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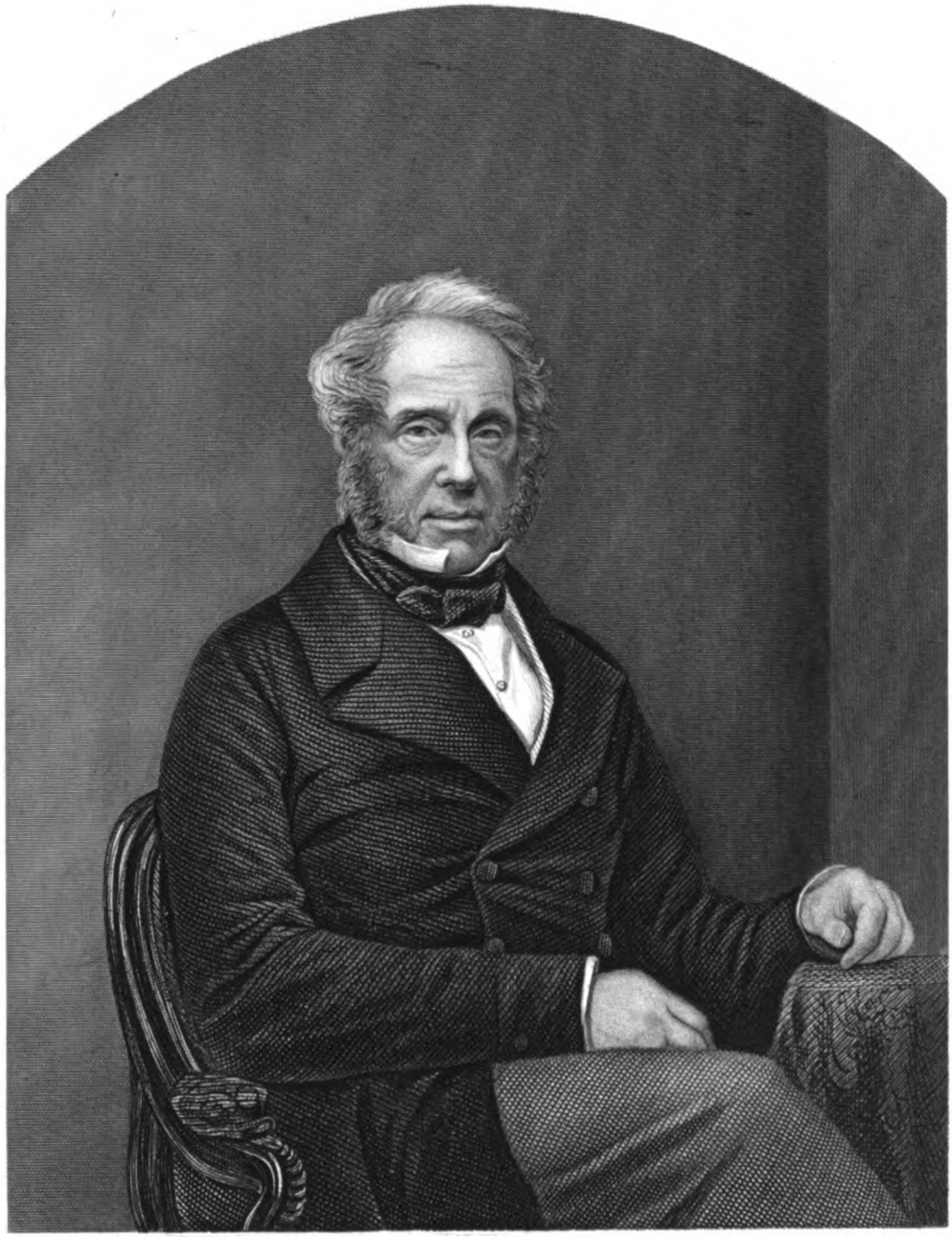
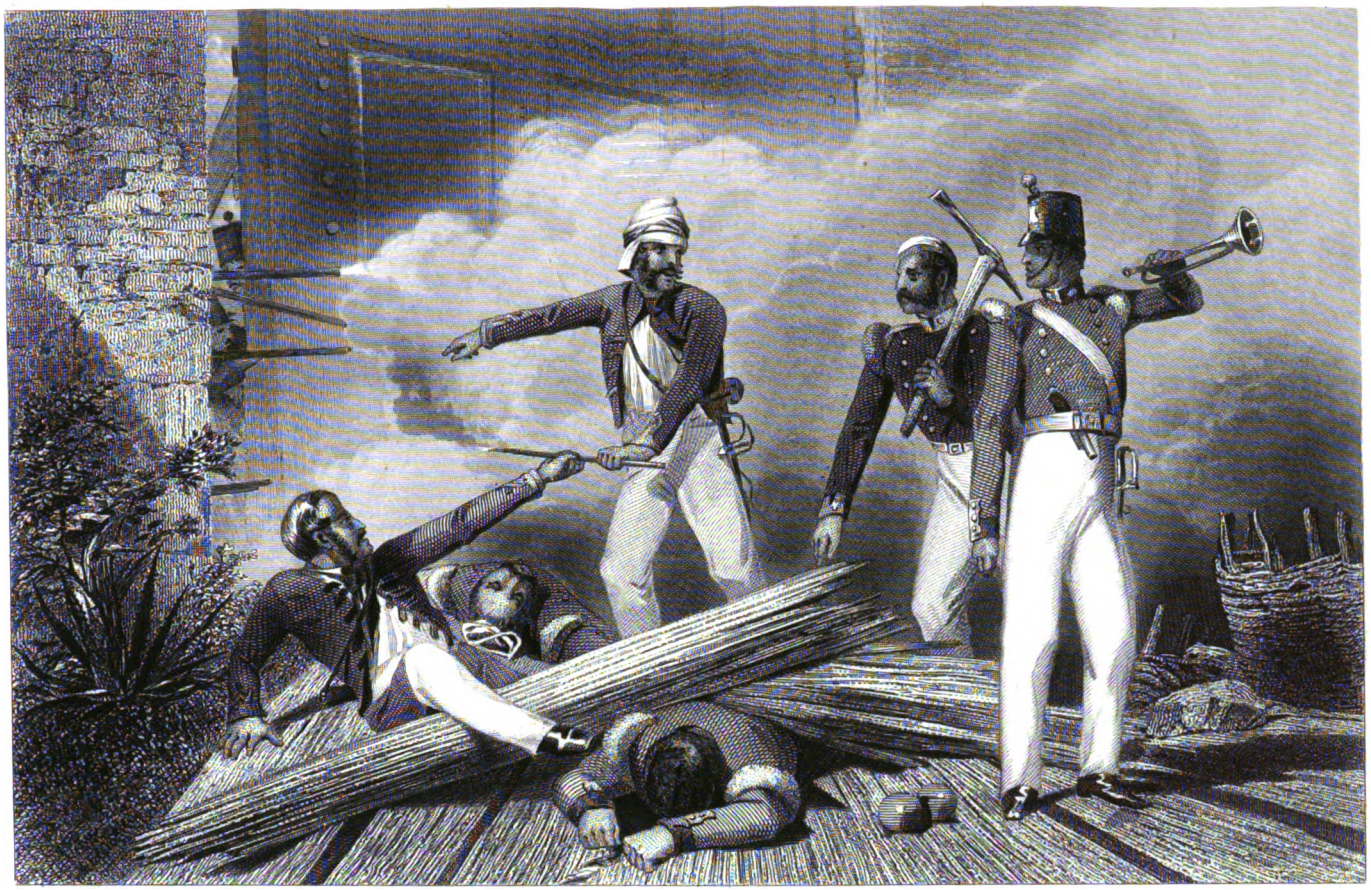
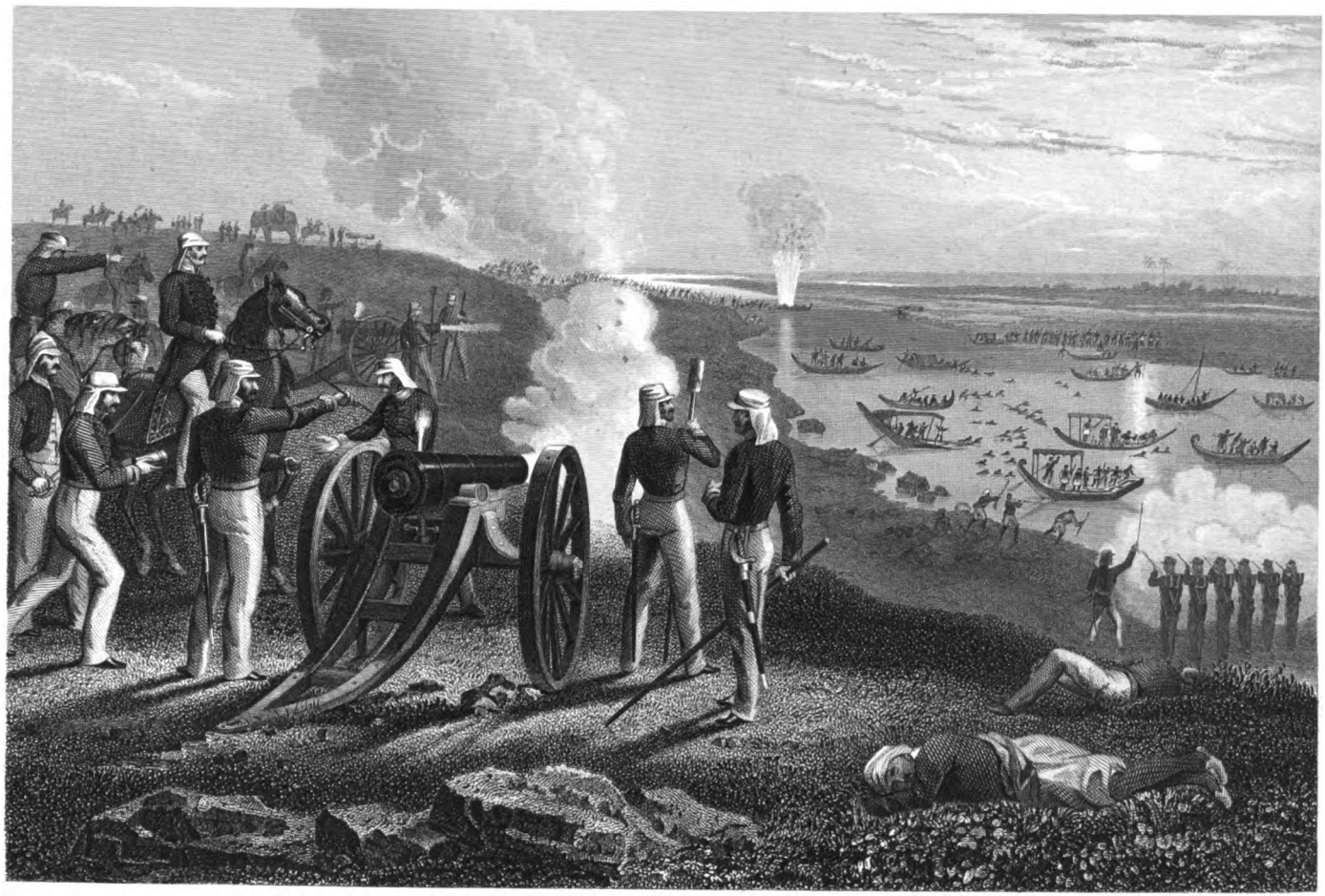
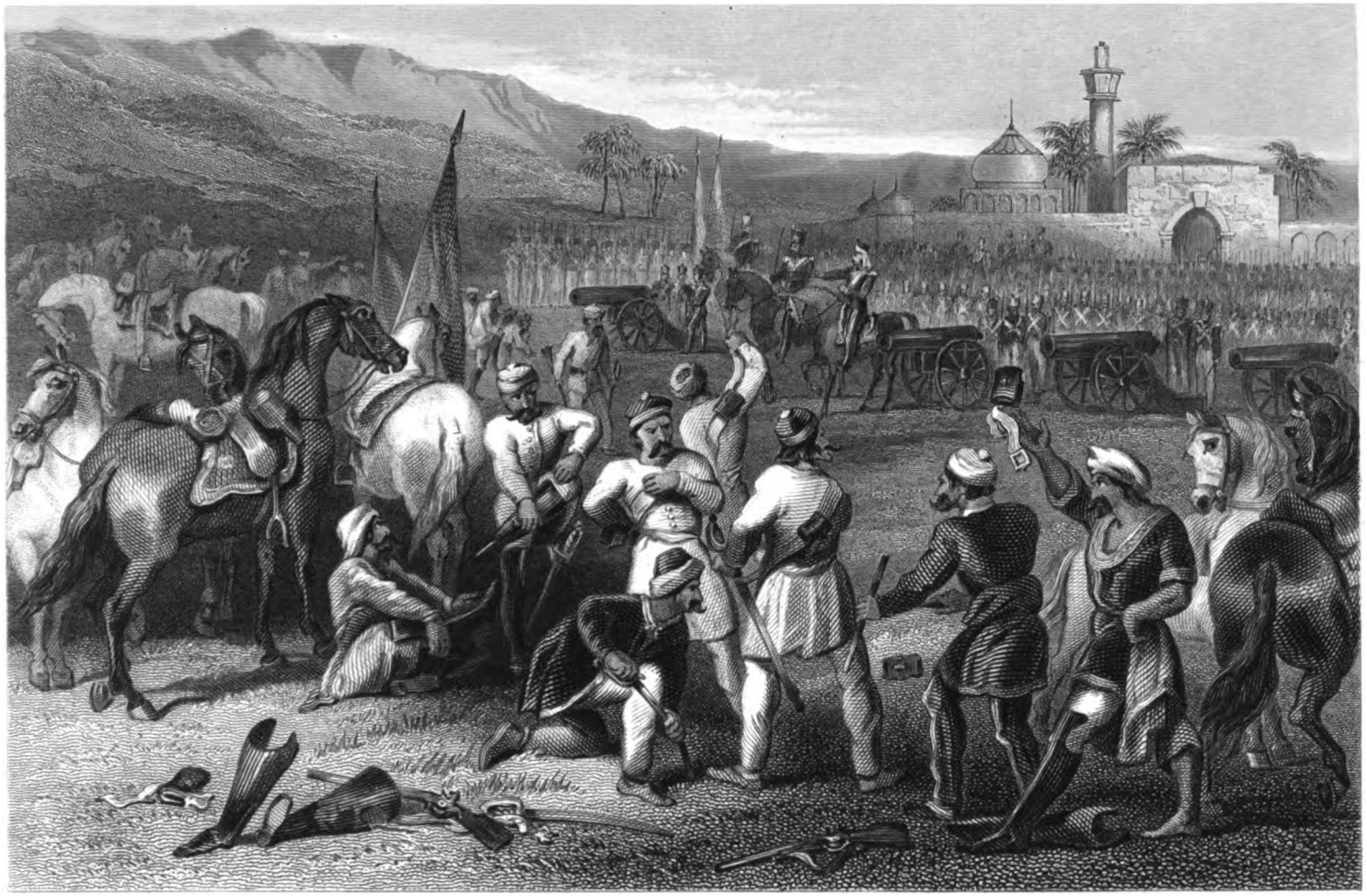


