819, to the period of its absorption into the political system of Anglo-Indian government, it would seem impossible that any diversity of opinion could exist as to the positive necessity that had arisen for a powerful and decided interference with the policy under which its government had ceased to be respected, and its people were abandoned to intolerable and ceaseless oppression. For the sake, therefore, of the reigning family, as well as of the millions subjected to its reckless and unsympathising rule; and independent of any consideration of danger to the neighbouring states, by the proximity of such a focus of discontent and lawless tyranny, it had become imperative upon the Company, as imperial conservator of the welfare of India, to interpose its authority, and arrest the evil. This, after repeated warning, was done; and it must be recollected, by those who are interested in the questions of expediency and justice that have been raised on account of such interposition, that the act of annexation was not the result of hasty determination, nor was it resorted to until repeated warnings had been given and disregarded, and the inevitable consequences of persistence in the destructive course followed by the native government had been plainly and emphatically declared. By successive governors-general—from the period of the administration of Lord William Bentinck in 1828, to that of the Marquis of Dalhousie in 1856—the kings of Oude had been expostulated with, on the ground of their maladministration of the functions of government; and they had been alternately advised and threatened as to the inevitable consequences. That the act by which the protecting and defensive policy of the East India Company was consummated by the deposition of an incapable dynasty and the annexation of its states, should have occurred at the close of the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, is simply an historical fact. The event had long been predetermined in a certain contingency; and it happened to be adopted at the particular crisis, because longer toleration of the prevailing abuses was felt to be incompatible with the principles upon which India, under any rule whatever, had been successfully governed.

Long before popular feeling in that kingdom had found expression in open revolt

serious doubts were entertained by many persons in England as to the justice of the policy adopted, as well as of the propriety of the measures by which that policy was carried into operation. To remove the scruples that were entertained and expressed upon the subject, it was alleged, on the part of the East India Company, that the abuses of the court of Oude were so gross, its demoralisation so complete, and its incapacity for government so manifest, that no other means remained, by which the utter ruin of the country could be prevented, than by absorbing it into the system by which the vast extent of British India had been long and advantageously governed.

Looking to the circumstances we have already detailed in connection with the internal condition of Oude, and the conduct of its rulers for many years prior to its erasure from the roll of independent states, it seems scarcely possible to believe that the facts were other than as alleged on behalf of the Company; yet, it is only consistent with the impartiality that should characterise an historical narrative, that the averments of parties whose view of past transactions has led them to a very different conclusion, should also be recorded in these pages; and a brief reference to the proceedings at a general court of proprietors of the East India Company, held in Leadenhall-street on the 24th of September, 1856, may suffice for the purpose, and at the same time exhibit a most extraordinary contrast of opinion grounded upon the same facts.

Upon the occasion alluded to, Messrs. Lewin and Jones, two active members of the honourable court of proprietors, brought before the court the subject of the annexation of Oude; and the former gentleman, after some explanatory details, and severe animadversions on the conduct of Lord Dalhousie and the policy of the home government, moved the following resolution, viz.—“That the seizure of the territories of Oude is one of the worst examples of Indian spoliation, and an act of the basest ingratitude towards the family of a native prince, who in a season of extremity (1815), when the rule of the East India Company was waning, its treasuries exhausted, and the government of India unable to borrow money to oppose the Mahratta confederacy, opened his coffers with a loan of £2,500,000, on the bare receipt of the governor-general, Lord Hastings; and subsequently, in 1825,

under a similar exigency, assisted the East India Company with a further loan of £1,500,000; and again in 1842, when the East India Company was in want of funds to enable it to carry on the Affghan war, assisted the government of India with a further loan, to relieve the pressure on the Indian treasuries."

In support of this resolution, Mr. Jones entered at great length into the history of the Oude government, and referred to the treaties entered into with it by the East India Company. In detailing these, he alleged, that "after the first battle, in which the Company had obtained an advantage over the nawab of Oude, arrangements were entered into singularly advantageous to the victors. Oude was to pay a subsidy of half a million a-year. In 1798, Sir John Shaw made a new treaty, which raised the subsidy to £760,000 a-year, on condition that the East India Company kept 10,000 troops within the king's territory, and defended him against all foes, foreign and domestic. Three years after Lord Wellesley, in pursuance of his scheme of embracing within British control the whole of India, persuaded the nawab of Oude to give him territory instead of subsidy: and thus a total revenue was given to the British government of £1,300,000 (being one-half of the revenue of Oude), instead of the £760,000. For this the Company was to furnish, if needed, a larger contingent than 10,000 men. Such was the nature of the treaty. But now, on the plea that the king had not preserved his country in a perfect state of protection as regarded life and property, the British government in India took from him the remaining half of his annual revenue—namely, £1,300,000 more, thus absorbing the revenue of the whole kingdom." The honourable proprietor then said, that "the ground of interference by the Indian government with the government of the nawab of Oude, was the sixth article of the treaty of November, 1801. That article stated, that the territories ceded to the Company should be subject to the exclusive management and control of the Company; and the Company guaranteed to the Wuzier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which would remain after the territorial cession. His excellency engaged, that he would establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his sub-

jects, and to be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and his excellency would always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the said honourable Company. It was upon this clause that Lord Dalhousie founded his right of interference. He alleged that the king had not carried out the object of the treaty, and therefore he could not escape paying the penalty, which was no less than the loss of his whole dominions. Now (said the honourable proprietor), in order to a right interpretation of that treaty, it was necessary to consider what was the position of the parties when it was signed. The nawab of Oude was not then in an entirely dependent condition as now; and the East India Company had not then that paramount power which it now enjoyed. Mr. Grant had said that our authority for taking possession of Oude was founded on our holding the paramount authority which belonged to the Great Mogul; but that proposition would not hold water, and Mr. Grant's allusion to a paramount authority vanished by the clauses of the treaty. What, then, was our relative position when that treaty was signed? The king of Oude had a large army; we had an army certainly large also. Every zemindar in his district had a castle well armed, and were at the king's command, while we had enemies all around us. The Mahrattas were out against us; and an alliance with them would have given strength to the nawab. Was it likely, then, that being in such a position as this, he would have given such an authority over his territories as was now claimed under the treaty? But what (he asked of the court of directors) was your own interpretation of the treaty? What were the governor-general's comments upon that treaty? The governor-general, in November, 1817, made this comment upon the treaty:—"In construing the terms of the recorded engagement between the honourable Company and the nawab of Oude, it is required by every principle that the most liberal and comprehensive meaning should be given to such articles of the treaty of 1801 as are in favour of that party whose weakness presents no security for him but in that good faith on which he has relied." This passage was in a letter from the governor-general to Colonel Baillie, resident at Lucknow. One case alone, said the governor-general, could be imagined capable of driving the India government to conduct so repugnant to their

wishes as that of annexation; and that was, the fact that the nawab of Oude was plotting, with other native princes, the overthrow of the British power in India. But such an allegation no one had ever ventured to make against the king of Oude. That, however, was the only contingency ever contemplated that would justify the usurpation of those territories which the Indian government had now, in violation of their own interpretation of the treaty, taken forcible possession of. For, in their letter of the 17th of September, 1817, the court of directors state, that they concurred in the sentiments expressed by the governor-general in his letter to Colonel Baillie, of the 12th of November, 1814, and they agreed with his lordship, that in construing the terms of the treaty of 1801, the most liberal meaning should be given to them. He did not believe that Lord Dalhousie had read the opinions of his predecessors; but wishing to accomplish something before he quitted India—which was a great failing of all governors-general—he sent off Major-general Outram with an intimation that the kingdom of Oude must be absorbed, and that he must find reasons for it. The instructions given to the major-general showed that the whole matter was a foregone conclusion. Although Major-general Outram was instructed to inquire into the state of Oude, yet Lord Dalhousie spoke, in those very instructions, of the ‘evils which the state of Oude had suffered so long?’ Mr. Dorin, a member of council, did not commit himself so far. He said, that ‘things could not be suffered to go on if they were such as he supposed them to be.’ But Lord Dalhousie jumped at once to the conclusion that Oude had suffered long. What were the accusations made against the king of Oude? Major-general Outram charged the king with having neglected his duty, though he admitted that the king was of an amiable disposition, and devoted himself to building palaces; but it was alleged against him, that he surrounded himself with dancers, fiddlers, and poets, and secreted himself in the society of women. It was the first time he had heard the presence of a poet at a court being a cause of scandal. The custom of this country would not lead us to suppose that dancing and music were very objectionable occupations. They had deprived the king of power; the British residents assumed the duty of nominating his ministers, of deciding questions of justice

between his subjects, and, when he would raise an army, they forbade it; when he objected to their progress through his dominions, they persisted in it. What diversion, then, would they allow his mind, so as to be free from the annoyance of their insolent interference? The king had been charged with being guilty of vices and debauchery; but he (Mr. Jones) had been told on good authority, that few people were more moral than the king of Oude in that respect. He never smoked, and the Mohammedan religion was most decisive as to abstaining from drunkenness. It was said that the revenue of the king of Oude had decayed. Of this the court of directors had no right to talk, even if it were true, while they were borrowing two million of money from him at five per cent. It was an artful trick to put off the annexation until he had completed the conversion of the loan from five to four per cent. The king of Oude had, at different times, lent the court of directors money at six per cent., when the Company were borrowing elsewhere even at as high a rate as ten per cent. But, however poor his kingly estate might be, the treaty gave us no right to interfere. The judicial and police departments of his kingdom might, perhaps, more rightly fall within the terms of the treaty, though even there their power of interference was limited. Crime had been greatly checked. But the instances of plunder quoted by Major-general Outram were such as, fifty years ago, were prevalent even in this country. There was no copious emigration of labourers from Oude. The cities were prosperous, palaces were rising, arts promoted, roads were forming; the export of saltpetre, indigo, and grain had not diminished in quantity, nor had the spirit of the people sunk. The British Indian government recruited their best troops in the friendly provinces of Oude. The poppy also was extensively cultivated; and he feared it was some old mercantile jealousy for their disreputable opium monopoly which stimulated their cupidity for Oude. The cause of any disasters which had befallen Oude might be traced to their own failure of contract. They had received £1,300,000 for 10,000 troops to be permanently settled in the king’s territories; but the Company had not fulfilled their agreement. The new system of raising the revenue, introduced by the Company, had proved very injurious to the country. The resident persisted in it; the government enforced it; the king yielded.

and Lord Hastings, seven years afterwards, declared the new system injudicious. The conclusion he had drawn was, that though disorders existed, the conduct of the Indian government had been too erroneous to allow them to determine whether they had not been the chief causes of those disorders; that the treaty recognised the independence of the king internally, but that the Indian government had destroyed it; that the king had established a system of protection to his subjects which would bear comparison with any portion of British India; and that there was, therefore, no justifiable ground on which to rest our interposition."

The exposition by Mr. Lewin was yet more condemnatory of the policy of the Company and its agents in forcing the annexation. He declared, that "the prime minister of the king was influenced by promises of personal consideration. He was told by the governor-general, that if he would prevail on the king to agree to the terms proposed, his conduct would be viewed with favour. He was directed to tell the king that he should have three days to consider as to signing away his kingdom; and that if he did not assent thereto, no terms would be made with him, but that he would have to trust to Providence. This (said the honourable gentleman) was the law of a highwayman. A footpad could only say, 'Your money or your life!' The resident was not to conceal from the king, that by a refusal of his assent to the terms proposed, he would render himself liable to the loss of a liberal provision. Not content with tampering with the king, the resident was instructed to deal deceptively with the queen-mother. She was told that her pension was made to depend upon the king signing away his own kingdom. People in a public capacity might do these things; but if, in a private capacity, similar acts were attempted to be done, the person attempting them would be kicked out of society. With regard to the character of the king of Oude himself, throughout the Blue-book, the most ample testimony was given as to his fidelity. Colonel Sleeman, in his report, dated December 10th, 1851, said—"I believe no native sovereigns in India have been better disposed towards the British government than they have been; or have, in time of difficulty, rendered aid to the extent of their ability with more cordiality or cheerfulness. Though it is vain to hope for a just and efficient administration, such as a British

government has a right to expect from the hereditary sovereigns of this family, no reigning family in India has, I believe, a juster claim to the protection and consideration of the paramount power.' That was Colonel Sleeman's manner of speaking of the king of Oude. What did Lord Dalhousie say of him? He said that the subsidies were paid with regularity; and he wrote, that however gross might have been the neglect of his government, and however grievous its misconduct, as yet the king of Oude had been faithful and true in his adherence to the British power. And yet this was the man the East India Company had turned off his throne, on the ground that his country was in a state of confusion. It was very clear, that it was entirely owing to ourselves that such a state of things existed in Oude. Lord Hastings said, that the confusion existing in that country was entirely owing to our rule; and he therefore suggested that the British resident should be withdrawn. The native princes of India (said the honourable proprietor) were then looking to the conduct of the British government. Their fate would be determined by the final policy now to be adopted. If the annexation of Oude was persevered in, they would be converted into suspicious and dangerous foes. If reversed, they would be our firm and gallant friends."

The appeals and explanations offered for the king of Oude, either at Calcutta or in London, were alike unavailing. The annexation was confirmed; and the deprecatory language of the honourable proprietor was followed by events that have converted the territory of Oude into a focus of rebellion, and made of its cities little other than vast charnel-houses.

In the autumn of 1856, the position of the royal family of Oude had become such, that it was determined to seek justice by a personal appeal to the Queen of England and the British parliament; and for that purpose, the queen-mother of Oude, with the brother and son of the king, attended by an extensive suite of native officers and servants, arrived in this country; and after some delay, occasioned by a due regard to court etiquette, the queen-mother was admitted to an audience by the sovereign.*

* Her majesty's reception of the queen of Oude was represented at the time as having been most gracious. The queen of Oude was conveyed from her residence at Harley-street in great state, her

The arrival of the royal appellants was notified to the court of directors; and shortly afterwards, namely, on the 25th of May, 1857, a petition from the deposed family was presented to the House of Commons by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, one of the members for East Suffolk, setting forth, that "they had been unjustly deprived of their dominions, revenues, palaces, and property." That the royal house of Oude had for a long period maintained inviolate treaties of friendship with Great Britain; that in 1801 a treaty was concluded, by which Great Britain guaranteed possession of his territories to the nawab of Oude, his heirs and successors, and that this treaty was confirmed by various subsequent ones; that in 1848 Colonel Sleeman was appointed British resident in Oude; that in consequence of his reports, General Outram arrived at Lucknow in December, 1854, and though entirely dependent for information on Colonel Sleeman's records, made a report on which Lord Dalhousie prepared a minute, declaring that the treaty of 1837 was "null and void" from its commencement. The petitioners protest against this, and maintain that the British government is still limited by its stipulations and conditions; and even if it were not, the treaty of 1801 precludes the British government from confiscating Oude, as was done in 1856, against which the petitioners protest as a violation of treaties, in no degree warranted by any evils perilling the public tranquillity. They further submit, that the Company's government cannot be entitled, under any circumstances, to seize the district of Khyrugur and other territories ceded to the vizier of Oude by the treaty of 1816, in discharge of

crown being carried with her to the audience. This emblem of sovereignty is a lofty coronetted cap, in form something like the coronets of our peers, only higher and rounder at the top, and, instead of velvet, is a mass of gold tissue ornamented with jewels. On the top of the cap are placed some extraordinary silver ornaments, which sway and jingle about with every movement, producing a sound like a number of silver bells. From the rim of the crown depends the veil, which is really two curtains of gold and coloured tissue, that meet over the face, and then pass down each shoulder. The queen of Oude wore a robe of gold tissue, pendant from her shoulders, which was borne by a Hindoo lady in waiting, who alone was permitted to enter the carriage with her. The queen's dress was a blaze of Eastern magnificence, but she has adopted European fashions sufficiently to indulge in the finest silk stockings, though they were ornamented with gold anklets. Her female attendant was remarkable for the absence of gold and jewels, wearing a plain Indian dress,

a debt due to him by the Company, and that the Company are bound to abide by that treaty, and repay all loans advanced by the royal family of Oude; and they prayed, in the accustomed phraseology of petitions to parliament, that "a select committee might be named to inquire into their allegations and grievances." The petition concluded by claiming the restoration of their rights as independent native princes, the fulfilment of justice, the maintenance of treaties, and the preservation of the honour and dignity of the British nation; and to be heard in support of their claims.

The petition was read, and laid upon the table of the House of Commons; but no steps were taken in furtherance of its object in the house, although the publicity given to it by the usual organs of intelligence had the effect of bringing public opinion to bear upon the subject; and the relative merits of the question became a fruitful source of discussion during the remainder of the year.