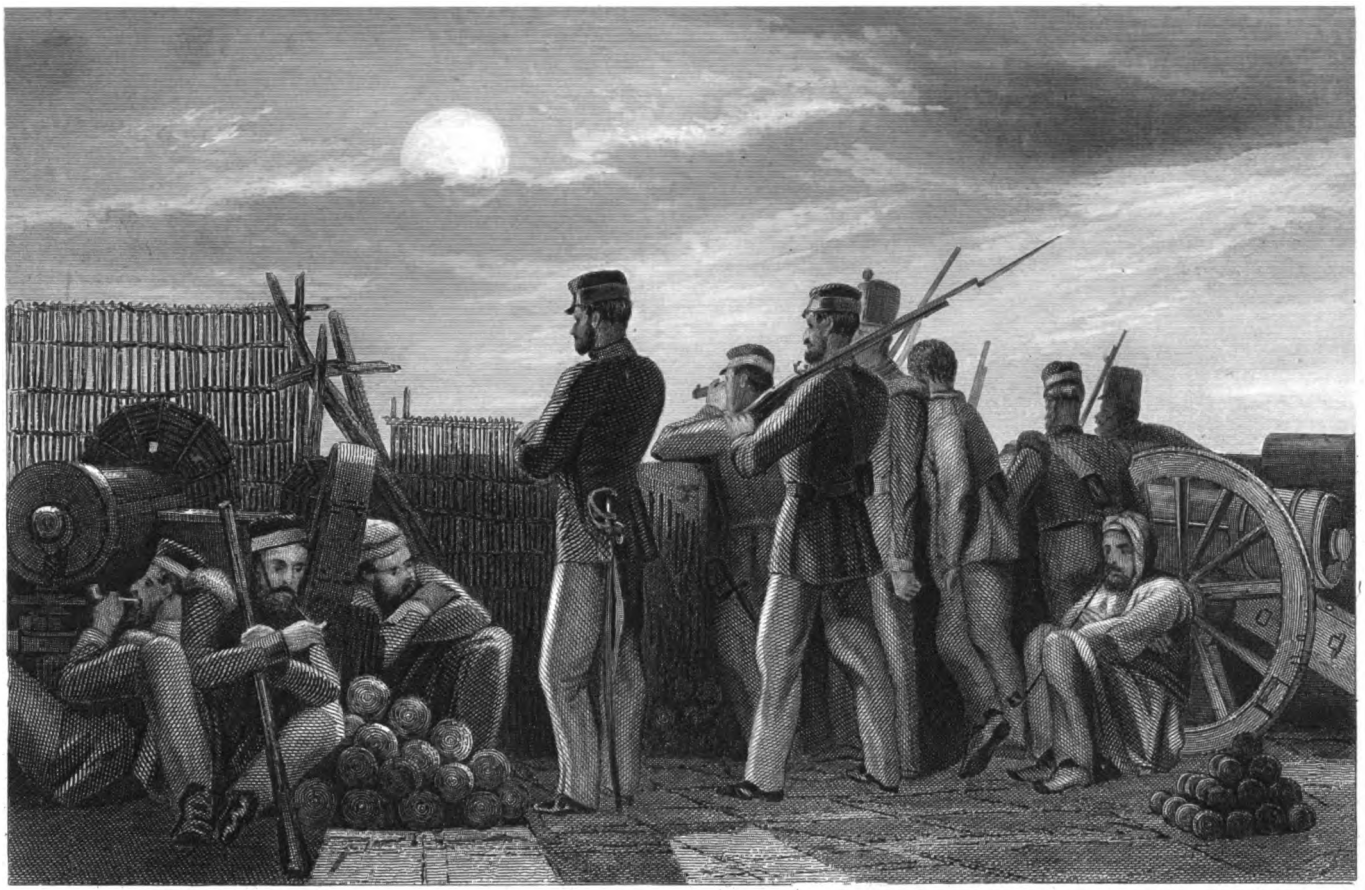


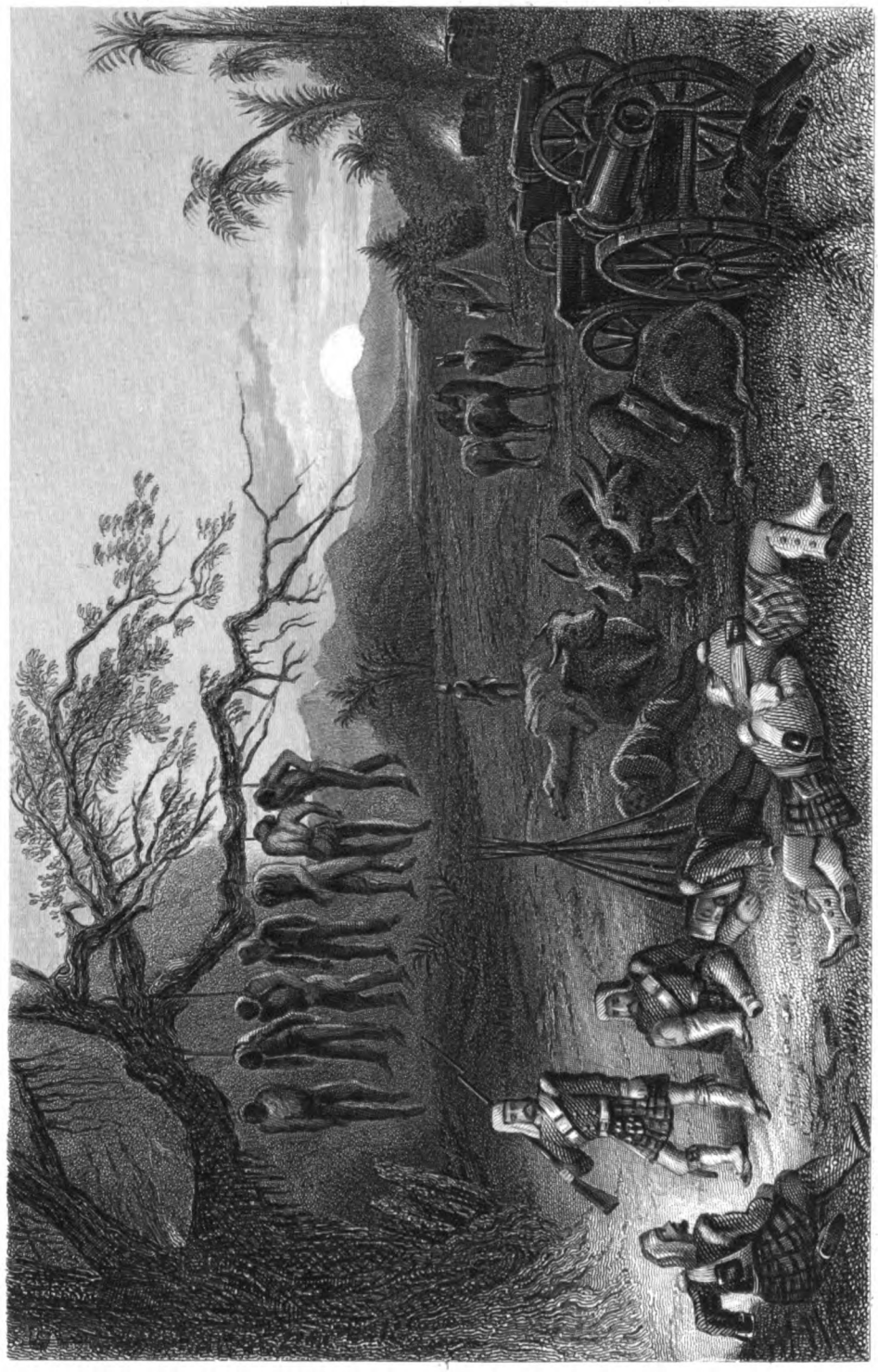




ATTACK ON THE MUTINEERS BEFORE CAWNPORE.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.





was at length announced, the larger portion of the troops entered by a gate in the immediate vicinity of the building called the Subada Kothee, in which, as they then supposed, some 200 women and children, retained as hostages for the safety of the rebel chief, were still confined. The steps of the men were light and quick; for each was panting for the moment that, by his presence, would announce freedom and safety to his imprisoned countrywomen. Brave hearts were unusually elate that morning; and eyes glistened with cheerful expectation, that were soon to be depressed by a sense of overwhelming horror, and to be dimmed by the tears of manly grief. Eagerly they approached the building pointed out to them as the place in which their countrywomen and children would be found; but they approached too late! The gates were thrown back, and they entered an aceldama! Accustomed as those stern men had been to scenes of blood and the devastating ravages of war, the sack of towns, and the carnage of the battle-field, the spectacle that now met their gaze unmanned the strongest in their ranks. Before them lay a paved court, strewn with the wrecks of women's clothing and children's dresses, torn and cut into ragged and bloody fragments, as if hacked from the persons of the living wearers! gory and dishevelled tresses of human hair lay trampled among the blood that had yet scarcely congealed upon the pavement! Exclamations of horror subsided into deathlike stillness, as the men rushed across that slippery court into the building before them. Traces of brutal violence, of savage and ferocious murder, told in each apartment the fearful history of the preceding night; but not one living being was there to disclose the awful secret yet to be revealed, or indicate the spot in which the survivors (if any there were) of an evident massacre had sought refuge. At length the fearful truth was realised: a huge well in the rear of the building had been used by the murderers as a fitting receptacle in which to hide their martyred victims from human eyes; and here, yet reeking with blood, stripped of clothing, dishonoured, mutilated, and massacred, lay the bodies of 208 females and children of all ages—the dying and the dead festering together in that hideous well! There lay the hapless mother and her innocent babe; the young wife and the aged matron; girlhood in its teens, and infancy in its helplessness—all—all had fallen beneath the dishonoured tulwars of the Mahratta destroyer, and his fierce and cowardly accomplices in crime.

Upon the walls and pillars of the rooms in which this astounding act of pitiless barbarity had been perpetrated, were the marks of bullets, and of cuts made by sword-strokes—not high up, as if men had fought with men, but low down, and about the corners, where the poor crouching victims had been cut to pieces! On those walls, in some places nearly obliterated by the blood that yet clung congealed in all directions, were discovered short scraps of pencil-writing, and scratches upon the plaster; and among these the following sentences were yet legible:—"Think of us"—"Avenge us"—"Your wives and children are here in misery, and at the disposal of savages"—"My child! my child!" In one apartment, carefully ranged along one side, was a row of women's shoes and boots, with *bleeding amputated feet* in them! On the opposite side of the room, the devilish ingenuity of the mocking fiends was shown in a row of children's shoes, filled in a similar way!

Upon searching among the sad memorials of the unfortunate sufferers, several scraps of paper, written upon, were found: all of them were stained with blood. Two of these relics appeared to be leaves from a diary, and were evidently in the handwriting of two persons. The first has been supposed to be part of a journal kept by Miss Caroline Lindsay, eldest daughter of Mrs. George Lindsay, named in the list of Lieutenant Delafosse* as among the Cawnpore victims. This interesting record of the dead comes down to the 12th of July, and is as follows:—

"Mamma died July 12.†—Alice died July 9.‡—George died June 27.§—Entered the barracks May 21.—Cavalry left June 5.—First shot fired, June 6.—Uncle Willy died June 18.‖—Aunt Lilly, June 17.¶—Left barracks June 27.—Made prisoners as soon as we were at the river."

The other leaf contained the following memorandum closely written, and partially obscured by the blood profusely sprinkled over it:—

"We went into the barracks on the 21st of May;

* See *ante*, pp. 337, 338.

† Mrs. G. Lindsay. ‡ Daughter of Mrs. G. Lindsay.

§ Son of Mrs. G. Lindsay, ensign 10th native infantry.

‖ Major W. Lindsay. ¶ Mrs. W. Lindsay.

the 2nd cavalry broke out at two o'clock on the morning of the 5th of June, and the other regiments went off during the day. The next morning, while we were all sitting out in front of the barracks, a 24-pounder came flying along, and hit the intrenchment; and from that day the firing went on till the 25th of June: then the enemy sent a treaty which the general agreed to; and on the 27th we all left the B. to go down to A. in boats. When we got to the river the enemy began firing on us, killed all the gentlemen and some of the ladies; set fire to the boats: some were drowned; and we were taken prisoners, and taken to a house; put all in one room."

A memorandum in the Mahratta language, of which the subjoined list of names is a translation, was also found in this slaughterhouse. It purports to have been made by some individual charged with the custody of the victims of treachery, and was probably a duplicate list of persons for whom he was accountable to the insatiate demon by whom he was employed as gaoler:—

"Mr. Greenway, Mrs. Greenway, Mrs. G. Greenway, F. Greenway, Martha Greenway, Jane Greenway; Mr. Jacobi, Henry Jacobi, Lucy Jacobi, Hugh Jacobi; Mrs. Tibbett; Miss Peter; Mrs. Cocks; Mrs. Brothrick; Grace Kirk, William Kirk, Charlotte Kirk; Mrs. White; Miss Macmullen; Mrs. Sinclair; John Greenway, Mary Greenway; Lizzie Hornet; Mrs. Sheridan, W. Sheridan, Baby Sheridan; Mrs. Wrexham, Clara Wrexham, Drummond Wrexham; Eliza Bennett; Mrs. Probett, Stephen Probett; Catherine Willup, Jane Willup, Thomas Willup; Mr. Reid, Susan Reid, James Reid, Julia Reid, C. Reid, Charles Reid, Baby Reid; Mrs. Gillie; Henry Brett; Mrs. Doomey (?); Henry Duncan; Mrs. Levy, James Levy, L. Levy; Henry Simpson; Miss Colgan (?); Mrs. Keirseile (?), Mary Keirseile, Willie Keirseile; Mrs. O'Brien; Mrs. Green, Edward Green; Mrs. Crabb; John Fitzgerald; Mrs. Jenkins; Mrs. Peel, George Peel; Mrs. Moore; Marian Conway; F. C. Weston (?); Mrs. Carroll; Mrs. Butler; Mrs. Johnson; Jane Morpet; Mrs. Paterson; Miss Burn, Miss H. Burn; Mrs. Dallas; W. O. Connor; Harriet Pistol (?); Elizabeth Simpson; George Casey, G. Casey; Lucy Stake, William Stake; Joseph Conway; James Lewis; Elizabeth West; W. Nock; Henry Watkins; Jemima Martindall; Weston Darden; William James; Jane Gill; James Conseus; Mrs. Peter, James Peter; Mrs. Baines, Philip Baines; Mrs. Harris; Mrs. Guthrie, Catherine Guthrie; Mrs. White; Mrs. Wollen, Fanny Wollen, Susan Wollen; Mrs. Cooper; Mr. Carroll, Mrs. Carroll; two ayahs; Mrs. Sanders, William Sanders; Margaret Fitzgerald, Mary Fitzgerald, Tom Fitzgerald. Ellen Fitzgerald; Mrs. Bell, Alfred Bell; Mrs. Berrill; Mrs. Murray; Mrs. Jones; Mrs. Russell, Eliza Russell; Mrs. Gilpin, William Gilpin, Harriet Gilpin, Sarah Gilpin, Jane Gilpin, F. Gilpin; Mrs. Walker; Mrs. Coymar; Emma Weston; Mrs. Frazer; Mrs. Derby; Miss Williams; Mrs. Parrott; Mary Peter; Arthur Newman, Charlotte Newman; Mrs. Bowling; Mrs. Moore; Miss White; Mrs. Probert, Johanna Probert, Willie Probert, Emma Probert, Louisa Probert; Mrs. Seppings (2nd cavalry), John Seppings, Edward Seppings; Mrs. Dempster (?), Charles Dempster, William Dempster, Henry Dempster; Miss Wallet (?); Mrs. Hill; Mrs. Basilico; Mrs. Lindsay (wife of Major Lindsay), Frances Lindsay, Caroline Lindsay; Mrs. Scott; Mrs. Mackenzie; Mrs. Wallis; David Walker; Lucy Lyalls; Mrs. Canter. Total, 163.

"List of Futteghur fugitives, dated July 11th, 1857:—Mrs. Woolyar, Charles Woolyar, Thomas Woolyar; Mrs. Gibbon; Miss Seth; Mrs. Tucker (wife of Colonel Tucker), Miss Tucker, Louisa Tucker, George Tucker, L. Tucker, Sutherland Tucker; Mrs. Reeve, Mary Reeve, Catherine Reeve, Ellen Reeve, Nelly Reeve, Jane Reeve, Cornelia Reeve, David Reeve; Mrs. Thomson; Mr. Thornhill (judge of Futteghur), Mrs. Thornhill, Charles Thornhill, Mary Thornhill; Miss Long; Mrs. Maltby (wife of civil surgeon), Emma Maltby, Eliza Maltby; Mrs. West (wife of European ghat darogah); three natives; Mrs. Fatman; Mrs. Guthrie; Mrs. Heathcote (wife of Lieutenant Heathcote, native infantry); Godfrey Lloyd, Baby Lloyd; Colonel Goldie, Mrs. Goldie, Mary Goldie, Ellen Goldie; Colonel Smith (native infantry), Mrs. Smith; Mrs. Rees, Eliza Rees, Jane Rees; Mrs. Lewis, Emma Lewis, Eliza Lewis: total, 49.—Received (in charge?), July 11th, 163 sick people; also 49 from Futteghur."