In the early part of the session of 1857, the affairs of India, as they were connected with the management of its revenues and the condition of its people, became subjects of frequent discussion in the British parliament; and on the 23rd of May, Lord Claude Hamilton (the member for Tyrone) called the attention of the House of Commons to the alleged prevalence of a system of torture auxiliary to the collection of the revenue; and after referring to former discussions upon the subject, which had occurred in that and the other house of parliament, and to the commission which was issued to inquire into the subject, the noble lord said, that "the result of that com-

with large red stripes. The queen, whose name and style is "Jenabi Auleah Mootaleah Nawab Taj aur Begum Saheb," was attended by a numerous suite, including Mohummud Joorut Allie Khan Bahadoor, the Nawab Nazir or chief eunuch; Ialeesood Dowlah Bahadoor, an aide-de-camp; Nawab Mehdee Koollie Khan Bahadoor (a great-grandson of Nadir Shah), a chamberlain, a physician, a secretary, a diplomatic agent, and several other officers. Each of the princes wore the same sort of high coronet cap of gold and jewels, but ornamented with a few small feathers, and without the silver ornaments peculiar to the crown of the queen. The young prince was magnificently decorated with jewels—the dress itself being composed of cloth of gold. The Oudians still delight in calling this prince the "heir-apparent," and his name and style are "Wullee Auhad Mirza Mohummud Hamid Allie Bahadoor." His uncle, the elder prince, is called "Mirza Sikundar Hushmut Jawaad Allie Bahadoor." The audience was not repeated.

mission was to prove, that in the presidency of Madras torture prevailed to an alarming extent. One of the purposes for which it was employed, was to enforce the payment of the revenue. It also appeared, that torture had been inflicted for the purpose of extorting confessions from persons accused of crime; and with what result? Why, 1,606 persons, under the influence of torture, had confessed themselves guilty of the offences with which they were charged; and yet, when those persons had been allowed to retract that confession, and take a fair trial, 890 of them had been fully acquitted. It was impossible to conceive a more infamous state of things." Then, again, his lordship said, "the torture inflicted by the native police, not only upon males, but also upon females, almost defied description; and yet, when these atrocities were brought home to the offenders, the punishment inflicted was so slight, that other persons were deterred from making complaints." The noble lord announced his intention to bring the whole

subject before the house on some future occasion; and concluded by asking the president of the Board of Control, to state what steps had been taken by the government to put an end to the practice of torture in the presidency of Madras, since the report of the commission which had proved its prevalence in that presidency; and whether similar investigations had been instituted in Bombay and Bengal; and if so, whether it was intended to communicate the result of such inquiries to the house?

Mr. Vernon Smith (the minister referred to) said, in reply, that it was his intention to move for every despatch which had been written on the subject since the report of the commission referred to. A great deal had been done in consequence of the report; and from the well-known character of Lord Harris, the governor-general of Madras, there could be no doubt he would do his utmost to discountenance and put an end to any system of torture.—These despatches will be hereafter referred to.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLT; INCREDULITY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT; SANGUINE MISREPRESENTATIONS TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT; ATTEMPT TO CORRUPT THE GUARD AT FORT WILLIAM; PANIC AT CALCUTTA; ADDRESSES OF THE INHABITANTS; FLIGHT OF THE KING OF OUDE; APPLICATION FOR TROOPS; STATE OF THE BENGAL ARMY; EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM OF "ABSENTEEISM;" LOYAL DEMONSTRATION BY THE 70TH REGIMENT OF NATIVE INFANTRY; LEGISLATIVE ACTS FOR PUNISHMENT OF OFFENCES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the indifference with which, for a considerable time, the continuous arrival of disastrous intelligence from all quarters of the presidency of Bengal was received at the seat of government, the accumulating weight at length removed the film from the mental vision of the governor-general in council; and the fact could no longer be ignored, that a vast and formidable insurrectionary movement was progressing, and daily acquiring strength and organisation. Even after the affair of Meerut, the government hesitated to realise the extent of the calamity; and when the indulgence of its incredulity was no longer possible, it undervalued the gravity of the occurrence, and made light of the apprehensions of the public. The panic that had seized European society at the distant stations began

at last to roll, with hourly increasing earnestness, towards the capital. In every quarter, a sense of some undefined, but imminent and immediate, danger oppressed the people. At a distance from the seat of government, it was felt that the presence of mere detachments of English troops was no longer a protection against the impulsive attacks of an enemy, insidious and sudden in his approach, and cruel and unsparing in his rage; and all eyes naturally turned towards the governor-general and his council for reassurance and protection. In the provinces generally, the civilians had taken arms, and were prepared to co-operate with the European troops in defending their lives, and ensuring the safety of their families. In the capital, a proposition to enrol a volunteer corps for its protection was rejected, as

unnecessary and uncalled-for; and up to the middle of May the members of the Indian government still had faith, or affected to have it, that the prevailing disturbances were merely symptoms of a slight discontent, which the ordinary resources of the government, aided by the remembrance of its vigorous interposition at Berhampore and Barrackpore, were amply sufficient to remedy; and it was, doubtless, under this impression that information was forwarded to the president of the Board of Control, in London, which enabled him on the 11th of June to express his hope, in the House of Commons, "that the public would be under no alarm upon the subject of recent events in Bengal, as, owing to the promptitude and vigour which had been displayed by his noble friend Lord Canning, and the excellent demonstrations which had been made upon the occasion of the disbandment of the 19th regiment, the late disaffection among the troops in India had completely been put an end to—as he felt quite sure any such occurrence would in future be put an end to—by the exhibition of the same promptitude and vigour as that to which he had referred."

Although somewhat anticipating the date of events, it may not be out of place here to observe, that at the moment the president of the Board of Control was making the above statement in the British House of Commons, eleven regiments of cavalry, more than fifty regiments of foot, five field batteries, five companies of artillery, and nearly all the sappers and miners, were in open revolt. Oude, with the exception of its capital, was in the hands of the insurgents. Benares and Allahabad had been saved from capture at a frightful expense of bloodshed and havoc. Cawnpore and Lucknow were each in a state of siege, and the public treasures had been plundered to the extent of more than a million sterling! So much for foresight in India, and ministerial statements in parliament!

Returning to the scene of action, we find that at Calcutta, on Sunday, the 17th of May, an incident occurred, which abruptly destroyed whatever illusion prevailed on the score of existing danger, and the possibility of its immediate approach. During the evening of that day, some men belonging to the 25th regiment of native infantry (which with a wing of the 47th native infantry, was encamped on the esplanade between the Coolie Bazaar and Fort William) contrived to hold

communication with the soldiers on duty in the latter, consisting of the 2nd regiment of guards, and the 70th regiment of the Company's line. The men in camp were without ball ammunition: those in charge of the fort were provided with ten rounds for each man; and the object of the emissaries from the 25th regiment, was to obtain, if possible by persuasion, a portion of this ammunition, declaring, at the same time, their readiness, if the request was acceded to, to make an attack upon the fort during the night, slaughter the whole of the Europeans within it, turn the guns, in the first place, upon the shipping (to prevent intelligence being conveyed out of the country), and then to play upon the city while the European population were massacred, and their public and private property destroyed. This effected, the native troops were to pillage the remaining inhabitants, and march to join the forces of the emperor at Delhi. Fortunately for humanity and the Europeans in Calcutta, these propositions were addressed to men who, as yet, were "true to their salt," and they were indignantly rejected. The treasonable design was promptly reported to the fort major by the sepoys to whom it had been disclosed. Not a moment was to be lost, and orders were issued to place the fort in a state of security: the drawbridges were raised, and the ladders withdrawn from the ditches; the guns on the bastion were shotted; additional guards were placed over the arsenal; European sentinels were stationed at the officers' quarters and on the ramparts; while patrols, within and without the fort, were kept on duty throughout the night, which passed away without any effort to attack the garrison by the baffled traitors on the esplanade. Early the following day, a requisition was forwarded to Dumdum for the 53rd European regiment, which marched from that station into Fort William on the same evening, accompanied by the whole of the women and children belonging to her majesty's regiments collected at the station. Upon the arrival of the 53rd, the men of the 25th were ordered to give up their arms, which they did without offering any resistance.

Even with the above facts before the governor-general, and notorious to the inhabitants of Calcutta, there still remained in high quarters a disinclination to appreciate the full importance of the warning they conveyed. To the addresses of loyalty and confidence forwarded to the

government by influential mercantile and other classes of Bengalee society at this juncture, the replies given, through the secretary to the government, were invariably expressive of perfect confidence in the measures adopted for the instant repression of disorder, and an implied denial that the outbreaks were entitled to more than ordinary consideration, or were at all important or serious. In the reply of the governor-general to an address of the French consul and residents at Calcutta, who had offered their services to the government in consequence of the revolt of the native regiments, the secretary to the governor-general was directed, on the 25th of May, to express Lord Canning's belief, "that there would be no occasion to call for the services of the French community. Everything," says the secretary, "is quiet within 600 miles of the capital. The mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has already been arrested; and there is every reason to hope that, in the course of a few days, tranquillity and confidence will be restored throughout the presidency."

At last, in the midst of a torrent of loyal addresses on the one hand, and rumours of increasing disaffection on the other, a circumstance occurred that effectually disturbed the equanimity of the government. A sealed document, written in the Persian language, was picked up in a crowded part of the city, calling upon "the faithful among the inhabitants to rise *en masse*, and kill the Feringhee Kaffirs." The terror of the European community became excessive upon this discovery; and it was not allayed by a report that obtained currency respecting the sudden flight of the king of Oude, who, it was said, had left his residence at Calcutta for some purpose unknown to government, but imagined to be in connection with the proceedings in his late kingdom. The meditated attack of Fort William was dwelt upon, with the consequences that were to have attended its success; and the governor-general was called upon to proclaim martial law, to raise a corps of militia for the protection of the city, and to arm the European sailors belonging to vessels in the Hooghly, for the preservation of property afloat, and to provide asylums for the inhabitants, in case they should be compelled to leave Calcutta. Under the pressure of these circumstances, Lord Canning at length yielded: assent was given for the enrol-

ment of volunteers; special constables were sworn in; and other measures adopted to allay the disquietude that prevailed. Letters were dispatched to meet Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham at Ceylon, requesting the aid of the troops then on their way to China; and Sir Henry Ward, the governor of the island, was urged to send as many European troops as he could spare to meet an emergency that could no longer be disputed. At the same time the governor-general in council forwarded to the directors of the East India Company a narrative of the events at Meerut and Delhi, and urged the necessity for a material increase in the strength of the European troops. The despatch said—"The necessity for an increase of the substantial strength of the army in the Bengal establishment—that is to say, of the European troops upon this establishment—has been long apparent to us; but the necessity of refraining from any material increase to the charges of the military department, in the present state of our finances, has prevented us hitherto from moving your honourable court in this matter. The late untoward occurrences at Berhampore, Fort William, Barrackpore, and Lucknow, crowned by the shocking and alarming events of the past week at Meerut and Delhi, and taken in connection with the knowledge we have lately acquired of the dangerous state of feeling in the Bengal native army generally (strange and, at present, unaccountable as it is), have convinced us of the urgent necessity of not merely a positive increase of our European strength, but of a material increase in the proportion which our European troops bear to the native regular troops on the establishment. We are of opinion that the latter is now the more pressing necessity of the two.

"We believe that all these objects, political, military, and financial, will be immediately attained, in a very material degree, by taking advantage of the present opportunity in the manner we have now the honour respectfully to propose; and we see no other way in which all the same objects can be attained in any degree, now or prospectively. We recommend that the six native regiments, which are, in effect, no longer in existence, should not be replaced, whereby the establishment of regular native infantry would be reduced to sixty-eight regiments; and that the European officers of these late regiments should

be used to officer three regiments of Europeans to be added to your establishment at this presidency.

"We confidently affirm, that the government will be much stronger, in respect of all important internal and external purposes, with three additional European regiments of established strength, than it would be by embodying six native regiments of the established strength; and we anticipate no inconvenience in respect of minor objects, in time of peace and tranquillity, from the consequent numerical reduction of regular troops. Indeed, the financial result of the measure, if carried out as we propose, will leave a considerable surplus available, if it should be thought fit to employ it, for an augmentation of irregulars; who, for all such minor objects, are much better, as well as much cheaper, than regulars of any description.

"Your honourable court will observe, that, at present, the relative strength of European to native infantry, in the Company's Bengal army, is disproportionately small. In the Bombay army it is as one to nine two-thirds; and in the Madras army as one to sixteen two-thirds; while in the Bengal army it is as one to twenty-four two-thirds. If the proposed measure is adopted, the proportion in the Bengal army will be between those in the Bombay and Madras armies—viz., one to eleven two-thirds."

Anticipating the date of the reply to this communication, it may be here stated, that on the 8th of July, the honourable court of directors promised their best attention, "at the earliest possible period," to the governor-general's report, and added—"We confidently expect, that the next despatches we shall receive will apprise us of the complete success of the measures taken for the suppression of armed resistance to our government; and we feel assured that the same energy and skill which have been displayed in making head against the most formidable danger to which the British government in India could be exposed, will be employed in taking precautions against the return of that danger, and in immediately ascertaining and removing, so far as is practicable, the causes which may have led to it."

The disaffected state of a great portion of the native army of Bengal now became a fact acknowledged, and henceforth was a subject of anxious consideration by the

Indian government; the whole *rationale* of the military system was freely analyzed, and the conduct of the authorities severely commented on by the press, for their neglect of ordinary prudence in the choice of individuals to fill the higher appointments of the army, and for their obstinate perpetuation of a system by which the efficiency of the military strength of the presidency was impaired, through the absence from their respective corps, of more than 700 European officers belonging to the native regiments on the establishment; such absence being occasioned by the employment of military officers in civil capacities, whereby the regiments were deprived of their experience, example, and influence; while dangers, imminent and undisguised, were spreading over the country: and there cannot be a doubt, that but for the prevalence of such a system, the spread of the contagion that has ultimately destroyed the native army of Bengal, might have been effectually checked before the disease became incurable.

In an elaborate essay by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, chaplain to the forces, on the subject of "India and its Army," originally published in the *Edinburgh Review* (1853), the grievance to which we have adverted is discussed at some length, and with much point. The reverend author asks—"Will anybody pretend to say that an English battalion, 800 strong, has, upon our present peace establishment, too many officers attached to it? And if 800 Englishmen, speaking the same language with their officers, cannot be made effective, as a regiment, with fewer than thirty-three battalion officers, exclusive of the staff, how can it be supposed that 800 sepoys—a mixed mass of Hindoos and Mohammedans, speaking different languages, trained up to different habits, and altogether aliens, in customs and in thought, on every important subject—are to be rightly managed by twenty-two officers? But are there really twenty-two battalion officers present with any native regiment in India? By no means. Such is the demand for European service on the general staff of the army, and so trying the effect of an Indian climate on European constitutions, that not only is this not the case, even in a solitary instance, but that, in a vast variety of instances, less than one-half of the regimental officers in the Company's service ever do duty with their corps. Nor is it to

be forgotten, that even as regards regimental duty, no provision is made in the Company's service for staff employment. The adjutant, the quartermaster, and the paymaster, are all selected from among the battalion officers; thus leaving available for Company duty—supposing all to be present—barely fifteen. Even fifteen, however, is far above the mark. Nine years ago the Company's regular native army—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—consisted of 212,500 men; to these were nominally attached 4,481 officers; of whom the general staff, and the command of irregular corps, absorbed not fewer than 2,229; leaving exactly 2,253 officers to take charge, in field and in quarters, of 212,000 men. This will give an average of something less than one officer to every ninety-three men—a proportion which all who are conversant with the subject will pronounce to be wholly inadequate, and which drew from Marshal Soult, when he was here, on the occasion of her majesty's coronation, expressions of astonishment that discipline could be preserved in the Indian army at all.

“Again: inadequate as this complement is, the experience of the last eight years has shown that the progress of war, even for a few months, renders it far more so. We have heard of regiments, both in Afghanistan and the Punjab, going into action without being able to show so much as one European officer at the head of each company. We believe that there were occasions when three or four Europeans, at the most, took their places in the line. Can we expect, looking to the class of natives now dignified with the title of commissioned officers, that regiments composed like those of our Indian army, and so commanded, should behave otherwise than ill? We should not like to see the best regiment under the crown led into action without having at least one officer per company to show the way. And yet there is affectation of surprise and regret when a sepoy battalion, under the command of a lieutenant, becomes unmanageable and insubordinate.”

Such, then, was the state of the Indian military service in 1844. To prove that the evil has existed to the present time, it is only necessary to refer to the following extract from an official notification from the major commanding the 53rd regiment; addressed, on the 1st of June, 1857, to the assistant adjutant-general of the presidency division at Fort William:—

“I have the honour to bring to your notice, for submission to the major-general commanding the presidency division, that the number of captains at the head-quarters of the regiment under my command, is inadequate to perform the duties called for in garrison, and therefore beg to request that Captain — be directed to rejoin his regiment.”—A similar representation and request was made on the 3rd of the same month by the lieutenant-colonel commanding the 35th regiment, who further pointedly stated, that “the services of every available officer and soldier was much required under existing circumstances.”

Among the many serious disadvantages that resulted from this system of military “absenteeism,” was one which arose from the want of that cohesion so essential to the efficiency of an army, which can only be maintained by a thorough understanding between the men and their officers; a *desideratum* the Bengal army could rarely boast of, in consequence of the drain that was permitted upon the whole military establishment, for the benefit of the civil service. Owing to the vast and yet continual extension of the boundaries of the Company's territory, and a desire to economise the expense of the civil service, officers of all grades were encouraged to aspire to, and actually obtained, civil appointments, without reference to their military duty. In India, a Company's officer was always supposed to be fit for anything that offered. He could be an inspector of schools, an examiner in political economy, an engineer, a surveyer, an architect, an auditor, a commissary, a resident, or a governor. Political, judicial, and scientific appointments were all open to him; but the inevitably mischievous result of this aptitude for all duties but those strictly of the profession, was, that the service to which the party appointed really belonged, suffered by the deprivation of talent perverted to an illegitimate use. Frequently, as we have already had occasion to observe, more than one-half of the European officers belonging to a native regiment were absent from it on civil service for many years consecutively. Incessant changes occurred in commands; and the sepoy and his officers were seldom acquainted, or knew anything of each other's disposition. The routine of regimental duty was given into the hands of young officers unable either to converse with the men, or to understand their wants and

appreciate their feelings; and being thus totally dependent upon the native officers for the means of communication with the men under their command, a wall of separation was built up between them, very gratifying to European notions of superiority, and encouraging to self-esteem; but deplorably injurious to the efficiency of the army. There is no race of men upon earth in whom an affectation of humility and obedience is more universal than among the natives of Hindostan; yet, as a rule, the Hindoo sepoy is one of the slowest to obey an order. In European armies, disobedience, next to actual mutiny, is heavily punished. In those of India, acts of disobedience, and breaches of regulations, were frequently passed over as affairs of accident. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Bengalee sepoys, pampered and indulged as they were in all matters connected with questions of *caste* and religion, inadequately officered, and having no common bond of union with their European superiors beyond the mere fact of belonging to the same service, should be always ripe for mutiny, and accessible to the persuasions of the disaffected of their own race; who detested the rule, and loathed the association of the Feringhee subjugators of their native princes.

It has already been observed, that in every instance of mutinous outbreak, the pretext, when referred to at all, has invariably been an alleged dread of European interference with religion and with *caste*, as enjoyed by the Hindoo sepoy. It was in vain that the government, through the military and civil authorities, had repeatedly and unequivocally disclaimed any such intention; and by the proclamation of the governor-general in council of the 16th of May, had confirmed the denial. The impression of a meditated wrong was indelibly stamped upon the imagination of the native soldier; and it could not be effaced until washed out with the blood of the unconscious and innocent objects of his suspicion. The pernicious tendency of the system under which the Bengal native army had been suffered to exist from its origin, was so well known to reflecting observers in India, that the probability of an outbreak like the one now recorded had, for many years past, been a subject of conversation in the military and civil circles of the three presidencies. The peculiar constitution of Bengal, as the first in political rank, and

the assumption of superiority it always arrogated to itself, rendered any free discussion of the subject alike delicate and difficult; while the manner in which the question of *caste* was invariably dealt with, made argument worse than useless. English officers in the Bengal service had been found capable of even exaggerating, in their own persons, many of those prejudices and exclusive privileges of *caste*, that sensible men of the other presidencies looked upon as evils hardly to be tolerated in natives, who claimed them by right of birth and the religion of their race. The officers of the Bengal army looked down on the officers of the Bombay and Madras forces, as belonging to an inferior service; and this error, which could not be concealed from the shrewd and observant native soldier, silently perhaps, but surely, fostered and encouraged the *caste* prejudices of the ranks beneath them. Then, as regards the material of the Indian army. Men in Bombay and Madras were enlisted without regard to high or low *caste*. In Bengal, all but *high caste* men were rejected. An institution in itself so arrogantly exclusive and repugnant to social prosperity, by perpetuating eternal separation and enmity, was one that ought to have been discouraged—not fostered. To those who have not witnessed the influence of *caste* in the daily life of India, but a faint idea can be conceived of its effect upon society: the shunning of contact; the inward loathing of one class toward the other; the abject submission of each to the other in the descending ranks of the scale; the barriers erected by fanaticism for preventing men of one rank from rising to a higher grade; the hopeless *status quo!* the break on the wheel of human progress presented by the institution of *caste*—are effects of the system that had been long apparent, and have been most culpably tolerated to the present time.

Returning from this digression, we find that, towards the latter part of the month, the panic that had agitated Calcutta began to subside. The value of public securities recovered a healthy level, and subscriptions to a new loan poured in with unwonted rapidity: but among the most gratifying items of intelligence communicated to the public about this period, was a general order by the governor-general in council, announcing the receipt of a petition from the native commissioned officers, non-com-

ommissioned officers, and sepoy of the 70th regiment of native infantry, couched in the following terms:—

“Barrackpore, 25th May, 1857.

“It is reported that European troops are going up to Delhi and other places, to coerce the mutinous and rebellious there, and we wish to be sent with them also. In consequence of the misconduct of these traitors and scoundrels, confidence in us is weakened, although we are devoted to government; and we therefore trust that we may be sent wherever the European troops go; when having joined them, we will, by bravery even greater than theirs, regain our good name and trustworthiness. You will then know what really good sepoy are.”

The petition was signed on behalf of the regiment by the subahdar-major, five subahdars, and six jemadars; and at a parade on the 26th of May, at which the whole of the native officers, non-commissioned officers, and sepoy were present, the whole of them expressed to their commanding officer their unanimous concurrence in its prayer. The petition was accompanied by a communication from Major-general Hearsey, in which he stated that he had particularly remarked the good feeling and loyalty shown by the regiment during the misconduct of the 19th and 34th regiments; and that he had such confidence in the regiment, that although it was the junior of the brigade at Barrackpore, he had, on the public parade, entrusted the colours and band of the disbanded 19th regiment to its keeping. The major-general further wrote—“It was my intention, when this bad feeling among many of the native regiments had been checked or overcome, to have recommended that the 70th native infantry should have had an honorary colour presented to it, and an extra jemadar to carry it, with the word ‘Fidelity,’ inscribed in English, Persian, and Oordoo, on it, in large characters, or any other acknowledgment it might please the government to confer, as a reward for the trustworthiness shown by this loyal regiment.”—Upon receipt of this favourable testimony to the character of the regiment, the governor-general at once proceeded to the cantonment at Barrackpore; and at a parade of the troops there ordered for the purpose, his lordship addressed the men as follows:—

“Native officers and soldiers of the 70th,—Your petition reached me yesterday, and I am come to answer it. I have received it

with delight; not because I doubted your fidelity, for I know the trust that is reposed in you by your gallant colonel; I know the high opinion which your brave general, with his long experience of the sepoy of Bengal, entertains of you; and I have myself marked your good and faithful conduct under recent bad example, when many fell away. I, therefore, felt sure of your loyalty. But your petition gives me pleasure, because it is an open contradiction of the rumour which has gone abroad, that the faithlessness of some regiments has tainted all within their reach. You have refuted the unjust suspicion nobly.

“Men of the 70th, I will answer your petition. You have asked to be sent to meet the mutineers of Delhi. You shall go. In a few days, as soon as the arrangements can be made for your progress, you shall proceed to the north-west. You have promised that in acting against the rebels you will excel your European comrades in bravery. I believe that you will vie with them worthily. You will have loyalty, truth, and humanity on your side, if, unhappily, the misguided men whose acts have moved your indignation continue to resist the government.

“But you have another duty to perform. You are going where you will find men, your brothers-in-arms, who have been deluded into the suspicion, against which you have stood firm, that the government has designs against their religion or their caste. Say to them that you at least do not credit this; that you know it to be untrue; that for a hundred years the British government has carefully respected the feelings of its Indian subjects in matters of caste and religion. You may even hear it asserted that the governor-general has come among you determined to disregard these feelings, and to do injury to your caste, openly or secretly. If you find any who believe in this senseless fable, say to them that I, your governor-general, have told you, with my own lips, that it is false. Say to them that the authority of the Queen of England extends into every quarter of the globe, and over people of every creed, and that it has never done violence to the conscience of any man.

“Tell them this; make them listen to it; and you will do useful and friendly service to them. And now, native officers and men of the 70th, I bid you good-bye. I know that I shall hear good of you. Trust your

officers. Look to your colonel as your friend and guide. Look to the government as children look to their father. Let me hear that you have done your duty, and I shall know how to mark with distinction the zeal and faithfulness of the 70th."

The general order then declared that the governor-general had received the petition with the highest satisfaction. "He has never," it said, "doubted the fidelity of the 70th native infantry, although that regiment has been exposed to the influence of bad example; and the governor-general rejoices that it has vindicated its good name amongst the regiments of the Bengal army by this act of spontaneous and eager loyalty. The 70th regiment of native infantry has proved before all men, that it views with horror the atrocious crimes by which traitors and murderers have recently disgraced the name of the sepoys of India, and that it has not been led astray by the malicious inventions of those who are seeking to inspire mistrust between the government of India and its soldiers."

In order that all due honour should be given to this mark of loyalty, the petition of the 70th regiment was ordered to be placed on the records of the army of Bengal, and to be read with the general order, at the head of every regiment and company in the service at a parade ordered for the purpose.

Notwithstanding this spontaneous ebullition of loyal fervour and devotion, and its encouraging appreciation in the highest quarter, intelligence was shortly afterwards received from General Hearsey, that the fidelity of the 70th regiment could not be depended upon; and (as we shall presently see) no alternative remained but to disarm it, and place it among the list of other corps that had failed in their duty, without adding to their offence a spurious affectation of loyalty, and wilfully substituting for the honourable word they were to have borne as a distinctive mark upon their colours, the ignominious and recreant epithet of "Traitors."

By way of allaying the causes of disquietude that prevailed, an act of the legislative council of India was hastily passed for the emergency, under the title of "An act for the prosecution, trial, and punishment of offences against the state." The preamble stated, "that it was necessary to make due provision for the prevention,

trial, and punishment of offences against the state:" and it contained clauses in which provision was made for the punishment of rebellion, the punishment for harbouring or concealing rebels; giving the executive government power to issue a commission for the trial of persons charged with certain offences, in any district proclaimed to be in a state of rebellion; giving the executive government power to prohibit the carrying or possession of arms, and magistrates power to search houses, and seize arms, &c. The act was to continue in force for one year only.

A general order was also issued by the governor-general in council, authorising every general officer commanding a division, every brigadier, and every officer commanding a station, being the senior officer on the spot, to appoint general or other courts-martial, for the trial of any of the officers, or soldiers, or followers, in the service of the East India Company, being natives of the East Indies, and amenable to the articles of war for the native troops, who may be charged with any offence which, in his judgment, requires to be punished without delay; and to confirm and carry into effect, immediately or otherwise, any sentence of such court-martial. The courts assembled under this order were to consist wholly of European commissioned officers, or wholly of native commissioned officers, or partly of both: the number of members present was not to be less than five; and it was left to the discretion of the officer appointing the court to determine the composition of its members—thus meeting any difficulty that might be suggested on the score of native feeling and prejudice, a fastidious deference to which had too long been suffered to interfere with, and impair, the discipline of the army, and which was still manifest even in the very act for suppressing crimes that had arisen from its over-indulgence.

Strengthened by the reiterated assurances of devoted loyalty on the part of the influential inhabitants of Calcutta, and the reinforcements that now began to arrive from the troops returning from the Persian expedition, the authorities at the seat of government regained confidence; and the capital again settled down, for a short time, into its usual state of tranquil indifference to everything not immediately within its own boundaries.

CHAPTER X.

THE OUTBREAK AT NUSSEERABAD; FIDELITY OF THE 1ST BOMBAY LANCERS, AND ESCAPE OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS AND FAMILIES; DEATH OF COLONEL PENNY; HONOURABLE RECOGNITION OF LOYAL SERVICE BY THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY; LETTERS FROM OFFICERS; THE 44TH AND 67TH NATIVE INFANTRY DISARMED AT AGRA; GALLANT SKIRMISH WITH REBEL TROOPERS OF THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT NEAR MYNPOORIE; DEATH OF CAPTAIN HAYES AND ASSISTANT-SURGEON FAYEER; ANTICIPATED DISTURBANCES AT BAREILLY; REMOVAL OF THE FEMALES AND CHILDREN FROM THE CANTONMENT; REVOLT OF THE NATIVE REGIMENTS, AND FLIGHT OF THE OFFICERS; MURDER OF SIX ENGLISH GENTLEMEN BY THE REBEL AUTHORITIES; PLUNDER AND DESTRUCTION OF THE CANTONMENT; MASSACRES AT SHAHJEHANPORE AND MOHUNDEE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favourable aspect of affairs, as understood and acted upon at this period in Calcutta, the poison of disaffection was still operating with deadly effect and ceaseless activity upon the native army, at the various stations throughout the presidency; and the unfortunate result was next manifest at the cantonment of Nusseerabad, a town in the upper province, situate about twelve miles to the south-east of Ajmeer.* This cantonment had been drained of infantry and guns for the Persian war; but the 1st Bombay lancers had remained; and, shortly after, the 15th Bengal native infantry from Meerut, the 30th from Agra, and the 2nd company of the 7th battalion Bengal artillery, were added to supply the deficiency of troops at the station. Matters proceeded quietly at this place until the afternoon of the 28th of May, when the horses of the Bombay troop, with a portion of the men, had gone to water. As soon as they were out of the cantonment, the light company of the 15th native infantry, by a sudden and unexpected movement, took possession of the artillery, and, being joined by the remainder of the regiment, turned the guns upon the lines occupied by the cavalry. For some hours the 30th regiment and the

artillerymen remained passive: they refused to act against the mutineers; but they took no part in their proceedings, and protected their officers from insult. At length, as the evening advanced, the whole of them yielded to persuasion, and threw themselves into the movement commenced by the mutineers of the 15th regiment. The lancers, who numbered 250 men, finding the crisis had arrived for deciding the mastery, unhesitatingly charged the rebellious mass in the hope to recover the guns. Driven back for a moment, they rallied, and again advanced upon the bayonets of the mutineers; and, though ultimately repulsed by the overwhelming numbers of their opponents, covered themselves with glory, and inflicted severe loss upon the enemy. In this affair, Captain Spottiswoode and Cornet Newberry, of the lancers, were killed; and Captain Hardy and Lieutenant F. Lock severely wounded. The officer commanding the regiment, Colonel Penny, died the following night from the effects of a fall from his horse during a charge. Further attempt to regain the guns being useless, the lancers retired from the cantonment, taking with them the European officers and families belonging to the revolted regiments, whom

* This city is situated in the centre of the Rajpoot states of Jyenagur, Joudpoor, and Odeypoor, and is the capital of a province. The chief attraction of the place is the tomb of the great Mohammedan saint, Khaja Moyen-ud-Deen, who became celebrated some six or seven centuries since for his extraordinary virtue and sanctity. The distance from Agra to Ajmeer is 230 miles; yet it is related, that the emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage from the former city to the latter, on foot, to implore a blessing on his family. His progeny then consisted of daughters only; but after his pilgrimage it received the addition of three sons. The Mahratta chief, Madhajee Scindia, and Dowlut Rao Scindia, though Hindoos, were remarkable for their devotion to Mohammedan society and customs, and the piety of the latter was testified by his bestowing a superb pall and canopy of cloth of gold on this tomb. Here is also an

ancient temple, which has been regarded by modern travellers as one of the finest monuments of Hindoo architecture extant. Four miles from the city, a remarkable place of Hindoo pilgrimage, named Pokur or Pookur, is still resorted to by the votaries of Brahma. The fort of Ajmeer, named Taragur, is built on the north-east end of a range of hills, and consists principally of a plain stone wall along the edge of the mountain, strengthened by a few round bastions. The city lies at the foot of the hill, and is surrounded by a wall and ditch. The remains of a palace of the emperor Jehangeer are still extant, and are remarkable for the fact, that it was while holding his court at this place that the Mogul sovereign received the first embassy from the East India Company in 1616, and gave his permission for the establishment of a factory in the city. (See "Introduction," p. 21.)

they safely escorted, first to Ajmeer, and, subsequently, to the camp of Colonel Dixon at Beawur. The mutineers remained in possession of the station until midnight of the 28th, when, after plundering the treasury, and firing some bungalows, they marched off in the direction of Delhi, with their arms and ammunition. It appears they were not long in making their way to the capital, although their passage was greatly impeded by the guns they had carried off, and which they were finally compelled to abandon in the deep sandy plains on their route. Captain Nixon, who held Muttra on the Jumna, having received intelligence of the mutiny and desertion, determined to intercept the rebel force on its way to Delhi, with the Bhurtpore contingent under his command. His troops advanced for three marches, and then they also mutinied, forcing Captain Nixon and Captain Munbee to flee for their lives into Bhurtpore. An attempt to bring the Malwa contingent against the mutinous sepoys on their way from Nusseerabad was attended with similar results; and the two regiments, with the artillerymen belonging to the abandoned guns, were thus enabled to swell the ranks of the rebel army at Delhi.