Thus, according to their own list, the number of victims to the malignity of Nana Sahib, upon this single occasion, amounted to 210; Colonels Goldie and Smith having been previously dispatched. These were the only men enumerated, the other males being evidently boys and mere infants. From the overwhelming testimony that establishes the otherwise incredible facts recorded in the preceding pages, we shall select the following as distinctly corroborative. Among the most positive evidence is that of an officer in command of one of the regiments which entered Cawnpore on the morning of the 17th of July. This gentleman says—"I was directed to the house where all the poor miserable ladies had been murdered. It was alongside the Cawnpore hotel, where the Nana lived. I never was more horrified! The place was one mass of blood. I am not exaggerating when I tell you that the soles of my boots were more than covered with the blood of these poor wretched creatures. Portions of their dresses, collars, children's socks, and ladies' round hats lay about, saturated with their blood; and in the sword-cuts on the wooden pillars of the room, long dark hair was carried by the edge of the weapon; and there hung their tresses—a most painful sight! I have often wished since that I had never been there, but sometimes wish that every soldier was taken there that he might witness the barbarities our poor countrywomen had

suffered.* Their bodies were afterwards dragged out and thrown down a well outside the building, where their limbs were to be seen sticking out in a mass of gory confusion. Their blood cries for vengeance; and should it be granted us to have it, I only wish I may have the administration of it.

"I picked up a mutilated Prayer-book. It had lost the cover; but on the flyleaf is written, 'For dearest mamma: from her affectionate Tom. June, 1845.' It appears to me to have been opened at page 36, in the Litany, where I have but little doubt those poor dear creatures sought and found consolation in that beautiful supplication. It is here sprinkled with blood. The book has lost some pages at the end, and terminates with the 47th Psalm, in which David thanks the Almighty for his signal victories over his enemies, &c."

A native resident of the city, who appears to have secured his own safety by an ostentatious pretence of hatred to the Europeans, while at the same time actually sheltering two ladies from the vengeance of the Mohammedan bloodhounds, related some incidents of the deplorable catastrophe to an officer of the avenging column, who, in repeating the details, says—"Such were the cries and agonies of the poor ladies, that my informant shed tears when mentioning the circumstance to me, saying, that such atrocious acts could not emanate even from ferocious animals or wild beasts. These foul and inhuman deeds did not end here; because on the next morning, when they came to the bloody spot where they had committed the cold-blooded murders, for the purpose of having the dead bodies removed, they found a few wounded ladies and a child, who were still alive, whom they threw into a well with the dead. Two causes are assigned for murdering the ladies—first, the defeat of the insurgents in an engagement which took place near Futtehpore; and, secondly, the detection of some letters which had been sent by the ladies to Allahabad by some of the spies who were apprehended and killed on the 14th of July. A few days before this, about seventeen European gentlemen who were on their way from Furruckabad, concealing themselves in some country boats laden with grain, were arrested at Bundeematta ghat, fourteen of whom were killed immediately on their being brought to Cawnpore; three having been retained, it was said, on promise of using their influence with the British government to have the forts of Agra and Allahabad evacuated; but the story is not worthy of belief, and must have been fabricated by the Nana with a view to induce the people to believe that he was to obtain possession of those places in a short time. Numerous false proclamations were issued, by beat of tom-tom, announcing the defeat of English troops at Delhi, Bombay, &c., and such other falsehoods. On the evening of the 16th of July a proclamation was published in the city, that the Nana had gained a complete victory, many of the British troops having been killed, and others dispersed; but the falsity of this story soon became known to the people, as in less than an hour vast multitudes of the mutineers were seen running away from the field of battle, many bearing their arms and accoutrements."

The crushing intensity of the horrors of that fearful night increased at every step. One of the officers belonging to General Havelock's force, says—"I have seen the fearful slaughterhouse, and also saw one of the 1st native infantry men, according to order, wash up part of the blood which stains the floor, before hanging. The quantities of dresses, clogged thickly with blood; children's frocks, frills, and ladies' under-clothing of all kinds; also boys' trowsers, leaves of Bibles, and of one book in particular, which seems to be strewed over the whole place—called *Preparation for Death;* also broken daguerreotype cases only (lots of them), and hair, some nearly a yard long; bonnets all bloody, and

* The effect such a spectacle would have upon the men, may be conjectured from the following circumstance, related on the authority of the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*:—"On the arrival of the detachment of the 78th highlanders at that 'place of skulls' (Cawnpore), after the massacre of our countrymen, women, and children, they by some means or other found the remains of one of General Wheeler's daughters. The sight was horrible, and aroused them to that pitch, that, gathering around, they removed the hair from off the poor girl's head, a portion of which was carefully selected and sent home to her surviving friends. The remainder they equally divided amongst themselves; and on each man receiving his carefully served-out portion, they all quietly, and very patiently, applied themselves to the tedious task of counting out the number of hairs contained in each individual's lot; and when this task was accomplished, they one and all swore most solemnly by Heaven and the God that made them, that for as many hairs as they held in their fingers, so many of the cruel and treacherous mutineers should die by their hands." The anecdote borders on romance, but it is doubtless based on fact.

one or two shoes. I picked up a bit of paper, with these words on it: 'Ned's hair, with love;' and opened and found a little bit tied up with riband. The first fellows that went in, I believe, saw the bodies with their arms and legs sticking out through the ground. They had all been thrown in a heap in the well."

Another writer says—"I have been to see the place where the poor women and children were imprisoned and afterwards butchered. It is a small bungalow close to the road. There were all sorts of articles of women and children's clothing; ladies' hair (evidently cut off with a sword), back-combs, &c. There were also parts of religious books. Where the massacre took place, it is covered with blood like a butcher's slaughterhouse. One would fancy nothing could be worse than this; but in the well at the back of the house are the bodies and limbs of the poor things. I looked down, and saw such a sight as I hope never to see again. The whole of the bodies were naked, and the limbs had been separated. I thought of the two Mrs. —— and the three poor girls, and felt very sad. By all accounts, the women were so ill-treated, that death—even such a death—must have been welcome to them. I will not enter into more details. I have told you enough to cause you to make allowance if I do write savagely. I have looked upon death in every form, but I could not look down that well a second time."

Again, an officer of the avenging column writes thus:—"On the morning of the 17th of July, the force marched into Cawnpore. The soul-harrowing spectacle which there presented itself to them beggars description. The extent of the frightful catastrophe now became known. A wholesale massacre had been perpetrated by the fiend Nana Sahib. Eighty-eight officers, 190 men of her majesty's 84th foot, 70 ladies, 120 women and children of her majesty's 32nd foot, and the whole European and Christian population of the place—including civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, pensioners and their families—to the number of about 400 persons, were the victims of this Satanic deed. The court-yard in front of the assembly-rooms, in which Nana Sahib had had his head-quarters, and in which the women had been imprisoned, was swimming in blood. A large number of women and children, who had been 'cruelly spared after the capitulation, for a worse fate than instant death,' had been barbarously slaughtered on the previous morning—the former having been stripped naked, beheaded, and thrown into a well; the latter having been hurled down alive upon their butchered mothers, whose blood yet reeked on their mangled bodies. We hear of only four who escaped—a Mrs. Greenway (wife of a merchant) and three Indo-Britons. The diary of a lady is said to have been found at Cawnpore, written up to the day on which she was killed, and containing information of great importance, on which the general is acting. We shall eventually obtain full particulars of the horrible tragedy that has been witnessed there."

An officer of the Madras fusiliers writes, on the 18th:—"Only fancy our horror, on hearing that the same night we gave them such a beating at Futtehpore, they killed, or rather massacred, all the ladies whom they hitherto had spared in Cawnpore (except five or six who were concealed by their native servants.) Miss Wheeler (the daughter of Sir H. Wheeler), they say, killed five of these fiends with a revolver before they could get near her. What an heroic spirit she must have had! The sight of the place where these poor ladies were murdered is indeed awful. Long tresses of hair—dresses covered with blood—here and there a workbox or bonnet."

The ayah to whose statement reference has already been made, gives the following account of the circumstances that immediately preceded the final atrocity:—

"Shortly after the mutiny at Allahabad, a sowar came in, and reported that one of the imprisoned ladies had written to Allahabad, and that a large body of Europeans was advancing upon Cawnpore. Then the Nana gave the order to kill every one—to spare no one. This took place on the 15th of July; but the general, and others who were brought back with him, were killed on the 2nd of the month. When the ladies heard of the Nana's order to kill them, they tore their clothes, and with the shreds fastened the doors.

"First the sowars killed the native doctor, the cook, and the metranee. Then one sowar jumped over the wall, and began the slaughter; other sowars came through the doors, and all the prisoners were killed. This was duly reported to the Nana, who ordered the bodies to be cast into a well;

and the twenty-five women and children who had remained alive, under the heap of dead bodies, were killed by executioners; and some of the little children were dashed to pieces against the ground. This took place early on the morning of the 17th of July; and in the evening the Nana ran off to Bithoor. Many wounded women were thrown into the well with the dead bodies and earth."

An officer of rank (to whom reference was made by one of our most distinguished philanthropists, at a meeting convened for the purpose of investigating the facts connected with this dire tragedy) writes thus to the relative of one of his deceased brothers-in-arms:—"Upon my entry into Cawnpore a few hours after the perpetration of the frightful massacre, to my unutterable dismay, I saw a number of European women stripped stark-naked, lying on their backs, fastened by the arms and legs; and there many of them had been lying four or five days, exposed to a burning sun! Others had been more recently laid down: others again had been actually hacked to pieces, and so recently, that the blood which streamed from their mangled bodies was still warm. Children of ten, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen years of age, were found treated in the same horrible manner at the corners of the streets, and in all parts of the town, attended by every circumstance of insult the most awful and the most degrading, the most horrible and frightful to the conception, and the most revolting to the dignity and feelings of civilised men."—It would appear from this statement, that some of the most hapless of their sex had been brought out of the Subada Kothee to endure indescribable outrage!

Among other authorities to whom reference will be made for the details of the monstrous and unparalleled atrocity to be recorded, we again turn to the revelations of Mr. Shepherd, whose narrative has already thrown much light upon the earlier scenes of the Cawnpore tragedy. It will be remembered that this gentleman was taken prisoner by the rebel emissaries of Nana Sahib, as he left the intrenchment on the 24th of June, disguised as a native servant, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence that might be useful to General Wheeler. The incidents of his capture, and subsequent treatment by the rebels, have already been detailed:* and the following passages close what may be considered his official statement of the proceedings at Cawnpore.

Taking up the thread of Mr. Shepherd's history, we are informed, that for a short period after Nana Sahib's treacherous occupation of the city, he took every means, by proclamations and military displays, to assure the inhabitants, and others who flocked to the place for the sake of plunder, that the rule of the Company was at an end, and that the English government was not able any longer to resist the victorious armies of the king of Delhi. "He, however," says Mr. Shepherd, "soon found out his mistake; for it was not long before intimation was received of the arrival of a British force at or near Futtehpore. Ten thousand troops were sent to meet it and beat it back to Allahabad; but the cowardly wretches soon found out, to their cost, how miserably inferior they were in courage to the European soldiers. The result of the fight is too well known to require repetition here. Reinforcement after reinforcement was sent by the Nana, but to no effect, until at last he himself headed a fresh reinforcement, and proceeded to the seat of war, which had approached within twenty miles of Cawnpore; but on arrival, he found his own courage no better than the rest of the villanous rebels, and that there was nothing better for him than to run for his life. He did so, and with him the whole of his boasting army. On his arrival at Cawnpore, the entire population was so panic-struck, that, leaving house and property, every man that had a hand in the rebellion took to his heels; and it is stated, that there never was seen so great a flight as on that occasion. People deserted their families on the way to escape with their own lives. From noon till midnight, nothing but immense mobs were seen rushing away as fast as possible towards the west. Some crossed over to Lucknow from Bithoor ghat; others went towards Delhi; and the most part of the city people hid themselves in the neighbouring villages, where they were nicely robbed by the zemindars.

"The sepoys are said to have been possessed of an immense deal of money, mostly in gold mohurs, which they purchased at a great premium—having paid as much as twenty-eight or thirty rupees for one usually of the value of twenty rupees. These men paid a rupee a-head to the ferry to cross the river, on the banks of which they pitched away their muskets, coats, pantaloons, &c.,

* See *ante*, pp. 320; 333; 338.

and dispersed in different directions into the districts.

"Just after the defeat of the rebels at Futtehpore, a few spies (whether real or imaginary is not known) were brought to the Nana as being the bearers of letters, supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless women in the prison; with whom some of the Mahaguns and Bengalees of the city were believed to be implicated: it was therefore agreed that the said spies, together with all the women and children, as also the few gentlemen whose lives had been spared (said to be six in number, out of seventeen officers who had been captured about the 10th or 11th of July, on their way by water from Futteghur to this, and whose deaths were also delayed under promise of a ransom), should all be put to death; and that the Baboos of the city, and every person who could read or write English, should have their right hands and noses cut off. The first order was carried out immediately—*i.e.*, on the evening of the 15th of July; and a decree was issued to apprehend the natives, Baboos, &c., after the Nana's return from the field of battle, where he proceeded, as described above, on the 16th of July, after causing the murder, on the 15th, of the English prisoners.

"The native spies were first put to the sword, and after them the gentlemen, who were brought from the outbuildings in which they were confined, and shot with bullets; afterwards the poor ladies were ordered to come out, but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so close, that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers therefore brought muskets, and after firing a great many shots from the doors, windows, &c., rushed in with swords and bayonets. Some of the helpless creatures, in their agony, fell down at the feet of their murderers, clasped their legs, and begged, in the most pitiful manner, to spare their lives, but to no purpose. The fearful deed was done most deliberately and completely, in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. There were between 140 and 150 souls, including children; and from a little before sunset till candlelight was occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the building were then locked up for the night, and the murderers went to their homes. Next morning it was found, on opening the doors, that some ten or fifteen women, with a few of the children, had managed to escape from death by falling and hiding under the murdered bodies of their fellow-prisoners. A fresh order was therefore sent to murder them also; but the survivors, not being able to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound, and, seeing a well there, threw themselves into it without hesitation; thus putting a period to lives which it was impossible for them to save. The dead bodies of those murdered on the preceding evening, were then ordered to be thrown into the same well; and 'jullads' were employed to drag them away like dogs.

"It is too horrible to recount further on this subject. On the night of the 16th of July, the station was deserted by the rebels, as stated above, and early the next morning the English troops took possession of it; but not before the wretches had set fire to and blown up the magazine, which was done by the last guard left by the Nana, at about 8 A.M."

Upon the occupation of Cawnpore by General Havelock's force, Mr. Shepherd was released from his fetters, and at the same time became aware of the full extent of his bereavement: the whole of his family had been sacrificed—wife, children, nieces, friends—all had perished within the walls of that charnel-house, now made sacred by the blood of martyrs. In the agony and desolation of his heart, this mourner writes from Cawnpore, on the 18th, thus:—

"My own dearest brother,—God Almighty has been graciously pleased to spare my poor life. I am the only individual saved among all the European and Christian community that inhabited this station. My poor dear wife, my darling sweet child Polly, poor dear Rebecca and her children, and poor innocent children Emmelina and Martha, as also old Mrs. Frost and poor Mrs. Osborne, were all most inhumanly butchered by the cruel insurgents on the day before yesterday, and thrown into a well, together with a great number of other ladies and children—reported to be about 150 in number. I am distracted. I am most miserable and wretched. I am like one in a dream. You could not recognise me if you saw me. My life has been spared by a miracle. The will of the Lord be done. He alone can give me comfort; for I am in a terrible state of distress of mind. I will write you a detailed account of all our sufferings and distresses—such distress

as has never before been experienced or heard of on the face of this earth. At present I cannot write, I cannot eat or drink—I am perfectly wretched. I escaped only yesterday from my miserable prison, where I had been confined, with heavy fetters on my legs, for twenty-four days by the rebels, who nearly took away my life; but God alone prevented them, and spared me. They gave me only parched grain to eat daily, and that in very small quantities. The English troops have come in and restored peace. They have retaken Cawnpore. Their arrival here yesterday was the means of my release."

Mr. Shepherd then repeats much of the foregoing details up to the time of the evacuation of the intrenchment by General Wheeler, and the promised departure of the Europeans for Allahabad. He then proceeds:—"Oh, how I felt when, in confinement, I heard that the English were going in safety! I could not keep my secret, and told the subahdar of the prison guard that I was a Christian; but I nearly lost my life by this exposure. However, before the boats could be got away from the ghat, the wretches fired cannon upon them, and upset some; others they set fire to. Only one boat, I am told, managed to get away, but was afterwards picked up at a short distance, and brought back. About 150 women and children, and about 100 European soldiers and officers, and men of all classes, were taken alive. The former were kept as prisoners up to the 16th of July; but the men (among whom was our poor Daniel) had their hands tied behind them, were killed with swords and muskets, and thrown into a ditch. The women received parched grain for a few days, but afterwards they got dhall and chupatties in small quantities. The rascals had bad motives for sparing them so long.

"At the time of their being murdered (on the 16th inst.), I am told that a number jumped alive into the well that was intended to receive their corpses, rather than be butchered and insulted so unmercifully as the hard-hearted brutes were using them. Oh, when I think of it, how my heart breaks. I get beside myself, and wish I had not been spared to hear of such dreadful accounts. Oh, my poor dear Polly! how must they have killed you! So sweet a child never existed. How can I ever forget you! The faces of all I have lost are ever before me. Oh, how dreadful is my state of mind! God Almighty have mercy on me! Oh, God, help Thou me, whom Thou hast spared!

"Thine affectionate, but miserable,
"H. J. SHEPHERD.

"P.S.—My infant was shot in the head by a spent musket-ball on the 12th of June, while we were in the intrenchments, and died in great agony after forty-eight hours. I was also wounded, on the 7th of June, with a spent musket-ball in the back, and very nearly lost my life; but I soon got over it. The wound is now nearly healed."

An officer describing the excitement and indignation of his men during the actions of the 16th, says—"When they came to Cawnpore, and entered the charnel-house, there perused the writing on the wall, and saw the still clotted blood, their grief, their rage, their desire for vengeance knew no bounds. One officer was met coming out, with a small article of female dress dabbled with blood in his hand. 'I have spared many men in fight,' he said; 'but I will never spare another. I shall carry this with me in my holsters, and whenever I am inclined for mercy, the sight of it, and the recollection of this house, will be sufficient to incite me to revenge.' Stalwart, bearded men, the stern soldiers of the ranks have been seen coming out of that house of murder perfectly unmanned, utterly unable to repress their emotions. From them there will be no mercy for these villanous assassins."

The fate of Lieutenant Saunders, of the 84th regiment, was distinguished by the indomitable spirit of the victim, and the merciless barbarity of his cowardly destroyers; and the fact, as stated, is worthy the consideration of those who, in the face of overwhelming and reiterated proof, affect to disbelieve in the fiendish cruelty with which this unnatural war has been carried on by traitors and assassins. The lieutenant, it will be remembered, was one of the officers included in the capitulation of General Wheeler, and had embarked with the rest of the Europeans, in the boats provided for their conveyance to Allahabad.* The treachery attending that occurrence, and the subsequent relanding of the survivors of the party, has already been noticed: but the following incident, descriptive of the innate malignity and brutal ferocity of the followers of Nana Sahib, deserves special remembrance. A

* See Lieutenant Delafosse's list, *ante*, p. 337.

native cook-boy of the G. company, 56th regiment (who, by some means, separated himself from his rebel comrades, and remained faithful to the Europeans, though daily mixing in Cawnpore with the people of his class, by whom his faith was not suspected), relates, that when upon the arrival of the betrayed officers and females, &c., from the boats, Lieutenant Saunders was brought before Nana Sahib, he pulled out his revolver and shot dead five of the sepoy guards: with his sixth round he aimed at the Nana, but missed him, and was instantly seized and overpowered. He was thrown down upon some planks fastened to the earth, and nailed to them; his nose, ears, fingers, and toes were then chopped off; and he was left mutilated, bleeding, and roasting in the sun until the next day, when further and yet more horrible cruelties were perpetrated, until death relieved him from his unutterable agony. Such was the fate of one of the heroic defenders of Cawnpore—such one of the least of the atrocities British soldiers in their might were called upon to avenge.

The following passages from a communication by Lieutenant Mowbray Thompson (named in the list of Lieutenant Delafosse as wounded in a boat, but who fortunately escaped from the slaughter of the 27th of June by swimming down the Ganges), are eminently entitled to notice, although the incidents described are somewhat out of place in the strict order of events connected with the defence of the intrenchments. This gentleman, writing from Cawnpore on the 16th of August, 1857, has furnished a most interesting narrative of occurrences intermingled with that terrible episode in the history of the Indian rebellion that is associated with the Cawnpore tragedy; every act of which was distinguished by horrors that accumulated until they reached a climax of infamy for which there is no parallel but in the monstrous achievements of ferocious malignity that have characterised rebel valour in India.