The behaviour of the 1st regiment of Bombay light cavalry, at Nusseerabad, was soldierlike and exemplary; and their fidelity to their officers, throughout a severe ordeal, was beyond all praise, and well deserved the eulogy pronounced upon the regiment in the following official report of Captain Hardy, who succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel Penny. Addressing the officiating major of brigade, Rajpootana field force, on the 30th of May, Captain Hardy says—"I have the honour to report, for the information of the brigadier commanding the Rajpootana field force, the part taken by the 1st lancers in the late sad proceedings at Nusseerabad. At about half-past 3 P.M., on the 28th inst., the alarm was given that the 15th regiment of Bengal native infantry was in open mutiny, and had seized the guns. In common with the other officers I was almost immediately down in my troop lines. In a few minutes the whole regiment was under arms, mounted, and formed up in open column of troops. The column was put into a gallop, and proceeded to the lines of the artillery, when the guns were immediately opened upon us. The order was given at once to charge and take the guns,

troops charging in succession. Being 'left' in 'front,' the 6th troop, under Captain Spottiswoode, led; that officer fell at the head of his troop, after getting into the battery. A succession of charges followed, the officers, of course, leading the way. Not succeeding, as hoped for, in retaking the guns, Colonel Penny ordered the attacks to cease, and the regiment was marched back and formed in rear of our men's lines to protect them and be ready to act on the mutineers if they came out of their lines into the plain. While there, about five o'clock, the whole of the 15th officers joined us, having been fired at by their men. The 30th regiment would not obey their officers; and it was decided to move out of camp with the ladies and children while light remained. Colonel Penny being taken ill, it devolved upon me to execute the order for immediate retreat on Ajmeer. Subsequently, the direction was changed for this place (Beawur), where we arrived yesterday morning. Half-way the regiment halted till daylight, for rest and to let stragglers come up; and here Colonel Penny was brought a corpse, having died on the road. A volunteer party of three men and a havildar was sent back to reconnoitre and bring an account of the further proceedings of the mutineers in cantonments; and a party under a native officer was left on the halting-ground with orders how to act in case of emergency, and to stay till rejoined by the party reconnoitring.

"This rear detachment reached the regiment at eight o'clock yesterday evening. The result of the *reconnaissance* (which duty was performed in the most creditable manner) has already been laid before the brigadier in person. In addition to Colonel Penny, deceased, apparently from over exertion, and Captain Spottiswoode, shot, as before stated, under the guns, Cornet Newberry, a promising young officer, was also shot in the act of charging, and Lieutenant and Adjutant F. Lock and myself are wounded, but doing well. At present, I only know, for certain, of one of our men badly wounded, and three horses shot. Cornet Jenkins had his charger shot under him, and Lieutenant Stephens's charger is badly wounded. The loss of the mutineers I have been unable to ascertain at present. I make out to be missing sixty-six men, exclusive of the guards and sick left behind; but I hope the greater number of these will be speedily accounted for. In concluding this report, I would beg the

brigadier's kind offices in recommending the regiment under my command to the generous consideration of government. Cantoned with two mutinous regiments, the regiment has, as the brigadier knows, been nightly on duty for a fortnight past, and entirely responsible for the safety of the cantonment. They have been constantly tempted, and assailed with abuse, with no other result than telling their officers. They turned out in the promptest way to attack the mutineers, and they marched out of camp when ordered, as they stood, leaving their families and everything they had in the world behind them. They are now without tents, in a hot plain, and without any possibility of being comfortable; but up to this time all has been most cheerfully borne, and all duty correctly performed. I am fearful as to the propriety of mentioning the losses of the European officers; but I cannot refrain from bringing to the notice of my superiors the grateful sense I have of the efficient and kind aid that the officers have afforded me at this trying time. Their active services during the mutiny have already been recognised by the brigadier's approbation."

The report of Captain Hardy having been, in due course, transmitted to the commander-in-chief, was, by his excellency, submitted to the notice of the governor in council at Bombay, with the expression of his earnest appreciation of the good conduct of the regiment that had so honourably distinguished itself, by unwavering fidelity in the face of so many incentives to a less worthy line of conduct. Lord Elphinstone promptly recognised the propriety of marking his approval of such honourable conduct on the part of the troops of his presidency; and the subjoined notification of the governor's approbation was immediately issued, and ordered to be distributed throughout the presidency of Bombay.

"The right honourable the governor in council, has the highest satisfaction in publishing, for the information of the army, the annexed report of the conduct of the 1st regiment of light cavalry (lancers), made by Captain Hardy, on the occasion of a mutiny of the Bengal troops at the station of Nusseerabad, on the 29th of May last. This report has only recently been laid before government by his excellency the commander-in-chief, the original despatch having miscarried on the road. By a later report, the governor in council has learnt

with regret, that eleven men of the lancers basely deserted their comrades and their standards, and joined the mutineers; but the governor in council will not suffer the disgrace of these unworthy members of the corps to sully the display of loyalty, discipline, and gallantry, which the conduct of this fine regiment has eminently exhibited. To mark the approbation with which he has received this report, the right honourable the governor in council will direct the immediate promotion to higher grades of such of the native officers and men as his excellency the commander-in-chief may be pleased to name as having most distinguished themselves on this occasion, and thereby earned a special reward; and the governor will take care that liberal compensation is awarded for the loss of property abandoned in the cantonment, and subsequently destroyed, when the lancers, in obedience to orders, marched out to protect the families of the European officers, leaving their own property entirely unprotected."

In addition to the above honourable recognition of meritorious service, the commander-in-chief at Bombay directed, that the notification of the governor in council, with the letter of Captain Hardy annexed, should be carefully translated into Hindostani and Mahratta, by interpreters of regiments, and be read and explained to the whole of the native troops of the Bombay service at a special parade to be ordered for the purpose;—so great was the importance attached to exceptional instances of native loyalty at the period referred to, when the Indian press was rife with imputations upon the fidelity of the Bombay branch of the service.

An officer of the 1st lancers, who appears to have borne a full share of the perils of the day, writes thus to a friend, a few days subsequent to the occurrence:—"Of course, by the time this reaches you, you will have heard that these cursed Bengal troops have followed the example of their fellows at Delhi and Meerut. At about 3 P.M. on Thursday, the 28th, to our utter surprise, we were all roused by hearing guns fired in the infantry lines, and almost immediately afterwards, we were informed that the 15th and 30th regiments had mutinied, and were then in arms. We (that is, our regiment) were ordered at once to the lines; we were in the saddles in less than half-an-hour, and on our way to the artillery lines, where some of the mutineers had formed up, and,

in conjunction with some of the artillerymen, had manned the guns: as soon as we appeared, they opened a fire of grape and canister on us. We were ordered to charge the guns by successive troops. The left troop was in front, and, in company with part of my troop (No. 5), went gallantly at the battery. In this charge, poor Spottiswoode was killed, and myself wounded in two places—a sword cut on left arm, and contusion from gun-shot on right chest; but, I am happy to say, neither bad wounds, as you may believe, when I was able again to assist in leading a charge. We made three or four successive charges, in which poor Newberry, a gallant youngster as ever lived, breathed his last, and Captain Hardy was wounded in the leg. Finding that from the position in which the guns were placed (amongst bomb-proof buildings) we were unable, from want of room, to do anything, we retired to our own lines; and in the evening marched to Beawur, where we stayed two days. We returned to camp yesterday, and found all quiet, and order is again beginning to be restored. On the march to Beawur our colonel died, from the effects of a fall from his horse, combined with a sort of fit he had, so that this makes me a captain. I can't tell you how sorry I am at Spottiswoode's death: he was one of the finest fellows that ever lived. My brother, I am happy to say, by some lucky accident, did not get a single wound, and is as well as can be; and although I have my arm in a sling, looking like an old Greenwich pensioner, still I am not at all badly wounded, and will be again all right. *I now ride and do all the adjutant's duties*, so you see it can't be much. We expect a reinforcement from Deesa in a day or two, in the shape of 300 European infantry, three guns European horse artillery, one squadron of 2nd cavalry, and a wing of 12th regiment of Bombay native infantry. At present, we are the only troops in cantonment. No officers of any branch of the service, with the exception of our officers, have been wounded. The mutineers plundered everything they could lay their hands on; and when I went into the bazaar to inspect it, I never saw such a pitiable sight: no less than twenty-two officers' bungalows are burned down, and their kit burnt or looted. Our regiment has come off best, having lost next to nothing. Our men are as stanch as Europeans, and behaved splendidly."

The subjoined letter from an officer of the late 15th native infantry, affords a more detailed narrative of the outbreak at Nusseerabad. It differs somewhat from the official account, and would warrant the conclusion that the mutiny was not unexpected by the European officers, and that other troops besides the Bombay lancers were engaged in the unsuccessful struggle against mutiny and rebellion. The writer of the communication appears to have been on leave, and had rejoined his regiment on the 26th of May. He says—"The day after my return, reports began to be circulated about the disaffection of our regiment and the 30th native infantry, most of them being to the effect that our men were the instigators. We fancied these reports much exaggerated, and imagined that, though our men might follow in a move of the kind, they would not be the first to lead the way. The result shows how much we were mistaken. Every precaution was taken for the safety of the station. The cavalry (1st Bombay lancers) were nearly all of them under arms every night, and strong bodies of them patrolled the cantonment. The guns were kept limbered up all night, and loaded with grape; and a detachment of 250 Europeans of her majesty's 83rd and some European artillery were sent for from Deesa, about 200 miles south-west of Nusseerabad. I used to sleep with a loaded revolver and my sword by my bedside; and should not have been in the least surprised if I had been awake any night, and told that the sepoys were firing the bungalows, which, in other places, seems to have been a preliminary step. The excitement seemed to calm down, or at any rate we got easier in our minds, and fancied that the crisis had past. On the 27th I happened to be on duty, and on going round the station at midnight, found everything remarkably quiet. Next day, when I was eating my tiffin in my own house, about half-past three in the afternoon, my servants rushed in, saying that the men had risen. I called for my pony and armed myself, and then went over with W— to the colonel's. When he was ready we started for the parade-ground, through one of the streets running between the sepoys' huts and their lines. The men were coming out of their huts and loading their muskets; and I expected they would have popped at us as we passed. On reaching the quarter-guard, we found some of the men had already

turned out; and, by degrees, the men of the different companies fell in in front of their respective lines, and were brought up and formed into open column. Soon after we came down and the men fell in, the colonel sent me with a message to the officer in charge of the guns. He did not know they were in the hands of the rebels. We had heard firing in that direction before; but did not know that the first thing which took place was, that a few of the worst men, having induced the native gunners to join them (there were no European artillerymen, but the native ones were considered quite faithful), had possessed themselves of the guns, six in number. I galloped off towards them, and must have been within from 70 to 100 yards, when I began to experience the unpleasant sensation of bullets whizzing past my head, and saw a lot of sepoys taking potshots at me as I came along. One man put up his hands and warned me off, and I did not require any further hint—the neighbourhood was not the safest. I immediately turned my pony's head, and endeavoured to retreat under cover of a wall, which ran in front of the artillery lines. Here I saw more men running up with the kind intention of having a crack at me, so I had to keep along the parade-ground right in the line of fire, and had one or two men popping at me over the wall on my right. My pony went as fast as ever he could go; and, thanks be to God, carried me back in perfect safety, much to the astonishment of all who saw it. The colonel then ordered the grenadiers and light company to move off under cover of the bells of arms, and attack the guns; but when they had gone a little way they refused to move further, and man after man deserted and joined the mutineers. At the same time the colonel told me to take out another company, and extend them in skirmishing order in front of the guns, and to pick off the men at the guns, and, if possible, charge. Fortunately the men would not move; if they had, they would have obeyed orders till told to begin firing, when I should have had a bullet through me, and the men would have deserted in a body. As nothing was to be got from them, the companies were recalled. I had forgotten to tell you that the regiment, previous to this, was drawn up in line facing the guns; the guns being about 600 or 700 yards to the left of our lines. In this position we remained upwards of an hour, when, finding

the men would do nothing, the colonel formed open column. The guns, of course, would not open on us, as they knew all the men were going to join them when things were ripe. It was only in active movements the men refused to obey orders; in everything else they were quite subordinate. At one time, when the officers were grouped together somewhat in front of the men, some men came out from the guns and tried to hit us with their muskets, which they could do without injuring the sepoys. At last sunset began to come on, and it was evident we could not remain much longer, so our adjutant was sent off to the brigadier for orders, who told us to retire. The colonel was determined, if possible, to carry off the colours, which were accordingly brought out of the quarter-guard. When the colonel gave the order to march, the men refused to go. He then asked who would join in taking off the colours, and the grenadiers, almost to a man, came forward. The colours were brought to the front, and put under charge of the grenadiers; very few others came forward; and when the word 'march' was given, a jeer was raised, and a shout, 'You shan't take away the colours.' The men cocked their pieces. I turned round and saw that two men had got the colours, and were running away towards the enemy. The first gun that was fired at us was the signal for the officers to be off. Providentially we were all mounted at the time, so off we started, amid showers of bullets, towards the cavalry lines. I dodged round the first bell of arms (a small square building detached from all others, in which the arms were kept); and as I passed each bell, saw three or four men behind each, who deliberately shot at us as we passed. Either my pony swerved before I came to the sergeant-major's bungalow, or else I saw more men in the road; I don't know which. At all events, I had to steer with great difficulty round the outside of the house, which brought me again on the open parade-ground. Round the corner, and I was comparatively safe. A moment or two more and I was safe among the cavalry, who were drawn up in rear of their own lines. Every one of us came in safe by God's mercy. P——'s charger, a very fine animal, dropped dead directly he had brought his master into safety. The colonel had an awfully narrow escape; his horse swerved right round at the start, and we thought it was all over with him. The

horse received one ball on the forehead, another in the neck, and his knee was grazed by a third, but he brought the colonel in safe, and is still alive. We now had the explanation of all the firing we had heard going on at the artillery while we were standing under arms. The cavalry had come up, and been fired on with grape by the mutineers, and had made several attempts to charge, but could not capture the guns. Newbury, quite a young fellow, charging by himself, was riddled with balls, and then hacked to pieces. Captain Spottiswoode was also killed, and two other officers slightly wounded. J— had his jacket ripped open at the shoulder by a bullet. M—, who cut down a man, had a very narrow escape; and so had several other officers. When we came up they determined to retreat at once. It was just sunset when we left the station. The ladies had been sent on in buggies previously, in case we should have to 'bolt;' so we fell in with them just outside the cantonment. We left by the Ajmeer-road; and when we had gone a mile or two struck off to the left, under the hills, making a detour towards Beawur, where it was determined to retire. We went right across country, over fields and rocky hills, for about ten miles, till we came to the Beawur-road, leaving the blazing bungalows of the station behind us. About two o'clock we fell in with most of the officers of the 30th, who had escaped, and arrived at a bungalow. Here Colonel Penny, commanding the lancers, who was taken ill on the way, from the effects of a fall and over-excitement, died. We could get nothing to eat or drink; and, starting again at daybreak, reached this (Beawur) about eleven. The journey by the road is thirty-two miles, and our detour must have made it at least ten miles longer, so you may fancy how tired our horses were. Not a thing has any one saved—I have not even my watch; and my pistol was jerked out of my holster in our flight."

After the departure of the mutinous troops, on the night of the 28th of May, Nusseerabad appears to have escaped further annoyance. A letter from the cantonment, a few days after the occurrences described, says—"I have the pleasure to inform you that order is re-established here. The station is protected by the 1st Bombay lancers, and a portion of the Joudpour legion, under Captain Blake; and the Kishengurh horse. A troop of cavalry search

the surrounding villages daily for plunder; but as there has been so much time lost, the loot has been buried, and the result has been almost 'nil.' The 15th officers are all here, except two left on duty at Beawur. The 30th, also, are all present, with the exception of one ordered to Ajmeer. The whole dependent on the hospitality of the gallant 1st, whose bungalows were only partially looted and burnt. The Europeans from Deesa are expected to-day at Beawur. Should they halt here with guns, we are prepared to give any insurgents, in the event of their showing near us, a hot reception."

Turning again towards the North-West Provinces, we find, by a despatch forwarded by the lieutenant-governor, that, during the night of Sunday, the 24th of May, the lines of the cantonment at Agra, that had formerly been occupied by the 72nd native infantry (since removed to Neemuch), were destroyed by fire; and a few nights after, those in the actual occupation of the men of the 67th native regiment, were also in a state of conflagration. That neither of those occurrences was believed to be accidental, appeared from the fact, that the European troops, consisting of the 3rd fusiliers and a troop of artillery, were not allowed to quit their lines for the purpose of rendering assistance, as probably the incendiaries expected they would have done; but, on the contrary, they were turned out armed, and prepared to act on an emergency. Being foiled in the contemplated manœuvre, which might have put them in possession of the arms and ammunition of the absent soldiers, the men of the native regiments, after some delay, proceeded to the scene of conflagration, and helped to extinguish the fire. The night passed over without any incident to cause further alarm, and an appearance of tranquillity prevailed at the station.

The following observations of an officer in cantonment at the time, are expressive of the feverish state of the European mind at Agra at this period. The writer, after describing the extent of the fires, and the means by which they were extinguished on the second occasion by the native soldiers, says—"On the first occasion, they were complimented by their colonel, who expressed his high satisfaction at their conduct, &c., and was in return laughed at by the bloodthirsty scoundrels. On the last occasion, the 67th native infantry made a great deal of fuss about the destruction of

their lines, and swore vengeance against the 44th, whom they were pleased to accuse of being the incendiaries. How far the colonels of the two regiments and the brigadier of the station really gulped this down I know not; but few among us here were gulled by these subterfuges; and the sequel showed that the colonels, with the brigadier of the station, were woefully wrong, at least in their expressed confidence. At first, the fire took place at midnight in an empty hospital; on the second occasion, it commenced at about eight o'clock, also in the empty lines of the 72nd. Finding that neither the hour of midnight nor the earlier hour of candlelight would tempt the Europeans away from their lines unarmed to quench the fire, and that the authorities allowed these empty buildings to burn away at leisure, the incendiaries tried their hand at the lines in occupation of the 67th. Fortunately, even now the authorities remained firm to the resolution of keeping the only European troops we have in the station ready to act on an emergency, not against the fire, but against all traitors and mutineers. I say fortunately, for be assured—and I am very cautious in what I am writing—had the Europeans hastened from their lines, unarmed as usual, to quench the fire, a rush would perhaps have been made to get possession of the artillery guns, six in number, with but a handful of Europeans to protect them; but to a certainty both the native regiments would have hastened, with all the ferocity evinced by their brethren at Meerut, to enact the scenes which marked the massacre of our countrymen at that station, and before the Europeans could have got back to their lines and been armed and formed, even supposing that they would not have been attacked while unarmed, these scoundrels would have had ample time to scatter woe and misery in many a household in the cantonment, and thence to proceed to the civil lines, there to repeat the bloody scene; and ultimately, like their brethren of Meerut, proceed to join them at Delhi, for our troops could not follow them. The rising of the native regiments would have been a signal for the discontented and others, perchance many, interested in the general rising of the Mohammedans, to perform their part in the destruction of the Kaffirs (Christians)."

After an interval of quiet that scarcely extended over five days, renewed cause for apprehending mischief was presented to the

European community. On Friday, the 29th of May, a company of the 44th regiment of native infantry, together with one of the 67th regiment, were on their return from Muttra, whither they had been dispatched for the purpose of escorting some treasure to Agra. The combination of the men of the two native regiments had been purposely ordered, in consequence of the adverse feeling that notoriously existed between the corps, it being considered probable, that in case of any attempted irregularity by the men of one regiment, those of the other would be a check upon their proceedings. This reliance upon their antipathies was not, however, warranted by their conduct; as on the march back, the whole escort mutinied: and without injuring the officer in charge, the men declared their intention to convey the treasure to Delhi, and forthwith marched with it in that direction. Intelligence of this event reached Agra on the night of Saturday, May 30th, and was quickly communicated to the men of the two native regiments, who made no secret of their desire to emulate the exploits of their absent comrades. The European officers lost no time, after the information reached them, in removing their families to places of safety; and many of the Christian inhabitants of the city prepared to follow their prudent example. Meanwhile, the men of the 44th and 67th regiments were preparing for a demonstration; and at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 31st, had just begun to issue from their lines, when they discovered that the fusiliers and artillery were watching their movements, and were prepared to crush any effort at mutiny. The disagreeable fact recalled for a time these ardent spirits to a sense of that "better part of valour, named discretion," and they quietly retired to the shelter of their lines, without provoking the chastisement that had been prepared for them. The European force and civilians remained under arms during the morning, it having been determined to disarm the two regiments. Of these, only one (the 44th) was thought likely to resist the order when given.

Between six and seven o'clock on Sunday morning, the 44th and 67th regiments were paraded in the unwelcome presence of the European troops, and were ordered to lay down their arms. The men of the 67th immediately obeyed, protesting respectfully against the undeserved disgrace that had

been put on them by the government; but the 44th hesitated. They did not offer to relinquish their arms, but were evidently undecided as to the course they would take upon the occasion: they had not calculated upon such prompt and decisive action by the authorities, and were taken by surprise. At length the rank began to waver and break, and some of the men began to move off the parade with their arms, but they were immediately ordered back in a tone that convinced them they had no choice between obedience or destruction. They now saw that the authorities were determined, and that further procrastination on their part would bring upon them a discharge of grape from the artillery, which faced them with the portfires lighted. Gradually they obeyed the order; some piled their arms as usual; others, acting the part of insulted honour, threw down their arms with well-simulated indignation, and stood frowning while their weapons were gathered up and conveyed by a company of the European troops to a place of safety. The men of the two regiments were then ordered to fall in, and shortly afterwards were marched to their lines and permitted to disperse. One company of the 44th was at this time on duty in the fort, whither the brigadier with his staff, and accompanied by a party of the European fusiliers, immediately proceeded, and having relieved them from their guard in the usual manner, they also were required to lay down their arms. Some of these men showed an inclination to resist the order, and began to load; but, upon the fusiliers cocking their muskets, they with the others submitted, and, having given up their weapons, they were marched off to the cantonment to join their comrades. Two other details of the 44th, on duty at Government-house and the gaol, on being apprised of the proceedings at the fort, abandoned their posts without orders; and, taking with them their arms and ammunition, started for Delhi.

The remainder of the day passed without any appearance of disorder; but, during the night, about 200 of the 44th, who had contrived to procure swords, daggers, and other weapons, quietly approached the artillery lines, with intention to take possession of the guns. The artillerymen were, however, prepared for the event, which had been considered probable; and, on discovering the sepoy, made ready to receive them with a volley of grape. The visitors had not expected such a reception, and, moreover, had

no appetite for it; they consequently halted at a safe distance, and, after a very short consultation, the whole body retraced their steps, and following their comrades to Delhi, left Agra to a repose of short duration, succeeded by the events which will be hereafter referred to.

MYNPOORIE.—One of the most exciting and painful episodes in the history of the sepoy revolt, is recorded in some graphic details of a murderous *rencontre* with some troopers belonging to the Gwalior contingent, who, under the command of Captain Hayes, of the 56th native infantry, were reconnoitring in the districts between Mynpoorie, Etawah, and Agra, on the morning of Sunday, the 31st of May. The detachment consisted of 200 sowars and four European officers, *en route* from Lucknow to Mynpoorie; and it appears, by the narrative of the only survivor of the four of the latter, that, on the morning of the second day, the men turned upon their officers and sacrificed three of them to their vengeance. The three killed were Captain Fletcher Hayes, military secretary to the chief commissioner in Oude; Lieutenant G. D. Barber, adjutant of the 2nd Oude cavalry; and Assistant-surgeon Fayer. The latter was first dispatched—a sowar having stolen quietly behind him while stooping to drink at a well, and with one cut of his tulwar severed his head from his body. The one surviving officer did not regularly belong to the detachment, but had volunteered to accompany it, and had himself a narrow escape, being within eight yards of Captain Hayes when the latter was cut down by one of the native officers. The survivor was hotly pursued for several miles by the mutinous sowars, but escaped the bloodthirsty ruffians who were in chase of him. The communication of Captain Cary, 17th native infantry (subjoined), describes the whole affair, and its melancholy consequences; and is so replete with graphic detail and exciting interest, that any history of the Indian revolt of 1857, would be incomplete without it. The writer dates from "Mynpoorie, June 2nd;" and says—

"I thank God that I am at this moment alive and well, and that I am able to write and tell you so; for last night we buried in the churchyard here my three poor companions, who were ruthlessly murdered by the sowars we were taking with us to assist in suppressing the mutinous spirit rising in these districts. I wrote to you from camp

Gosanjunje three or four days ago. On our arrival at Bowgous about half-past 7 P.M. on Saturday, Hayes determined upon cantering into Mynpoorie, about eight miles, to consult with the magistrate about attacking the Etah rajah, who had set himself up as king, and set our rule at defiance. All Sunday we remained at Mynpoorie, sending poor Barber, the adjutant of the 2nd irregular cavalry, directions to proceed up to Kurrowlee, and that there we would join him on Monday morning. The thanadar came in from Bowgous, saying our men were mutinying, and begged us not to trust them; but when Hayes's escort came in the evening, and said their men had been complaining about the long marches, &c., we thought it was nothing. Well, we cantered along, all merrily, in the morning, talking of how we would open the road to Allygurh, and carry all before us; and after riding about eleven miles we came up in sight of the men apparently going along the road and quite orderly. They were on one road, we on another. I said, 'Let us cross the plain and meet them.' As we approached they faced towards us and halted, and when we had cantered up to within about fifty yards of them, one or two of the native officers rode out to meet us, and said in a low voice, 'Fly, Sahibs, fly.' Upon this poor Hayes said to me as we wheeled round our horses, 'Well, we must now fly for our lives;' and away we went with the two troops after us like demons, yelling and sending the bullets from their carbines flying all round us. Thank God, neither I nor my horse was hit. Hayes was riding on the side nearest the troopers; and before we had gone many yards I saw a native officer go up alongside of him, and with one blow cut him from his saddle. It was the work of an instant, and took much less time than I have to relate it. On they all came shouting after me, and every now and then 'ping' came a ball near me. Indeed, I thought my moments were numbered; but as I neared the road at the end of the maidan a ditch presented itself. It was but a moment I thought, dug my spurs hard in, and the mare flew over it, though she nearly fell on the other side; fortunately, I recovered her, and in another moment I was leaving all behind but two sowars, who followed me and poor Hayes's horse tearing on after me. On seeing this I put my pistol into my holster, having reserved my fire until a man was actually upon me, and took a pull at the mare, as I had

still a long ride for it, and knew my riding must now stand me a good turn; so I raised the mare as much as I could, keeping those fiends about 100 yards in rear; and they, I suppose, seeing I was taking it easy, and not urging my horse, but merely turning round every now and then to watch them, pulled up, after chasing me two good miles. Never did I know a happier moment, and most fervently did I thank God for saving my life. Hayes's Arab came dashing along, and passed me; I still continued to ride on at a strong pace, fearful of being taken and murdered by some who had taken a short cut unknown to me. Thus up to the sixth mile from home did I continue to fly, when, finding my mare completely done, and meeting one of our sowars, I immediately stopped him, jumped up behind, and ordered him to hasten back to Mynpoorie. After going about a mile on this beast we came up to poor Hayes's horse, which had been caught; so on him I sprang, and he bore me back safely to cantonments. It was, indeed, a ride for life or death; and only when I alighted at the magistrate's Cutcherry, in which all the Europeans were assembled, did I feel at all comfortable. Men were immediately sent out to look for the body (Hayes's) and bring it in, and ascertain the fate of Barber, the adjutant, and young Fayeer, who were known to have left their last encamping-ground with the men. In the afternoon poor Hayes's body was brought in, his head most frightfully hacked about, his right hand cut off, and his left fearfully lacerated—his watch, rings, boots, all gone, and his clothes all cut and torn to pieces. Poor fellow! it was a sad fate for such a good and clever man, and deeply do I feel the loss of one who was ever a kind friend to me, anxious to serve me by every means in his power; gladly would I have assisted him had I had it in my power; but what could I do against 200 infuriated fanatics? Poor Hayes was not eight yards from me when he fell, and one instant's delay would have been certain death to me. One old Sikh sirdar with two followers, who stood aloof from these acts of murder, and one of Hayes's servants, brought in his body, and from them I learned that poor young Fayeer's and Barber's remains were also being brought in. A dastardly villain of a sowar stole behind poor young Fayeer, as he was drinking at a well, and with one blow of his tulwar on his neck killed him; he fell back, his head half severed from his body.

The old Sikh rushed forward to raise him, and ordered them to seize the murderer, when another man said, 'What! are you with these Kaffirs, take care of yourself.' On raising poor young Fayer's head the poor man breathed his last. Barber fled up the road, several giving chase; he shot one horse and two of the sowars, when he was hit with a ball and then cut down, his property taken off, his horse seized, and then they all rode off towards Delhi. Fayer was killed about ten minutes before we came up; then they killed poor Hayes, and then Barber. Thus you see, through the mercy of God, I escaped sharing these poor fellows' fate. I am now with some eight others in the Cutcherry of Mynpoorie; we have lots of arms and ammunition. It is a large pukha building, and from the top we can make a good fight if no guns are brought against us. We have 100 of the Gwalior horse, under Major Raikes, and are raising infantry and cavalry all round, and now have about 100 of each or more, besides a few men of the 9th native infantry who remained true to their salt, and did not desert with the rest. The Gwalior horse Major Raikes seems very confident in; but since this last *émeute* in our men I do not place trust in a single native. Deeply do I feel for my unfortunate companions who left Cawnpore with me, full of hope, and anxious to be the first to cut our way through this Etah rajah's country, and open the road for government to Allygurh, which has now been closed some days. We were all anxious to distinguish ourselves, and every day we tried to inspire our men, who swore they would follow us; and thus, with a deceitful, lying, outward show of entering heartily into our views, did they lead us on, and then became the murderers of those poor men who had never injured them, and promised them all sorts of rewards if they would fight well and stick to our sides like men. Thus is our dream dispelled. I, the only one left of those four: it is sickening to contemplate."

BAREILLY.—By the middle of May the events at Meerut and Delhi had become known in many parts of the presidency; and among others, the country round Bareilly, a city of the upper province, situated on a tributary of the Ganges, about 118 miles north-east of Agra, was informed of the prevailing agitation. The cantonment at Bareilly was at the time occupied by the 18th and 68th regiments of native infantry, the 8th irregular cavalry, and the 6th com-

pany of Bengal native artillery; and on receiving intelligence that a king had been proclaimed at Delhi, the two infantry corps became extravagantly excited, and it was no longer doubtful that they would follow the example of the other mutinous regiments. This possibility had been suspected; but, with a natural, but certainly non-military, reluctance to receive an unwelcome truth, the necessary measures that might have averted the danger in time were procrastinated until they became unavailing.

The following report from Brigadier Sibbald, commanding in Rohilcund, to the secretary to the government of India, represents the state of the troops in cantonment at Bareilly, up to the 23rd of May:—"I beg you will do me the favour to bring to the notice of the right honourable the governor-general of India, that on my return from inspection duty at Almorah, I found all quiet here, but the troops labouring under a great depression of spirits, caused by the fear of some heavy punishment they imagined government was about to inflict upon them. The reason for such a feeling of fear is best known to themselves, for up to the present time nothing of a turbulent nature has taken place; and though, doubtless, a very bad and uneasy feeling was for some days very prevalent, no open act of the troops has rendered them liable to the punishment they so much dread. During my absence, Colonel Troup, then in temporary command of this station, did everything in his power to allay this feeling, and with the happiest results; but I considered it judicious, on resuming my command, to assure the troops that the promises of pardon made to them by Colonel Troup, I pledged myself to use my utmost efforts to obtain, provided they continued to act as good and loyal soldiers.

"On the morning of the 21st instant, I addressed the troops to this effect on a general parade; and Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, afterwards spoke to the native officers assembled in front of the troops, and in the name of his honour the lieutenant-governor, assured them that the intentions of government towards them were the same as they had ever been, and begged them to dismiss from their minds the causeless dread that frightened them. The troops are evidently in a more happy and cheerful state, and as they themselves say, 'Have commenced a new life.' Under existing circumstances, permit me to ob-

serve, that in my opinion a confirmation of these promises of free pardon from the highest authorities will be productive of the happiest results; were the men under my command fully convinced that the past should be forgotten, I feel convinced that their loyalty and good conduct may be relied upon.