It is not necessary to follow Mr. Thompson's detail of events prior and subsequent to the actual siege, as those facts have already been referred to at length in the preceding pages.* Adverting to the first cannonade by the rebel sepoys on the morning of the 7th of June, this gentleman says—"How thankful I was, when once the firing commenced, that I had no relations in the intrenchments. Then it was that one heard husbands and fathers cursing their stupidity for not having sent away their families: but of what avail was it their only now having their eyes opened to their folly? It was too late. Wives saw their husbands' bodies mutilated in the most awful manner with round shot; and husbands saw their wives suffering the most excruciating agonies from wounds which they were unable to heal. Then there was the screaming of children after their dead parents. Poor little things, how it unnerved one to see them! But at last we got more accustomed to the horrible scenes which were going on around, till at last they hardly made any impression.

"One scene I can never forget. A poor woman, of the name of White, was walking along the trenches with her husband, and nursing her children (twins) in her arms. Some fiend fired at them, killed the man, and broke both the poor woman's arms. The children fell to the ground, one of them wounded. Then followed a scene which can only be imagined. Fancy the poor woman throwing herself down beside her children, and not being able to assist them, on account of the wounds she had received! Oh the agony of that mother! Another woman, who was in a wretched state bordering on starvation, was seen to go out of the protection of the trenches with a child in each hand, and stand where the fire was heaviest, hoping that some bullet might relieve her and her little ones from the troubles they were enduring. But she was brought back, poor thing! to die a more tedious death than she had intended for herself. Here you saw poor Mrs. W—— hit by a ball in the face just by the nostril, passing through the palate of the mouth, and making its exit by the jaw; and by her side you saw her daughter, who, although she was badly wounded in her shoulder, was doing all she could to alleviate the sufferings of her unfortunate mother. Poor creatures, they both died from their wounds! Then you saw an unfortunate native servant who had remained faithful to her mistress, and was nursing her infant, under the protection of the walls of the barrack, as she imagined; but, all of a sudden, you saw her knocked over, and the child hurled out of her arms; and on inspection, you found both her legs cut clean off by a round shot, but the child was picked up uninjured.

* See *ante*, pp. 315–335.

Many other such horrid scenes could I describe; but, judging from my own feelings on the subject, I know that I shall only be stirring up in the minds of those who may see this letter, a feeling for revenge which can never be properly accomplished."

With respect to the barrack hospital that was set on fire by the red-hot shot fired for the purpose, Lieutenant Thompson corroborates the account we have previously given. "No arrangements had been made in anticipation of such a monstrous act of cruelty; and all the wounded men and others, that lay helpless under its roof, unable to move themselves, were burnt alive. With the hospital, such as it was, all the medicine chests and surgical instruments were utterly destroyed; so that for those afterwards wounded there was no remedy but to die."

Then came the offer of capitulation, the treachery, and the successive massacres of wounded men and helpless women and children, already narrated in the preceding pages.

It is time to turn from these harrowing and heart-sickening details, to think of the retributive justice which already had crossed the threshold of the blood-stained city, and had stricken terror to the hearts of the craven wretches by whom such horrors had been tolerated, if not encouraged.

Upon the defeat of the rebel leader on the 15th, he retreated hastily into Cawnpore, and, as we have seen, consummated his infamy by ordering the destruction of all that then remained of his female prisoners. Having accomplished this atrocity, he withdrew to his fortified hold at Bithoor, some twelve miles distant, on the Ganges. Here, for a moment, he affected a vast parade of his authority, causing a hundred guns to be fired as a salute in honour of the king of Delhi; eighty guns in memory of the late Bajee Rao, his patron; and sixty for himself, on being placed upon his throne; two salutes, of twenty-one guns each, were also fired in honour of the wife and mother of the traitor.

On Sunday, the 19th of July, the troops in Cawnpore were warned for church parade; but, as they were proceeding from their different quarters in the cantonment for the purpose, orders were issued for an immediate march to Bithoor. No time was wasted in unnecessary arrangements; and the earnest desire of every individual of the force to get within arm's length of Nana Sahib, imparted strength and energy to the weakest. To their great disappointment, they arrived at the place without meeting an enemy. The coward murderers had deserted the fortified palace, leaving behind them the whole of the guns, and a large store of ammunition, collected for the supply of the rebels; fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and a number of elephants, bullocks, &c., fell into the hands of the pursuing column; and some of the female relatives of the rajah, and women of his zenana, were also taken prisoners; but not a man was to be found—a panic had seized both leader and people; and, after spiking the guns and dismantling the fortifications, a sufficient guard was placed over the women to protect them, and they were desired to inform their master, that they were detained as hostages by the Europeans; and that any indignity offered to English females by his orders, would be retaliated upon their own persons.

The following despatch of the 20th of July, furnishes the details of General Havelock's victory of the 16th of July, in front of Cawnpore:—

"Sir,—I have the pleasure to announce, that the triumph of the Mahratta pretender, Nana Sahib, adopted nephew of the late 'ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao,' has been of short duration. The treacherous proceedings by which he compassed the destruction of the force under the gallant Sir Hugh Wheeler, have already been reported to the commander-in-chief.

"I have now to announce the complete discomfiture of his force, under his personal command, and the capture of his cannon, followed by the reoccupation of this station, which, since the 6th of June, he has been devastating and desecrating by every form of cruelty and oppression. He filled up the measure of his iniquities on the 15th; for, on hearing that the bridge at the Pandoo Nuddee was forced, he ordered the immediate massacre of the wives and children of our British soldiers still in his possession in this cantonment; which was carried out by his followers with every circumstance of barbarous malignity. My information was in every respect good; and I ascertained that he had taken up a position at the village of Ahirwa, where the Grand Trunk-road unites with that which leads direct to the military cantonment of Cawnpore. His intrenchments cut and rendered impassable both roads; and his guns, seven in

number (two light and five siege calibre), were disposed along his position, which consists of a series of villages. Behind these his infantry, consisting of mutinous troops and his own armed followers, was disposed for defence. It was evident that an attack in front would expose the British to a murderous fire from his heavy guns sheltered in his intrenchment. I resolved, therefore, to manœuvre to turn his left. My camp and baggage were accordingly kept back, under proper escort, at the village of Maharajpore, and I halted my troops there two or three hours in mango-groves to cook and gain shelter from a burning sun.

"My column then moved off, right in front; the fusiliers led, followed by two guns; then came the highlanders, in rear of whom was the central battery of six guns, under Captain Maude. The 64th and 84th had two guns more in their rear, and the regiment of Ferozepore closed the column. My troops, defiling at a steady pace, soon changed direction, and began to circle round the enemy's left. They were shrouded for some time by clumps of mango; but as soon as the enemy comprehended the object of their march, an evident sensation was created in his lines. He pushed forward on his left a large body of horse, and opened a fire of shot and shell from the whole of his guns. But he was evidently disconcerted by our advance on his flank, and anxious for his communication with Cawnpore. My troops continued their progress until his left was wholly opened to our attack, and then formed line and advanced in direct *échelon* of regiments and batteries from the right. A wing of the fusiliers again covered the advance extended as riflemen.

"The opportunity had arrived for which I have long anxiously waited, of developing the prowess of the 78th highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet well intrenched. I directed this regiment to advance, and never have I witnessed conduct more admirable. They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surpassing steadiness and gallantry under a heavy fire. As they approached the village they cheered, and charged with the bayonet, the pipes sounding the pibroch. Need I add that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns captured. On the left, Major Stirling, with the 64th, was equally successful against another village, and took three guns. The enemy's infantry appeared to be everywhere in full retreat; and I had ordered the fire to cease, when a reserve 24-pounder was opened on the Cawnpore-road, which caused considerable loss to my force; and, under cover of its fire, two large bodies of cavalry at the same time riding insolently over the plain, the infantry once more rallied. The beating of their large drums, and numerous mounted officers in front, announced the definite struggle of the 'Nana' for his usurped dominion.

"I had previously ordered my volunteer cavalry to adventure a charge on a more advanced part of the enemy's horse; and I have the satisfaction to report that they conducted themselves most creditably. One of their number, Mr. Carr, was killed in the charge. But the final crisis approached. My artillery cattle, wearied by the length of the march, could not bring up guns to my assistance; and the 1st Madras fusiliers, 64th, 84th, and 78th detachments, formed in line, were exposed to a heavy fire from the 24-pounder on the road. I was resolved this state of things should not last; so, calling upon my men, who were lying down in line, to leap on their feet, I directed another steady advance. It was irresistible. The enemy sent round shot into our ranks until we were within 300 yards, and then poured in grape with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling and my aide-de-camp (who had placed himself in their front), were not to be denied. Their rear showed the ground strewed with wounded; but on they steadily and silently came; then with a cheer charged, and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour. The enemy lost all heart, and after a hurried fire of musketry gave way in total rout. Four of my guns came up and completed their discomfiture by a heavy cannonade; and as it grew dark the roofless barracks of our artillery were dimly descried in advance, and it was evident that Cawnpore was once more in our possession.

"The points of this victory I shall have afterwards to describe. The troops had been thirteen hours in their bivouac, when a tremendous explosion shook the earth. 'Nana Sahib,' in full retreat to Bithoor, had blown up the Cawnpore magazine.

"The first movements of the Mahratta

indicated a determination to defend himself desperately. Reports from the front assured us that he had assembled 5,000 men, and placed forty-five guns in position for the defence of his stronghold; but his followers have since despaired, and I have taken possession of Bithoor without a shot. I was joined by the steamer *Berhampoota* this morning, which is now in easy communication with me. I must reiterate my obligations to the officers commanding my detachments and batteries; to Major Stephenson, Madras fusiliers; Colonel Hamilton, the leader of my highlanders, who had his horse shot; Major Stirling, 64th, who is slightly wounded; Captain Currie, 84th, severely, I fear dangerously, wounded (since dead); Captain Maude, artillery; Captain Brasyer, commanding the regiment of Ferozepore; and Captain Barrow, commanding my small body of horse. Lieutenant-colonel Tytler's zeal and gallantry have been beyond all praise.

"It was my desire to have offered my thanks in like terms to Captain Beatson, deputy assistant-adjutant-general; but I can now only record my opinion over his grave. He was attacked by cholera on the morning of this fight; and though he did his duty throughout it, and bivouacked with the troops, he sunk in three days under the violence of his disorder. Lieutenant Moorsom, her majesty's light infantry, assisted in carrying my orders, and displayed great courage and much intelligence. I have already mentioned the conduct of my aide-de-camp in front of the 64th throughout the fight; he was seen wherever danger was most pressing, and I beg specially to commend him to the protection and favour of his excellency the commander-in-chief.