"At the request of the commissioner of Rohilcund, I yesterday dispatched a party of thirty sowars from the 8th irregular cavalry, to act under the magistrate of Moradabad; and though the large population of the town, and the number of prisoners in the central gaol, would render it imprudent greatly to diminish our strength here, I still feel I shall be able, in a limited manner, to assist the civil power in maintaining the peace of the district. Cavalry, on occasions of sudden outbreak and disturbances raised in different points, are of course more efficient than infantry, as the promptness with which a body of rioters is suppressed is of the most vital importance. The state of affairs here, of which his honour the lieutenant-governor has been kept informed, rendered it to the last degree imprudent to detach any from the 8th irregulars, even under circumstances of imperative urgency. Feeling the utter insufficiency of our present body of cavalry, and the innumerable calls that were made on that body, I trust that the measure adopted by Colonel Troup in the great emergency in which he was placed, may meet with the support and confirmation of government. The men already raised have allowed me to attach the small party already alluded to, to Moradabad, and every day places me in a position better able to meet the requisitions of the civil power.

"In conclusion, I hope I may be allowed to express my entire satisfaction and hearty concurrence with the measures adopted in my absence. With Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, I have the greatest pleasure in acting; he keeps me well informed, and my confidence in his energy and discretion is unbounded. From the cheerful and obedient spirit now evinced by the troops, I augur the happiest results, and am convinced that should their services be required they will act as good and loyal soldiers.—I have, &c.—H. SIBBALD,

Brigadier, commanding in Rohilcund.

"P.S.—The reports from Moradabad, Shahjehanpore, and Almorah, of the conduct of the troops is, up to the present moment,

most satisfactory. The 29th regiment at Moradabad, by the good spirit they are now evincing, are proving their repentance for the outbreak of the bad men among them. I cannot say too much in praise of the 8th irregular cavalry; their conduct is beyond praise, and I should feel much gratified should government consider them worthy of its thanks."

The receipt of the above report was acknowledged by the secretary to the government at Fort William on the 30th of May. After expressing the approval, by the governor-general in council, of the measures adopted by Colonel Troup during the absence of the brigadier on duty, and of the assistance afforded by Mr. Alexander, the commissioner in Rohilcund; the secretary observes—"As the first paragraph of your letter states that the troops at Bareilly have committed no crimes, and that nothing turbulent has taken place, the governor-general in council does not clearly understand what is meant by the promises of free pardon made by Colonel Troup, and to which you solicit confirmation; but if it be that assurances have been made to the men that the intentions of government towards them are the same as they have ever been, and that no interference with their caste is to be attempted, those assurances are hereby fully confirmed, and you cannot too strongly impress upon the minds of the men, that so long as they continue loyal and true to the government, they will be treated with the utmost consideration, as they always have been hitherto.—I am, &c.,

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

Between the date of the report of Brigadier Sibbald, and that of its recognition, serious events had occurred at Bareilly. The immediate cause of agitation was supplied by the arrival of about 150 of the Meerut stragglers, who contrived to pass the night in the lines without the knowledge of the European officers; and it soon became evident, that the evils which had afflicted so many other places, could not be much longer averted from Bareilly. Inflamed by the representations of the fugitive sepoys, the troops began to talk openly of revolt: they threw off the mask of subordination that they had but awkwardly worn for several days, and avowed their intention to seize the guns, throw open the gaol, and liberate some 2,000 prisoners in confinement there. It was boasted that, on the troops rising, the city would be fired, and

that plunder and massacre would rage within the walls; while the surrounding country, which was only waiting for Bareilly to take the initiative, would hasten to join the insurgents, and cut off the retreat of the Europeans in case of their attempting to escape. Fortunately, the energies of the officer in command, Colonel Troup, and of the resident commissioner, Mr. Alexander, were equal to the emergency; and by much tact and prudence, they succeeded, by friendly interviews and addresses, in calming down the tempers of the men. The 8th irregular cavalry affected at this time great loyalty and zeal, and advantage was taken of the circumstance to throw out guards and pickets to protect the station, and defend the guns, treasury, and gaol; while their patrols were to give instant alarm upon any appearance of disorder; the main body being kept ready saddled and armed for the protection of the European residents. Orders were given to Captain Mackenzie, the commandant of the regiment, to increase his strength to 1,000 men; and numbers of individuals who had been waiting the opportunity, were immediately enrolled. The females and children at the station were sent off to the hills for safety; and the officers and other Europeans, being thus relieved of a great source of anxiety, agreed upon a rallying point for themselves in case of necessity, and awaited the crisis which they were assured could not be very remote.

A letter from Bareilly, of the 26th of May, refers to the circumstances that then existed, as follows:—"We have here passed in safety through a fearful crisis. For three days we were in the condition of men seated on a mine the train of which was on fire. By the unremitting care of Colonel Troup (commanding in the absence, on inspection tour, of Brigadier Sibbald) and of Mr. Alexander, the commissioner, and others, the train has been interrupted, and time has been gained to remove the combustible material." The writer then states, that the commissioner had dispatched orders throughout the district, commanding all soldiers on leave to place themselves at the disposal of the civil magistrates, and to act as detached police upon the roads, for the purpose of intercepting the progress of straggling mutineers on their way to Delhi, who were to be quietly and securely conducted until past the vicinity of Bareilly. The letter then says—"After three nights,

during which the irregulars were under arms, the good men, who form the great majority, evidently felt themselves the stronger, and then ventured to speak out. The native regiments have now, of themselves, thrown out men off duty as sentries round their lines, to prevent the approach of straggling mutineers." The writer further observes, in conclusion—"Much, very much, of the excitement arose from an undefined fear on the part of the sepoys. They knew that many of their number had committed themselves, and they dreaded the vengeance of the government, whom they knew to be cognizant of their errors; and this feeling was dexterously seized on and encouraged by those scoundrels, both in and out of the regiments, who, having nothing to lose, and hopes of gaining much, are always ready for a disturbance. When this crisis shall have passed, stern and unflinching vengeance on those who have mutinied and been guilty of atrocities, tempered with judicious and gracious clemency to those who were only misled into a willingness to join them, will, I fondly hope, tend greatly to create and consolidate a lasting loyalty throughout our native troops."

The fancied security of the station was, however, soon to be disturbed; and, after three anxious nights of deceitful calm, the time for action arrived. On Friday, May 29th, a rumour got abroad, that the troops were preparing to turn out; but upon the officers going among them, to ascertain the fact, most of the men stoutly disclaimed any such intention, and pretended to attribute the report to the idle vagabonds in the station, who desired to excite confusion with a view to plunder. The subahdar-major of the 68th regiment went to the adjutant, and "with streaming tears, petitioned on his own behalf, and that of the regiment, that the ladies and children of the officers might return to the cantonments; averring that all danger had passed, and that the men were never more loyal or attached to their officers." Happily the prayer was not acceded to, and the intended butchery was so far prevented.

Under the pressure of extraordinary vigilance on the part of Colonel Troup and his officers, the lull in the storm continued throughout the Saturday; but a sense of impending disaster seemed to oppress all minds. In the evening a large number of fugitives, belonging to the 45th regiment,

which had mutinied at Ferozepore on the 13th,* passed through the station, and, on their way, spread the wildest rumours among the troops, who were told that a large force of Europeans, with artillery, had been concentrated in the vicinity of the cantonment; and that the destruction of the whole of the native regiments had been determined upon by the "white people." Several men belonging to the corps at the station also rejoined during the night, and by their tales added much to the uneasiness excited among their comrades by the Ferozepore deserters. Few of the men retired to their huts during the night; and the lines were kept in a state of commotion that occasioned serious misgivings among the European officers.

On Sunday, May 31st, the day opened upon the cantonment at Bareilly peacefully, and nothing seemed moving to disturb the usual arrangements of the day. Divine service was performed at the church, and there was a large and serious attendance of worshippers. The native officers reported all quiet and satisfactory, and assured the colonel commanding that the men were "never in better heart." The form of examining and closing muster-rolls and pay accounts, was carefully and deliberately gone through; leave-rolls were prepared and countersigned; and the whole routine of a Sunday in cantonment regularly observed; and so cleverly was the mischief veiled, that not one regimental officer had the slightest suspicion that it was so near consummation.

Precisely as the clock struck the hour of eleven, a gun was fired, and a loud and long-continued yell from the lines broke the repose of the Christian sabbath. The men rushed to the bells of arms, and began to fire indiscriminately among the officers' houses. Some of the well-disposed hastened to their officers, and besought them to fly, and by no means to approach the parade, where the mutineers were then assembling. Meanwhile, others were running frantically in every direction, firing at everything and everybody that came in their way; and before several of the officers knew what had really occurred, their houses were surrounded, and themselves had become targets for their own men. The escapes of many were perfectly miraculous. In an endeavour to quit the cantonment, Ensign Barwell, of the 18th

regiment, was dismounted, and had his horse taken from him; and yet, although a shower of bullets flew past him, he escaped unhurt. Lieutenant Rogers, of the 68th, was surrounded by a crowd of infuriated men, who attempted to seize his horse; but, by a sudden and vigorous effort, he sprang through the mob, and, although fired at, was not touched. Two companies of the 68th ran to the bungalow of the colonel, intending to surround it, and make sure of their victim; but he had fortunately been apprised of their approach, and escaped in time. Three officers of the 68th—Captains Paterson and Gibbs, and Lieutenant Warde—occupied quarters on the parade, within a hundred yards of the lines: they were surrounded and fired at on all sides; but their horses having been got ready, they mounted, and galloped past the entire front of the parade, receiving from the mutineers assembled there volleys of shot, that fell harmless among them. On passing the battery, every gun opened upon them with grape, within 200 yards of the party; but they also passed under this shower of missiles without a wound. These, unfortunately, were the exceptions. Ensign Tucker, of the same regiment, was shot dead while endeavouring to save the life of the sergeant-major. Brigadier Sibbald was mortally wounded, in attempting to reach the rendezvous, by a musket-shot in his chest. The noble old man succeeded in reaching the desired spot, but shortly after fell dead from his horse. The whole number of officers and civilians who succeeded in getting to the rendezvous was thirty; and, after waiting some time, in case any others of the scattered community might join them, they at length mounted, and turning their horses' heads towards Nynee Tal (a European sanitarium among the hills, about seventy-four miles from Bareilly), the whole of the party sought safety in a necessary flight. After a hot, long, and tedious journey, of twenty-four hours' duration, without one moment's rest, the whole of them arrived in safety at Nynee Tal, without meeting any serious obstruction in their way. Eleven native officers, and twenty-four troopers of the 8th irregular cavalry, who were yet faithful, accompanied the fugitives, leaving all they possessed to the mercy of the insurgents, rather than abandon their officers in this extremity.

One of the most extraordinary escapes

* See ante, p. 120.

upon record during this sanguinary outbreak, was that of Mr. R. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, who, on the Sunday of the revolt, was confined to his bed by a severe indisposition. When the servant of this gentleman rushed into his chamber, and, announcing the mutiny, begged of him to arise and fly for his life, he declared he was too ill to ride, and would rather die where he was. He was, however, constrained to get up, and assisted to mount the horse brought for him by the servant. The animal took fright at the firing, and becoming unmanageable, ran away with his rider; fortunately, he took the road to Nynee Tal, and soon came up with the other fugitives from the cantonment, by some of whom the mad career of the terrified animal was arrested, and the rider saved from further danger.

While these incidents were progressing, repeated discharges of musketry and artillery announced to the inhabitants of Bareilly, that rebellion had arrived at their own thresholds. Soon after the commencement of the outbreak, the gaol was attacked by the mutinous soldiers and budmashes of the town, and nearly 3,000 prisoners, of all grades, were let loose upon society. Many of these individuals began to plunder the shops, and maltreated all who offered to resist them. Irritated at this, the townspeople took up arms, and, after a little time, a regular fight ensued between the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, in which the latter were victorious, and at once took the command of the place, under the leadership of Buktawur Khan, a subahdar of artillery, who assumed the rank of general; and having harangued the people on their duties to the government about to be established, paraded the streets in the brigadier's carriage, followed by a numerous, if not a brilliant staff. One of the native judges in the Company's service, named Khan Bahadoor Khan, a descendant from a Rohilla chief (Hafiz Rehmut), and notorious for his abject servility to the Europeans generally, had now the audacity to cause himself to be proclaimed king of Rohilcund; and inaugurated his reign by a series of cowardly murders, perpetrated upon the unfortunate English residents who had not succeeded in making their escape. Among these were Messrs. Robertson and Raikes, of the civil service; Dr. Hay, son-in-law of Mr. Thomason, the late lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces; Dr. Carl Buch, principal

of the government college at Bareilly; the judge of the district court; and Dr. Hansbrow, the medical officer in charge of the gaol. These six gentlemen were brought prisoners before the self-chosen king of Rohilcund, and put upon their trial. In mockery, the forms of justice were observed: a jury of natives was sworn; some charge or other preferred; witnesses examined; a conviction of course obtained, and sentence of death was immediately pronounced on each. Three of them were taken from the bar, and hung in front of the gaol; the other three were kept in irons until the morning, when they also were suspended by the side of their companions. The next step of this tyrant was to offer rewards for the heads of all the Europeans that had escaped his vengeance, fixing 1,000 rupees as the price for that of the commissioner. After thus gratifying his hatred to the men among whom he had been constantly associating with seeming friendship and mutual confidence, orders were given by the rebel brigadier to destroy the cantonment, which was plundered and fired; and before the night had closed, all that remained of Bareilly was a heap of smouldering ruins.

Some days after the events we have detailed, an official report of the outbreak and subsequent proceedings, was transmitted by Colonel Troup to the deputy adjutant-general. It ran as follows:—

“As the senior officer of the late Bareilly brigade, I find it my painful duty to report to you, for the information of the officer commanding-in-chief, the fearful and extraordinary occurrences which took place at that station on the 30th ultimo. I would premise by stating, that from the 6th to the 19th ultimo, during the absence of the late Brigadier Sibbald, C.B., on a tour of inspection at Almorah, I was left in charge of the station at Bareilly, up to which latter date everything has been reported already to army head-quarters. On Brigadier Sibbald's return to Bareilly, and resumption of command, he was pleased to approve and confirm all that had been done during his absence, and had a parade of the troops to assure them of this. From the 19th until the 29th ultimo, things went on without much change. On the latter date, however, I received a note from Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, stating that it had been reported to him, that it was well known that the 68th regiment of native

infantry intended mutinying at 2 P.M. on that day. I had hardly received this note from Mr. Alexander, when the havildar-major of the regiment came to me in breathless haste, and reported that he had been sent by the subahdar-major to inform me, that whilst bathing at the river in the morning, the men of both regiments (the 18th and 68th) had sworn to rise at 2 P.M., and murder their European officers.

"Although not in command of the station at this time, living near the 18th and 8th irregular cavalry, I warned them of what I had heard; and wrote to Captain Gibbs, the adjutant of the 68th, to request that he would warn the officers to be on their guard. At the same time, I recommended Captain Brownlow, the major of brigade, who was at the time living with me, to go at once and report to, and, if necessary, to bring down, the late Brigadier Sibbald to the 8th irregular cavalry lines, they having been warned as to the point of assembly on an alarm being given. On this occasion, the irregular cavalry, under Captain Mackenzie, were in their saddles, and, as far as I could see, and from what Captain Mackenzie himself told me, the men appeared in good heart, and quite prepared for any emergency. Whether from the promptitude with which the cavalry turned out or not I cannot say, but the day passed over quietly. Although I heard vague reports that the 8th irregular cavalry would not stand by us on the artillery and infantry revolting, I must confess, that up to Friday evening, the 29th ultimo, I did not believe it; but on Saturday night, the 30th, I had no doubts on the subject; for my informant, who had it from the men themselves, told me that they had sworn not to act against the artillery and infantry, but that they would not harm or raise their hand against any European. During the whole of Friday night, the 29th, and the whole of Saturday, the 30th ultimo, the men of the artillery and infantry were in a state of great excitement, caused, it is supposed, by the stories circulated by fugitives from the 45th regiment; who, during these two days, had been passing in great numbers through the station; and which was much increased by the exaggerated accounts brought back by the men who had returned from temporary leave on the 30th ultimo. Be this as it may, from all that I both heard and saw on Saturday night the 30th ultimo, I had no

doubt in my own mind, but that what I had heard of the 8th irregular cavalry was quite true, and that the artillery and infantry would most certainly revolt either that night or the following morning.

"On Sunday morning, the 31st ultimo, I was up at an early hour, and found everything quiet and still as usual. Some short time previous to my getting up, an attempt had been made to set fire to Captain Brownlow's house, but without success. During this morning, I sent several times to the lines for the havildar-major and a sepoy of the 68th regiment, in both of whom I had, up to this time, great confidence; but they made all sorts of excuses, and did not come. I then sent my sirdar-bearer to the lines, to see if he could find out what was going on. On his return he stated, that he was quite certain that something most unusual was about to take place; for that although all was quiet, the men were all present in their lines, and seemed to be under some great excitement; that on his way home, he had heard some of the sepoys of the 18th say, that it was no use going to bathe that morning, as they would all be wanted in the lines at 11 A.M. On hearing this, I at once made up my mind that all that I had heard would most certainly happen, and wrote off without delay to Captain Gibbs, the adjutant of the regiment, to warn the officers to be on the look-out, for that I felt quite certain that the men were about to mutiny. The orderly, however, who was entrusted with the conveyance of my note never delivered it. A very short time after this, Mr. Guthrie, the magistrate of Bareilly, called and stated to me that the guard over the treasury, furnished from the 68th regiment, had on that morning abused a government chuprassy sent by him with a letter, which they tore up and threw in his face. This at once convinced me that the insurrection had begun; for up to this time, no act of violence, neglect of duty, disobedience of orders, or any other impropriety of any kind, had been perpetrated by the men. I again wrote to Captain Gibbs, telling him what I had heard from Mr. Guthrie, the collector; but it would appear, from what he has since told me, that neither of my notes ever reached him, so that the first intimation he himself and the other officers had of the fearful tragedy about to be enacted, was their men firing upon them whilst in their bungalows.

"During Sunday morning, the 31st ultimo, Major Pearson, commanding the 18th, called upon me, and assured me that his men were all right, and that he had every confidence in them, at the very moment that I knew, almost for a certainty, that within two hours his regiment would be in open mutiny. It, however, did not at all surprise me, for the previous day I had been equally assured by Captain Kirby, commanding the artillery, that he had no reason to doubt his men, although, at the very time of his so assuring me, I was aware that his pay havildar had addressed a letter to the 18th and 68th regiments, urging them by the most sacred oaths to rise and murder their European officers, stating that such had been done at all the other stations, and that if they would not do so, the Hindoos were to consider that they had eaten beef, and the Mussulmans pork. About seven o'clock, or perhaps between seven and eight o'clock, on Sunday morning the 31st ultimo, the late Brigadier Sibbald, C.B., wrote to his brigade-major, Captain Brownlow, who was living with me, to the following effect: 'How is it to-day? I hear all does not look well; what does Troup say?' Captain Brownlow and all the other officers were in full possession of my opinions, which were patent to the whole community of Bareilly. About ten o'clock, Captain Brownlow and myself proceeded to breakfast, and being quite convinced that the conclusions I had drawn were correct, and that he was under a miserable delusion, during breakfast I continued to urge them upon him, when at last about half-past ten, or perhaps twenty minutes to eleven o'clock—the fatal hour named for the murder of every European in the place—he said he would go over to Lieutenant Gowan, the adjutant of the 18th regiment, who lived within a short distance of my house, and find out from him what was going on. Lieutenant Gowan was one of the best officers I have ever seen, and was intimately acquainted with all that was passing in his regiment, and quite agreed with me in all my views. Captain Brownlow, on leaving, promised to return, but never did so; and in waiting for him, I did not quit my house until within five minutes of eleven o'clock, and only then left it on being urged to do so by my servants. I had hardly got out of my house when a gun was fired by the artillery, which was followed by the report of musketry, which with the yells of

the men, was heard in every direction. I ran on foot towards the irregular cavalry lines, and in passing through Captain Mackenzie's compound on my way to them, I found that Captain Brownlow was safe in Captain Mackenzie's house; I forget now what he said, or what reason he gave for not returning to me as he had promised, or whether he had seen Lieutenant Gowan or not; nor am I aware of what, or if any, means were adopted by him for communicating with his brigadier: he said that he had written me a note, which note I received after I had reached Captain Mackenzie's compound. On my arrival at the 8th irregular cavalry lines I found Mr. Alexander, the commissioner, and several other gentlemen, civil and military, assembled there; and after waiting for a considerable time (during which the work of murder and destruction was being carried on by the mutineers), the cavalry appeared to take a most unusually long time in getting ready, considering that some time previous to the revolt they had been ordered by Captain Mackenzie to do so. All assembled agreed that there was nothing for it but to retire on Nynsee Tal; and after considerable delay, seeing some of the cavalry formed up, I desired them to follow me, which they appeared to do readily enough; but we had hardly got in motion, when Captain Mackenzie halted them, and, to make use of his own words, said to me, that the men wished to have a crack at the mutineers; to which I replied, 'I do not think it is of any use, but just do as you please.' He then took his men back to the mutineers; the result of doing so I fully anticipated, and which is too well told in Captain Mackenzie's report to require any comment from me. On the cavalry proceeding with Captain Mackenzie towards the mutineers, most of the gentlemen present then agreed to stand by each other, and endeavour to push our way to Nynsee Tal; and as we knew our only safety depended upon our putting distance between the insurgents so as to prevent the news of the revolt getting ahead of us, or of their having time to think of us, we moved off at a brisk pace and got a considerable distance on our road before we were joined by Captain Mackenzie and the other officers, and the remnant of his regiment.

"In justice to Captain Mackenzie and Lieutenant Becher, I consider it my duty, however much they, like others, may have been deceived by their men, to state that in

my opinion no two officers could have possibly behaved better towards, or shown a better or more gallant example to, their men than they did; I was in daily, I may say hourly, personal communication with them, and I have great pleasure in stating, that from the very first to the last they were devoted and most unremitting in the performance of the many harassing duties required of them; and I do most respectfully, at the same time most earnestly, beg to strongly recommend them to the favourable consideration of the commander-in-chief, as two most deserving and valuable officers. In venturing to do this, I beg to observe, that I have not formed my opinion of them hastily; so far from it, I have known Captain Mackenzie, I may say intimately, for the last nine years; and I feel quite certain, that in stating what I have of both him and Lieutenant Becher, I am only giving expression to the feelings of all those who, like myself, have escaped from Bareilly on the 31st ultimo. I trust his excellency the commander-in-chief will approve of what I have done in promoting the native commissioned, non-commissioned officers, and men of the 8th irregular cavalry, and that he will be good enough to procure for those mentioned the order of British India, which I have promised them. Their conduct is not only considered by myself, but by all who have escaped, to be beyond praise; but more particularly that of Rissaldar Mahomed Nazeem Khan, the acting Woodie major of the regiment, who has not only sacrificed all his property, but has left three helpless and very young children to their fate, to follow our fortunes. Subjoined is a nominal list of those who have escaped, who are known to have been killed, and missing.

"I have, &c.—C. TROUP, Colonel.

"Late commanding 68th Regiment N. I.

"*Brigade Staff.*—*Killed:* Brigadier H. Sibbald. *Escaped:* Captain Brownlow, major of brigade. *6th Company, 6th Battalion Artillery.*—*Escaped:* Captain Kirby, Lieutenant Fraser, Sergeant Waldon. *Killed:* Sergeant Staples. *18th Regiment Native Infantry.*—*Missing:* Major H. E. Pearson, Captains T. C. Richardson and H. V. Hathorn; Lieutenant J. Y. Gowan, Lieutenant Stewart, Lieutenant Dyson, Sergeant-major Belshun, Quartermaster-sergeant Cross; are supposed to be concealed in a village about seven miles from Bareilly. *Escaped:* Surgeon Oakley, Lieutenant M. Hunter, Ensign W. B. Barwell. *68th Regiment Native In-*

fantry.—*Escaped:* Colonel C. Troup, Captains Robertson, Paterson, and Gibbs; Surgeon Bowhill; Lieutenants Warde, Christian, Stanton, Rogers, and Ensign Jacob; Sergeant-major Jennings. *Killed:* Ensign Tucker, and Quartermaster-sergeant Henry. *8th Irregular Cavalry.*—*Escaped:* Lieutenants Mackenzie and Becher, and Assistant-surgeon Currie. *Civilians, and others who escaped from Bareilly on the 30th ultimo.*—Mr. Alexander, commissioner; Mr. Guthrie, collector; Mr. C. Currie, joint magistrate; Mr. Pasley, assistant; Doctor Anderson, Mr. Tempton, Mr. Beddie, of the Bareilly College; the Rev. L. Poynder, chaplain, Bareilly; Mr. Barkley and his son, residents of Bareilly; Mr. Raikes and Mr. Robinson, judges of Bareilly; Mr. Orr and Mr. Wyatt, deputy-collectors; Dr. Hay, civil surgeon; Dr. Hansbrow, in charge of the gaol; Dr. Beech, principal, Bareilly College; with all the other European residents, merchants, and writers in government offices, are all missing, and some of them may turn up: but I believe that it has been ascertained, beyond all doubt, that the seven above-named have all been murdered.

"C TROUP."

On the 26th of June, Major-general Lloyd, commanding at Dinapore, transmitted to the governor-general the following statement of a native *syce* (groom), who was at Bareilly during the mutiny of the troops. It is corroborative of the preceding details; and owing to the position of the narrator among the mutineers, supplies some additional particulars:—

"Dinapore, June 26th, 1857.

"On the 22nd of May last I arrived at Bareilly from Calcutta, in charge of two horses from Messrs. Cook and Co., for Mr. Guthrie, the collector; on arrival, I found that fears were entertained that the sepoy infantry regiments were about to rebel. The 8th irregulars were thought to be stanch. The officers and other gentlemen used to congregate nightly for safety at particular houses, although the men were performing duty as usual; the ladies and children had been sent up to Nynee Tal some time previously. My master, Mr. Guthrie, as well as others, kept their horses always saddled ready for any disturbance that might happen. On Saturday, the 30th, there was great confusion and dread of an outbreak, but it passed off. The next day, Sunday, about 10:30 A.M., a chuprassy came to Mr. Guthrie, and told him that the sepoys

were plundering the treasure. My master and the deputy-collector, Mr. White, started for the treasury in a buggy; they soon afterwards returned, and I saw the holes made by bullets in the hood of the buggy. My master, Mr. White, Mr. Currie, the commissioner, and the brigade-major mounted their horses, and rode to the cavalry lines for aid. I accompanied them; the sowars were all ready and mounted. The general (Sibbald) came along from his house on horseback, and was at once shot dead by a sowar; upon this the gentlemen all fled for Nynee Tal, where I afterwards heard that Mr. Guthrie wrote to the Bareilly nawab that he had arrived, and would one day be quits with him. I heard that the infantry officers made off for Nynee Tal directly their men rose. Two officers (of the 68th, I believe) were murdered by their men near the lines. I believe no other gentlemen were killed; but the sergeants and the women, and children of clerks, and others who had not previously been sent to Nynee Tal, were cruelly murdered. The kotwal, I believe, escaped to Nynee Tal with the gentlemen; the town was not plundered; the four guns were taken by the insurgents, and were fired by them on the fugitive officers, but without effect; the bungalows were all plundered and burnt. The only gentlemen killed were Brigadier Sibbald, shot by a sowar; the superintending surgeon (Hayes), killed by the people in the city while trying to escape; and the two officers killed in the infantry lines. I heard that eight gentlemen, who had fled from Moradabad, I believe, were under the protection of the Rampore nawab; and that he had threatened to attack the rebels if they came his way, which they must do if they go to Delhi, as they had intended: they are under the command of the artillery subahdar; but each man did what he liked, and no authority was respected. I remained a week at Bareilly after the rebellion, near my master's house in a grove; and travelled to my home at Dinapore *via* Shahjehanpore, where all was burnt, and no Europeans remaining; Seetapore, where the same condition existed; Sultanpore, again the same; Jaunpore, where the treasury had been plundered; Ghazee-pore, where all was quiet; Buxar and Arrah; and reached Dinapore on the 24th instant. The regiment from Shahjehanpore had joined the mutineers at Bareilly before I left it. I did not hear at Shahjehanpore what had become of the

officers; the bazaar was almost deserted. I met with Jemadar Salamut Ali near Jaunpore, and thence we travelled together; a Ghoorka regiment is protecting Nynee Tal and guns: when I left Bareilly, Moradabad had not gone. (A true translation of Shaick Toofanee's statement.)

"A. A. BECHER, Captain, 40th Regt. N. I."

The following extract from a letter of one of the ladies who escaped from Bareilly, is dated from Nynee Tal, June 12th, and will close our present reference to the outrages at that station. After some general remarks upon the state of the country, the writer says—"Two companies of Colonel Troup's own regiment (the 68th) surrounded his house to shoot him. He was warned by his bearer, and fled through a back-door, jumped on his horse, and galloped off. All the gentlemen in Bareilly had slept every night before this outbreak in their clothes, with pistols at their side, and horses saddled, ready to fly at a moment's warning, as they knew of the disaffection of the troops. Owing to the forethought and wisdom of Colonel Troup, all the ladies had been sent up here as soon as the first panic was felt; and by this, humanly speaking, they were all saved, for they would have been terribly in the way when it came to the push at the last. Mr. Barwell and Mr. Hunter, of the 18th, are safe here. * * * The most horrible thing is, that several gentlemen and a merchant, with his wife, mother, and children, were dragged before a man at Bareilly—a wretch who called himself the rajah, but who, I believe, was a bunnia. They were hiding in a native's house in the city; the house was searched, they were taken before the man, and their heads cut off. Poor Mrs. — is here. It is dreadful to think of her distress; she is without a penny in the world. Her house is burnt, which contained all her property. There are many other widows here. Mr. Poynder has escaped; his little hill pony carried him the whole way bravely. The Beharee bungalow is burnt. Some of the gentlemen came away without hats. Fancy this in the middle of the day, at this time of year; but none suffered from it. Mr. Alexander (commissioner of Bareilly), who is now safe here, was in bed very ill when the signal-gun for murdering went off; his servant rushed in and told him to fly. He was so ill, that he declared he could not ride, but some one pushed him on; and then came a shower of bullets and grapeshot round his

head, and his horse ran away with him, luckily the right road. Some of the officers had hair-breadth escapes. The sepoy were actually posted on the parade-ground, at regular distances, coolly taking aim. The artillery, with their native officers, were firing with their guns against their officers. The whole thing was most awful. The townspeople then got up, and there was a terrible fight between Mussulmans and Hindoos and sepoy for the treasure. Thousands of Hindoos have been killed. At Moradabad the Mussulmans are very violent. Of course all your property there is gone. * * * I think we are here as safe as we can be. Captain Ramsay is most vigilant, and wise in his proceedings. The roads are guarded by Ghoorkas (66th Ghoorka regiment.) A company of Ghoorkas are also in this station, and guns; and all the gentlemen have been formed into a militia, called the 'Kumaon Militia,' subject to Captain Ramsay in every way. This militia is divided into companies; there are about a hundred gentlemen with firearms, and they take it by turns to patrol. Enough grain for three months is being brought in, because we are afraid our provisions may run short, as there are so many people; and until the country is quieter no one can go to the plains. The Bhabur (the country at the foot of the hills) is overrun with dacoits and bad characters. It is horrible that we cannot hear what is going on below. Strange reports come, and we don't know what to believe. We are living in hope of getting an English regiment in Rohilcund, and fighting the Bareilly sepoy and Mussulmans. No praise can be too high for Mr. Wilson's conduct at Moradabad. He has been as bold as a lion in this emergency. The last accounts of him were, that he had gone to Meerut with the Saunders, Campbells, and Cannons. I hope they have got there safe. They went well armed. The rest of the Moradabad people are here. The sepoy gave them two hours' warning."

At Moradabad, the 29th regiment of native infantry suddenly made their appearance on parade, on Sunday morning, the 31st of May, and announced to the officers their intention to join the king's forces at Delhi. Their behaviour was respectful; and they gave the European officers and their families two hours to prepare for flight, of which they fortunately availed themselves; a portion of them having reached Nynee Tal the day after the arrival of the fugitives from

Bareilly. Others fled in the direction of Meerut, which they reached in safety. Beyond plundering the cantonment and forcing the officers' bungalows, the mutineers of the 29th do not appear to have committed any excesses; and their conduct, bad as it undoubtedly was, in a military point of view, contrasts advantageously with that of their more sanguinary and ferocious comrades.