"I enclose returns of killed, wounded, and missing, and ordnance captured.

"I have, &c.—H. HAVELOCK,
"Brigadier-general, commanding Allahabad Movable Column."

The preceding despatch, with the casualty returns, and lists of ordnance, &c., captured in the actions referred to, were forwarded to the governor-general in council, by the commander-in-chief, with the following high testimony to the valuable services of Brigadier-general Havelock:—

"Calcutta, July 31st, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour, by desire of the commander-in-chief, to forward, for submission to the right honourable the governor-general of India in council, two despatches received from Brigadier-general H. Havelock, C.B., commanding the movable column, dated the 15th and 20th of July, giving an account of his engagements with the rebels under the Nana Sahib, at the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and at the recapture of Cawnpore from the same enemy.

"His excellency considers that the greatest credit is due to the Brigadier-general and to the brave troops under his command. They have marched 130 miles in eight days, at the most trying season of the year; fought three obstinately contested combats, in each of which the insurgents have been signally beaten; destroyed the stronghold of that arch-fiend and traitor the Nana Sahib, and captured forty-four pieces of ordnance, many of which are of large calibre.

"General Havelock has, on many occasions, handled his force with the ability which might have been expected from his well-won reputation as a brave, skilful, and experienced soldier; and Sir P. Grant begs to recommend him, and the several officers he has specified in his despatches, to the most favourable consideration of his lordship in council; and his excellency desires further to draw especial attention to the glowing terms in which General Havelock describes the excellent conduct, and gallantry under fire, of the troops of all arms serving with him in the field.—I have, &c.,

"W. MAYHEW, Deputy Adjutant-general.
"To the Secretary to the Government."

The following general order was issued to the troops on the 20th of July:—

"Camp, Cawnpore, July 20th.

"The brigadier-general takes blame to himself for not having yet noticed in orders the gallant behaviour of the troops in the two affairs of the 15th inst., and the victory of the 16th. But he has in the meantime sustained a heavy loss in the sudden death of his deputy assistant-adjutant-general, and his time has been preoccupied in preparations for the troops' further cause of congratulation.

"Cawnpore, won by Lord Lake in 1803, has been a happy and peaceful place ever since; until the wretched ambition of a man, whose uncle's life was, by a too indulgent government, spared in 1817, filled it in 1857 with rapine and bloodshed. When, soldiers, your valour won the bridge at the Pandoo Nuddee, you were signing the

death-warrant of the helpless women and children of your comrades of the 32nd; they were murdered in cold blood by the miscreant Nana Sahib, whose troops fled in dismay at the victorious shout of your line on the evening of the memorable 16th.

"Soldiers! Your general is satisfied, and more than satisfied with you. He has never seen steadier or more elevated troops. But your labours are only beginning. Between the 7th instant and the 16th you have, under the Indian sun of July, marched 126 miles, and fought four actions. But your comrades at Lucknow are in peril. Agra is besieged. Delhi is still the focus of mutiny and rebellion. You must make great sacrifices if you would obtain great results. Three cities have to be saved—two strong places to be disblockaded. Your general is confident that he can effect all these things, and restore this part of India to tranquillity, if you only second him with your efforts, and if your discipline is equal to your valour.

"Highlanders! It was my earnest desire to afford you the opportunities of showing you how your predecessors conquered at Maida. You have not degenerated! Assaye was not won by a more silent, compact, and resolute charge than was the village near Jansemow on the 16th instant.

"64th! You have put to silence the gibes of your enemies throughout India; you reserved your fire until you saw the colour of your enemies' moustachios: this gave us the victory."

After the troops had effectually taken possession of the city and cantonments, General Havelock signally avenged the death of Sir Hugh Wheeler and his companions in arms and in heroism. The rebel sepoys and troopers captured alive during the engagements of the 16th, were collectively tried by drum-head court-martial, and hanged. Aware that they could urge no plea for mercy, the men, with a stoicism peculiar to their ideas of religion, became at once resigned to an inevitable fate, and submitted, without an appeal, to the ignominious death they had provoked by their transcendant perfidy. The demeanour of many of these wretches when in the unrelenting grasp of the provost-marshal, has been described as worthy of men suffering in a righteous cause. One of the native magistrates of the town, who had taken an active part against the Europeans, and whose complicity in the treasonable designs of Nana Sahib had been clearly established, manifested the utmost indifference when the sentence that consigned him to a felon's death was pronounced. Turning from his judges with perfect coolness and composure, he walked towards the gallows on which he was to be suspended, gazed with apparent indifference at the preparations around him, and preserved an unaltered and perfectly calm demeanour while the hangman performed his functions, and launched him into eternity. Fortified by the assurances of his creed, death to him was but a transition from the hated association of infidel Feringhees, to the blissful enjoyments of a material paradise, or to an incarnation that would anticipate for him, by millions of years, the fruition of supreme felicity.

On the 20th of July, General Havelock reported by telegraph to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Nana Sahib's followers appear to be deserting him. He has fled from Bithoor, which was occupied yesterday without resistance. Thirteen guns were found in the place. His palace is in flames. Brigadier-general Neill joined me this morning with 227 men of the 84th."

The same day, also, a telegram from General Neill reported to the commander-in-chief thus:—

"Arrived here this morning with the head-quarters of the 84th—all well. Found the force crossing the river. General looks well and in good spirits. Will get away I hope to-morrow. He informs me he will leave me in command here."

Again, on the 21st, General Havelock, whose operations were now to be directed to the relief of Lucknow, reported thus to the authorities at Calcutta:—

"Camp, Cawnpore, July 21st, 1857.

"I am free to cross the Ganges. Nana Sahib's force at Bithoor is entirely dispersed. We have brought from the place sixteen guns and a quantity of animals: set fire to his palace, and blown up his powder-magazine. A portion of my troops and five guns are already in position at the head of the road to Lucknow. The difficulties of a swollen, broad, and rapid river, with only a small steamer and a few boats, are not slight; but the whole army is full of hope that we shall soon be united on the left bank."

On the 23rd and 24th, the troops con-

tinued to cross the river into Oude; and on the 25th, Brigadier-general Neill reported by telegraph as follows:—

"I assumed command here (Cawnpore) yesterday, on General Havelock crossing over. I have at once set about re-establishing police, and our authority in bazaar and city; promulgated government orders for rewards for bringing in sepoys and public property; made Captain Bruce superintendent of police and intelligence department, already with good effect; put a stop to plundering: troop horses being brought in—suggest all should be kept for government use only, and all horses (private property of deceased officers) be taken by government at a fair valuation, for mounting dragoons and horsing batteries: a stringent government order should be issued on this head to all forces, particularly to General Havelock, where there is that disposition to plunder; a government order, stringent, against plundering also: some of the Nana's correspondence got hold of, implicating parties of the 17th regiment, under Subahdar Bhoondho Sing (name doubtful); destroyed boats here after General Wheeler and party embarked; particulars will be sent. All Europeans—men, women, and children—have been destroyed; the fate of four European men still doubtful, and inquiries instituted. All well here. I will hold my own against any odds. The civil powers ought to be ordered to take possession of Futtehpore, and all the country between this and Allahabad, and re-establish their authority."

The following document is a translation of a *perwunnah* of Nana Sahib's, alluded to in the preceding report of General Neill:—

"Health and prosperity to Bhoondho Sing, subahdar of the Barker (17th) regiment!*—Your petition regarding your arrival with treasure, and your plan for the seizure of certain sepoys who have absconded, has been received and read. The Sirkar Maharajah Bulkish, or (doubtful) Buhadoor, being pleased with your zeal and bravery, has approved of your deeds and your cleverness; and assuredly what you have done is deserving of praise and approval, and it was certainly proper that you should do something to please your chief.

"As to what you have written regarding the sepoys, a good plan will be made about them when you arrive here, because the sirkar has got thirteen guns, &c., posted in different places. Having devised measures with you, the runaway sepoys will be searched for and seized. At this time there are absolutely no English troops remaining here: they sought protection from the sirkar, and said, 'Allow us to get into boats, and go away;' therefore the sirkar has made arrangements for their going; and by ten o'clock to-morrow these people will have got into boats, and started on the river.

"The river on this side is shallow, and on the other side deep. The boats will keep to the other side, and go along for three or four koss. Arrangements for the destruction of these English will not be made here; but as these people will keep near the bank on the other side of the river, it is necessary that you should be prepared, and make a place to kill and destroy them on that side of the river, and, having obtained a victory, come here. The sirkar is much pleased with your conduct, and it is very conspicuous; and the English say that they will go in their boats to Calcutta. Janduce, trooper, who came from you, has also received a *perwunnah*, and been sent back.

"3 Zilkadeh, in the year 1273 Hijra, at ten o'clock at night on Friday."†

It will be seen, that upon Brigadier-general Neill succeeding to the command of Cawnpore, he lost no time in proceeding to "set his house in order," and he consequently followed in the steps of his predecessor with energy and decision. The mutinous sepoys that fell into his hands were simply hanged like dogs, and put out of sight; but, for the miscreants who took part in the outrages upon the unfortunate women and children at the Subada Kothee, a yet more ignominious and crushing retribution was exacted, as the following extract from a letter of General Neill will testify. He says—"I left Allahabad on the 16th, and joined General Havelock's force on the 21st, and found poor Major Renaud had been severely wounded. His horse was first shot under him; a bullet then hit him above the knee, forcing part of the scabbard of his sword into the wound, and causing much suffering. Amputation seemed to afford great relief, and he appeared doing well, when he suddenly expired, comparatively free from pain. He had done right

* This corps mutinied at Azimgurh on the 2nd of June; *ante*, p. 207.