Passing from these chequered incidents of wide-spread calamities, that were presently to be thrown into shade by accumulating atrocities in other districts, we turn from Bareilly and Moradabad to the military station at Shahjehanpore—a station about forty miles from the former town. At this place, advantage was taken by the sepoy of the 28th regiment, of the Europeans being assembled at church, on the morning of Sunday, the 31st of May, to break into open and sudden revolt. Surrounding the sacred edifice, their first victim was the Rev. Mr. M'Cullum, the chaplain to the station, whom they shot dead in the pulpit. The next who fell beneath their murderous aim was Dr. Bowling, who was struck down by a bullet while driving his wife and child to church. The officer in command of the regiment, Captain James, was killed while endeavouring to recall his men to their duty. Lieutenant Spans received a sabre-cut on the head and shoulder while kneeling in prayer. Captain Salmon was wounded while running to assist his brother-officers in the effort to quell the mutiny; and the resident civil magistrate, Mr. Ricketts, with other Europeans of the congregation, was massacred in the church. Some officers, who had managed to escape to Mohumdee, found protection and sustenance there for about a week by the care of the tehseeldar; but intelligence of their escape having reached Seetapore, two companies of the 41st regiment, then in a state of revolt, were dispatched, by the order of their subahdar and jemadar, to bring them away, or kill them on the spot. The following description of their subsequent treatment is by an eye-witness:—"Before the tehseeldar gave them up to the sepoy, the latter were earnest in their assurances of protection; but, on seeing Lieutenant Spans with his shoulder bound up, they coolly said to each other, 'What is the use of taking a wounded man with us? He had better be shot!' And, suiting the action to the word, the unfortunate gentleman, disabled by his wounds from offering any resistance, was

murderously shot by the cowardly wretches that gloated over his dying agonies. They then ordered the rest of the party to leave the village with them, on the way to Sectapore; but before they had reached a distance of four miles from Mohumdee, the party halted, and ordered the ladies, who had been placed in a carriage by the tehseedar, to get out and walk. Upon this the officers remonstrated, that they would proceed on foot, but the ladies must remain in the carriage. The reply to this was a peremptory order for the ladies to get out, which they did; and as they alighted, they were shot one by one. Some of the children were bayoneted, others dashed on the ground and trampled to death. The sepoy, having completed this act of the tragedy, then faced round and killed the officers; and, leaving the bodies on the ground, marched back on their way to Seetapore. The police jemadar afterwards came up with his sowars, and finding the bodies of the ladies, children, and officers lying there, had a large hole dug, and buried them all in it."

LUCKNOW.—The vigilance exercised by Sir Henry Lawrence, chief commissioner in Oude, gave little opportunity for relaxation since the occurrence of the 3rd of May, which, owing to his promptitude and energy, was prevented assuming the serious character that had signalised the mutinous conduct of sepoy regiments at other stations. A comparative lull succeeded the agitation that had prevailed during the proceedings already detailed;* which was not disturbed until towards the latter end of the month, when some unmistakable indications of a gathering tempest once more excited serious apprehension for the continued repose of Lucknow. At this time the troops in cantonments consisted of the 13th, 48th, and 71st native infantry, the 7th light cavalry, her majesty's 32nd regiment, and a battery of artillery; together with a small detachment of irregular horse. On the 23rd of May, the telegraph informed the governor-general, that "arrangements for the defence of the several posts were completed, and that all was considered safe, except from external influences." On the 29th, the chief commissioner reported the apparent near approach of the expected movement, in the following message to the secretary to the government:—"All quiet, but great uneasiness at Lucknow; dis-

* See ante, p. 52.

turbances threatened outside. A tehseedar killed in settling a quarrel. Tranquillity cannot be much longer maintained, unless Delhi be speedily captured." It was now becoming evident that the master-spirit which had ruled the storm at its first gathering, must be once more invoked before the tranquillity of Lucknow could be permanently secured; and but few hours had elapsed ere it was again found triumphantly careering amidst the elements of revolt and destruction. Daily, throughout the previous week, Sir Henry Lawrence had been informed, by confidential agents, that the regiments had determined to rise in revolt; and the hours of eight or nine at night were mentioned as the time at which the meditated outbreak would occur. Night after night, however, passed away without any visible appearance of the threatened evil; and when, on the morning of Saturday, the 30th of May, the oft-told tale of immediate danger was repeated to the commissioner, it was regarded but as the echo of former groundless alarms, and no extra precautions were adopted beyond doubling the European sentries at the cantonments, and directing the officers to keep a watchful guard upon their men. The day passed over, as those immediately preceding it had done, quietly; but before the chimes that told the hour of nine had ceased to vibrate on the ear, a discharge of musketry was heard in the lines of the 71st regiment of native infantry. At that moment the chief commissioner was remarking to one of his attendants, that the last rumour had been as unfounded as those which preceded it; but, struck by the report from the lines, he immediately mounted, and rode to the encampment of the 32nd regiment, which he found already under arms, and awaiting his orders. Having given the necessary directions, his excellency proceeded, with a company of Europeans and two guns, to a point on the Lucknow-road that would enable him to check the progress of the mutineers, in the event of their marching upon the city. The remaining six guns were left in position on the encamping-ground, under a guard of her majesty's 32nd. The *émeute* had by this time become general in the native lines; the bungalows were in a state of conflagration on all sides, and the firing became more frequent. On the instant of the alarm being given, General Handscomb, in command of the brigade, rode up to the mutineers, hoping that his

presence and arguments might have the effect of bringing the men to a sense of duty: but he was shot down by a sepoy of the 71st regiment, before he could utter a sentence. Lieutenant Grant, in charge of the cantonment guard, was attacked by the mutineers; and his men, instead of defending their post and their officer, disgracefully abandoned both; and the unfortunate lieutenant fell a victim to their treachery and cowardice. A shot from one of the mutineers brought Lieutenant Grant to the ground; and the subahdar of the guard concealed him under his charpoy. The sepoys then came up, and were told that the sahib had escaped; but they would not be satisfied without a search; and at last an havildar on the guard, belonging to Lieutenant Grant's own regiment, snatched the charpoy aside, and pointed out his wounded officer to the demons in search of him: the next moment the unfortunate gentleman was pierced by a dozen bayonets; and his person, while yet writhing in the agonies of death, was brutally mutilated by the assassins. The cantonment had now become one blaze of fire; but it was not deemed prudent to move the guns stationed on the Lucknow-road, lest the mutineers should attempt to find their way into the city, and repeat their outrages in that direction: the only means of checking them in their career at the cantonments, was by detaching parties of irregular cavalry to act against the incendiaries in the lines. Between these sowars and the mutineers there was some sharp firing, without much effect on either side. In one of these skirmishes, Lieutenant Hardinge, of the 13th native infantry, distinguished himself conspicuously. A sepoy had fired at him within a distance of three feet; and finding he had missed his aim, charged him with the bayonet, which went through the lieutenant's wrist, and had just entered his chest, when its further progress was stopped by a bullet from Lieutenant Hardinge's pistol, which was delivered into the stomach of his assailant, and sickened him of the contest.

The following telegram announced to government the fact of the actual outbreak:—"Lucknow, May 31st. An *émeute* at 9 P.M. Several bungalows burnt; and two or three officers killed, and as many wounded: Brigadier Handscomb among the former: no other loss incurred. Quiet in the city. I am in cantonments. It is difficult to say who are loyal; but it is be-

lieved the majority are. Only twenty-five of the 7th cavalry proved false. The effects of this *émeute* may be bad."—This state of outrage continued up to about two o'clock in the morning, at which time the fires began to abate, and two guns were moved from the cantonments to each of the gates of the residency; the buildings of which, having been protected by an havildar's guard of the 13th regiment, and a few sowars, had escaped destruction. At four in the morning the mutineers had reached the 7th cavalry lines at Moodkeepore, a short distance from the cantonments; and having set fire to them without resistance on the part of the sowars remaining there, the main body retraced their steps towards the cantonments, where Sir Henry Lawrence was now prepared to meet them. Leaving a company of Europeans, six guns, and a squadron of irregulars on the encamping-ground, Sir Henry marched towards the insurgents with 200 Europeans, the 7th light cavalry, and a few of the irregulars, with two guns. This force, as it passed in front of the native lines, was augmented by about 700 men from the 13th, 48th, and 71st regiments of native infantry, who had not joined the insurgents. The 7th light cavalry were sent on in advance; but, upon meeting the rebels, twenty-five of the sowars went over to them, and fired upon their late companions. Finding that preparations had been made for chastising them, the mutinous rabble turned, and fled with such rapidity, that, by the time the artillery had debouched from the lines, they were a thousand yards off, and could only be reached by round shot. Of this, one discharge only was sufficient to hasten their retreat, in which they were followed by Sir Henry Lawrence, with four guns, two companies of the 32nd foot, and 300 horse. In a pursuit of seven miles, only thirty prisoners were taken, owing to the apathy of the sowars, who, beyond moving on with the rest of the party, scarcely took any trouble to perform the duty they were engaged in. On reaching Moodkeepore in the pursuit, the force came across the mutilated corpse of a young officer of the 7th cavalry (Cornet Raleigh), who had only joined the regiment a few days previously, and, being too unwell to ride, had been left behind when the regiment was ordered into cantonments. The poor lad was found lying on his face, with the back of his skull completely blown away. At a short distance beyond Moodkeepore,

the Europeans halted with the artillery, while the cavalry were sent forward, but with very little result, either as regards killed or prisoners. After a brief rest, Sir Henry Lawrence was about to resume the pursuit with the main body, when intelligence reached him that an insurrection would certainly break out in the city that night; and, as his force, divided, would be insufficient to protect the latter in case of emergency, he was compelled, reluctantly, to abandon the chase. Leaving, therefore, 200 Europeans and four guns in the cantonments, he moved with the remainder of his force to the city, and dispatched the following report to the governor-general, dated "Lucknow, May 31st, 2 P.M.:"—

"Most of the houses in the cantonments have been burnt at the outbreak. The mutineers, consisting of half of the 48th native infantry, about half of the 71st, some few of the 13th, and two troops of the 7th cavalry, have fled towards Seetapore. We followed them seven miles, with four guns and two companies of her majesty's 32nd, and 300 horse. The latter evinced no zeal; and we could only get within round-shot distance of the mutineers. We took thirty prisoners. I wrote in great haste after return. All quiet. My anxieties are for Cawnpore and the districts."

The arrival of Sir Henry and his Europeans at Lucknow was absolutely requisite for the preservation of the city and its English inhabitants. The budmashes and evil-disposed persons of the town endeavoured to overpower the police and commence an indiscriminate plunder; and it required all the strength and energy of the force to prevent their committing a vast amount of wanton mischief. The appearance of the troops, and the decision with which they were prepared to act if necessary, had the effect of disheartening the rioters; and after two or three collisions with the police, in which the latter were victorious, the firing in the streets gradually abated, and towards midnight had alto-

* It is remarkable, that in the immediate neighbourhood of Lucknow, more extravagant rumours had for a long time been in circulation (and were apparently believed) than in any other portion of the Oude territory. Among other causes of disquietude, industriously circulated by the agents of the insurrectionary movement, was a report that a great number of European regiments were marching up the country, and compelling the native troops, as they arrived, to use the defiling cartridge, and thus degrade them to Christianity. It was also declared, that the "Padres" (missionaries) had addressed a

petition to the Queen, representing that, in former times, when there were Mohammedan kings in India, they forced their subjects to become Mohammedans; but that although for sixty years a Christian government had ruled the country, yet not one man had by force been made a Christian. It was further declared by the fabricators of the mischievous report, that the petitioners represented to the Queen, "That while Tippoo made thousands of Hindoos become of his religion, her majesty had not made one Christian. That under her orders were employed sepoy of all castes; and they therefore prayed her majesty to

gether ceased. Intelligence of the restoration of order was communicated to government by the following telegram:—
"June 1st, 3 P.M.—Much excitement all day in the city. Yesterday an insurrection threatened. In the evening some skirmishes with police, which, under Captain Carnegie, behaved admirably, and beat off the rioters. The city guards were strengthened with a hundred Europeans and four guns. Colonel Inglis and I slept in the town. Night quiet at all points. The faithful remnants of three infantry regiments and 7th cavalry, about 700 men, encamped yesterday afternoon, close to the detachment of 200 of her majesty's 32nd, and four European guns. We are in much better position at Lucknow; but I fear the effects of the *émeute* in the districts. A treasure party came in safe this morning. It was in danger; but a hundred horse, sent out yesterday evening, saved it. It is now 12 A.M. All just returned from visiting post. All here looks brighter."

In strict accordance with the principle acted upon by Sir Henry Lawrence upon the occasion of the 3rd of May—namely, to punish treachery and insubordination with prompt and merited severity, and to encourage and reward loyalty and valour by the most public avowal of his approbation—the chief native officer (*kotwal*) of police at Lucknow, was promoted to the rank of bahadoor, and received a present of 1,000 rupees, with a handsome sword, in recognition of his services; while those of the men under his orders were rewarded by the sum of 5,000 rupees equally divided among them. A few days subsequently, the havildar who had betrayed Lieutenant Grant to the sepoy murderers, was pointed out, and immediately tried and hung up with a spy arrested in the lines of the 13th regiment. Eight of the mutineers, taken during the pursuit of the rebels on the 31st, were also tried by drum-head court-martial, and blown from the guns, in the presence of the whole remaining garrison;* and for several days

petition to the Queen, representing that, in former times, when there were Mohammedan kings in India, they forced their subjects to become Mohammedans; but that although for sixty years a Christian government had ruled the country, yet not one man had by force been made a Christian. It was further declared by the fabricators of the mischievous report, that the petitioners represented to the Queen, "That while Tippoo made thousands of Hindoos become of his religion, her majesty had not made one Christian. That under her orders were employed sepoy of all castes; and they therefore prayed her majesty to

continuously, Sir Henry Lawrence signalled the morning and evening parades of his loyal but diminutive garrison, by the execution of the rebels and their accomplices in the city. A large gallows was erected for the purpose outside the fort, and a couple of field-pieces, charged with grape, and with the portfires ready lighted, kept in awe the populace and budmashes of the city, who congregated in large numbers within view of the scaffold. The brother of the king of Oude, who had continued to reside at the palace, was placed under guard, with several of his principal attendants; and by the energetic measures thus adopted, quiet was for a time restored to Lucknow. The fugitive mutineers were meanwhile on the route for Delhi, obtaining accession to their numbers by the adhesion of the disaffected troops from Seetapore, Moradabad, and Bareilly.

GWALIOR.—The loyal and prompt assistance tendered to government by the rajah of Gwalior, and its grateful appreciation and acceptance by the latter, have already been recorded.* Of the fidelity of the maharajah himself, there could be no doubt; of that of his troops, there was far less assurance; and, on the evening of the 28th of May, the officers in command at the cantonments, having grounds for suspecting a contemplated outbreak against the European inhabitants, gave directions for the whole of the females at the station to repair immediately to the residency. The maharajah, on being informed of the probable danger, immediately in person brought a strong body of horse and foot soldiers, with which he surrounded the building, at the same time posting others to secure the road from the cantonments; but he requested that, on the following morning, the ladies and children might be brought to a mansion attached to his palace, where alone he could assure them of absolute safety. Through the measures taken by the officers, the alarm passed over without actual proof that any real cause for it had existed; and, on the following day, the families returned to the cantonment. The conduct of the maharajah was reported cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which the sepoys must put into their mouths; and after six months, to have it made known to the sepoys how they had thereby lost their caste; by which means a certain road would be opened for making many Christians." This absurd jargon, it was represented, had given great satisfaction to the Queen, who therefore had ordered the plan to be adopted, that "all her sepoys might thereby become Christians." Another story by which the blind credulity of the

to the government, and elicited the following telegraphic acknowledgment from the governor-general, dated "Calcutta, June 1st, 1857:"—

"Convey my thanks at once to Scindia for his kind and thoughtful attention, as well as his energetic measures for the security of the ladies in the cantonment. It gives me the greatest pleasure to have to acknowledge these repeated proofs of his attachment to the British government."

On the 31st of May, Lieutenant-colonel Wheler, commanding the remains of the 34th regiment of native infantry at Barrackpore, reported as follows, to the assistant adjutant-general of the presidency division at Calcutta:—"A spontaneous reaction having now taken place in the minds of the men present with the regiment, apparently brought on by the 70th regiment of native infantry, it is my humble and sincere hope that they will prove as loyal and obedient to the government in future, as the disbanded men proved disloyal of late, and that this example will be followed by men of other regiments, whose minds are now wavering, and determine them at once in returning to their duty and allegiance."

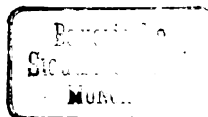
The above communication was accompanied by "a petition of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoys remaining at the head-quarters of the 34th regiment of native infantry," dated 31st May, 1857; of which the subjoined is a translation.

"Some evil-disposed men of the regiment have deprived us of the reputation for loyalty which we have ever held; they have received the fruits of their conduct by being disbanded.† We that remain are willing to serve against the mutineers at Delhi, and are anxious to recover our lost name. We pray that the government will ever regard us as faithful soldiers."

The petition was laid before the governor-general in council; and, in reply, the secretary to the government was instructed to communicate to the major-general commanding the presidency division, for the in-people was imposed upon, ran to the effect, "that in consequence of the war in which the Feringhees had been engaged among themselves, there were a great many widows in England, and that the Queen had commanded they should all be sent out to marry the native chieftains and talookdars of Oude. That their children were to be brought up as Christians, and would inherit all the landed property of their fathers, to the entire exclusion of his Hindoo progeny, who would become outcasts."

* See *ante*, p. 127.

† See *ante*, p. 63.





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