† This must have been written on the 26th of June, the day the terms of capitulation were ratified by the oath of Nana Sahib.

well, and will be sincerely mourned in the regiment (the fusiliers), in which he was much respected and esteemed. Since I arrived here, I have been hard at work to get order re-established. I have now put a stop to the plundering I found going on, by reorganising a police. I am also collecting all the property of the deceased, and trying to trace if any have survived; but, as yet, have not succeeded in finding one. Man, woman, and child seem all to have been murdered. As soon as that monster, Nana Sahib, heard of the success of our troops, and of their having forced the bridge about twenty miles from Cawnpore, he ordered the wholesale butchery of the poor women and children. I find the officers' servants behaved shamefully, and were in the plot, all but the lowest caste ones. They deserted their masters and plundered them. Whenever a rebel is caught he is immediately tried; and, unless he can prove a defence, he is sentenced to be hanged at once: but the chief rebels, or ringleaders, I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of women and children took place. To touch blood is most abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think, by doing so, they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a subahdar, or native officer—a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed: but I made the provost-marshal do his duty; and a few lashes soon made the miscreant accomplish his task. When done, he was taken out and immediately hanged, and, after death, buried in a ditch at the roadside. No one who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy,' as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies—alas! containing upwards of 200 women and children!—I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave.* I am in the intrenched camp—a most miserable position. None

* Upon intelligence of this astounding atrocity being received in England, the indignation of all classes of the people was excited to a painful degree. The most absorbing feeling was, however, that of sorrow for the unutterable and shameful wrong to which our countrywomen and their children had been exposed; and among the first directions into which the current of public feeling rushed, the idea of some endurable monument that should carry down to the latest generations of mankind the memory of Indian treachery and ferocity, was most prominent. Various suggestions were offered for the realisation of this idea; but those contained in the two subjoined communications, appeared to embody the most general view of the public, and to be most deserving of attention. One individual, writing upon the subject, says—"I travelled a few days since with a gentleman, a retired officer of engineers, who is a near relative of seven of the Cawnpore victims; five of them were young ladies; one of them was the writer of that little chronicle of woe found amongst the relics of the slaughterhouse, and over which thousands of tears (not all feminine) have been shed since then. Among many interesting things which this intelligent man said, there was one which, it strikes me, ought not to pass and perish with a casual railway journey. 'They talk,' he said, 'of raising a monument over that well. They don't understand the natives, or they would do nothing of the sort. What does a Hindoo care for a marble pyramid or obelisk? Now, what they should do is this—build above that well a Christian temple, as small as you like, but splendid, so that after-generations of Christians shall say to as many generations of Mohammedans or Hindoos, 'Look here! On this spot your fathers wrought the blackest of their deeds to get rid of Christianity from India. See what came of it! Christian rights are now celebrated, and Christian worship presented, on the very site of that well, and above the ashes of 200 martyrs!' That would be worth 100 missionaries.' Surely, sir, to print this will be enough to commend it to 10,000 minds as well worthy at least of a thought. I believe that, whether the temple were Episcopalian or Nonconformist, there would be raised in a week, throughout London alone, the entire expense that would be demanded by the scheme. What an illustration it would be for coming ages to witness of the sacred truth—'He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him!'"—The other writer we have alluded to, observes—"It seems to be generally felt, that a Christian church erected over the well at Cawnpore, would be, at the same time, a most appropriate memorial of the dead, and a most striking lesson to the living. It is also felt that its erection should be a national act. But the preponderance of any one denomination among us is not sufficiently decided to entitle its forms of worship to be considered national, nor will the proposed church ever answer its full intention if it is either Episcopalian or Nonconformist. What would be the value or the effect on the native mind of a building on the very threshold of which either Protestant or Roman Catholic must needs part company with his fellow, and go no further? There is but one remedy. Let us for once have 'a house of prayer for all nations.' None but Christians will go there to pray. No Mussulman or Hindoo will choose that spot on which to offer his devotions. But let no Christians be excluded through the operation of sectarian distinctions. Let them enter and depart when they will, stand or kneel as they will, their devotion helped, perhaps, by the consciousness that others are praying around them, but certainly not impeded by any compulsion to use precisely the same words as their neighbours. By grasping at too much we lose all. By insisting that, whether liturgical or not, each man's prayer shall be

but Englishmen could have held it for a day, and yet how nobly did poor Sir H. Wheeler hold out here!"

Among other wretches who were drawn from their skulking places by the vigilance of the exasperated military police under Captain Bruce, and handed over to the provost-marshal, was the individual through whom the fatal orders of the Mahratta destroyer were given to the murderers. This fellow had been a native *employé* of the government, and, at the time of the revolt, was acting as collector. Upon the flight of his new patron, his Hindoo cunning encouraged him to hope that he might elude suspicion by affecting to remain in concealment through a terror of the insurgents; but the eye of Justice was upon him, and his subterfuge did not avail to screen him from the fate he merited. After this man's identity had been clearly established, and his complicity in directing the massacre proved beyond all doubt, he was compelled, upon his knees, to cleanse up a portion of the blood yet scattered over the fatal yard of the Subada Kothee, and, while yet foul from his sickening task, hung like a dog before the gratified soldiers; one of whom writes:—"The collector, who gave the order for the death of the poor ladies, was taken prisoner the day before yesterday, and now hangs from a branch of a tree about 200 yards off the roadside. His death was accidentally a painful one; for, from carelessness, or perhaps design, the rope was badly adjusted, and when the fellow dropped, the noose closed over his jaw: his hands then got loose, and he caught hold of the rope, and struggled to get free; but two men took hold of his legs, and jerked his body until his neck broke. This seems to me the just reward he should have got on earth for his barbarity."—Thus it is, that by the contemplation of horrors, men are made cruel; and acts at which their nature would revolt under other auspices, are looked upon as justifiable and praiseworthy.

With a view to the identification of property that had belonged to the unfortunate victims of the wholesale butchery perpetrated at Cawnpore, General Neill directed that all persons competent to recognise the property of their deceased relatives or friends, should be invited to do so; and to effect this object, the following letter was addressed by the superintendent of police to the conductors of the newspaper press in all parts of British India:—

"*The Sufferers at Cawnpore.*—Sir,—I am desired by General Neill to request you will have the goodness to make it as public as possible that the property of the unfortunate people who lost their lives here has been collected in one spot, and that any which can be recognised will be handed over to the owners, or put up to auction for the benefit of deceased estates, and the rest sold. There is a good deal of property belonging to the different mercantile firms here, as well as to the heirs of deceased officers, &c.; but when I mention that every house was gutted, and the property scattered over sixty or seventy square miles of country, it will be apparent how impossible it was to take care of individual interests. I would recommend any one connected with Cawnpore, to appoint an agent upon the spot who can recognise the property, and he should be armed with authority to receive charge of it. Almost all of the former European residents here having been murdered by the miscreant Nana Sahib, and no one being forthcoming to recognise or give any information concerning the property that has been saved, it would aid us very much were some European to return who may be acquainted with the former resi-

but the echo of that of some leader, and put into his mouth rather than proceeding fresh out of his own heart in his own words, or no words at all, we must inevitably exclude all but those of our own particular communion. To catch the contagion of a devotional spirit, it is sufficient that the spirit be there and obviously animating the worshippers—no matter in what terms they express themselves, or whether they all pray after precisely the same fashion, or each in his own fashion as he would pray in his own chamber. The great point is, that they know that they are all praying to the same God through the same Saviour. Much of the worship in Roman Catholic churches is of this nature. Much of the worship in the temple at Jerusalem was also of this nature. In this case, if ever, we might well be content with a broad instead of a narrow unity—

a unity contrasting us as Christians with Mussulmans and Hindoos, not as Christians with rival Christians. Let us have at Cawnpore simply a place of prayer—no pews, no desks, no forms of worship—no preaching, nor ministers of any denomination; a cross, if you will, over the door, but nothing within except a pavement on which man, woman, and child alike may stand or kneel, and offer prayer, or thanksgiving, or confession of sin to the God of all through his Son Jesus Christ. As to the style and costliness of the work, I will only add, that if we are going to avail ourselves of æsthetics to make an impression upon the natives, it ought at least to equal their own great religious edifices; it ought at least to be worthy of our country, though we can never make it worthy of Him who will there be worshipped."—Other suggestions to the same effect were made.

dents, or be able to point out the property of different owners. I am desired to add, that as far as can be ascertained, the only Europeans who escaped are two officers and two soldiers, who fled across the river, and one pensioner of the 3rd light dragoons, who was concealed by a trooper of the 4th light cavalry in the city of Cawnpore. There are six males, three females, and three children with a petty rajah (of Kalpee) across the Jumna, and every possible means are being taken to recover them. The rajah of Kalpee treats these unfortunate people with kindness, and is disposed to restore them.

"The pressure of work is so great that it is impossible to send copies of this letter to the different presses in India, but General Neill trusts all will aid him in making public the information now conveyed.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"HERBERT BRUCE, Captain,

"Superintendent Police.

"Cawnpore, July 31st."

And here, for the present, we may fitly close our revelations of the massacres of Cawnpore. It is not for the finite mind to grasp the purposes of Omnipotence, nor may man dare to arraign the dispensations of an All-wise Providence; but there is much in these harrowing details to shake weak faith, and to inspire awe and wonder in the firmest. A feeling more terrible than the mere desire of vengeance, arises in the heart when contemplating such barbarity; and the most reverent Christians may shudder when they are called upon to believe, that in the sight of the All-Wise, All-Beneficent, such a terrible ordeal could have been deemed necessary for the purification of His creatures. The history of the world scarcely affords a parallel to the frightful and cruel outrages that, in the summer of 1857, cast a stain upon the annals of British India, that it will take oceans of tears, and ages of humiliation and practical repentance, to efface.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CANTONMENT AT FYZABAD; SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF THE NATIVE TROOPS; ARREST OF MAUN SING; APPROACH OF THE AZIMGURH MUTINEERS; PROFESSIONS OF LOYALTY; THE OUTBREAK; THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS PROTECTED AND DISMISSED; DEPARTURE FROM FYZABAD IN BOATS; ATTACKED BY THE AZIMGURH REBELS; ADVENTURES ON THE GOGRA; THE NAZIM HOSSEIN KHAN; ESCAPE OF COLONEL LENNOX AND FAMILY; PRIVATE DETAILS; NARRATIVE OF FARRIER-SERGEANT BUSHER; LIST OF CASUALTIES; THE PRESERVED; FRIGHTFUL SUFFERINGS OF A LADY AND THREE CHILDREN IN THE JUNGLE; THE BLOODLESS REVOLT AT JULLUNDUR; QUIET DESERTION BY THE TROOPS; NARRATIVE OF AN OFFICER; THE MUTINEERS AT PHILLOUR; LETTER FROM UMBALLAH; MILITARY EXECUTIONS AT FEROZEPORE, LOODIANA, AND PESHAWUR; MURDER OF SIR NORMAN LESLIE AT RHONEE.

RESUMING the chronological order of events connected with the insurrectionary movements of the Bengal native troops, our attention is directed to an outbreak at Fyzabad, a military station in Oude, and formerly the capital of that kingdom. The town is situated on the south bank of the Gogra, a tributary of the Ganges, and is about eighty miles eastward of the modern city of Lucknow, to which place the seat of government was removed from Fyzabad by the nabob, Asoph-ud-Dowlah, upon his accession to the musnud in 1775. Some remains of the palace and fortress of the native princes are yet visible at Fyzabad; and in the immediate vicinity of the town are the time-worn ruins of Ayodha, or Oude (the ancient capital), which are still esteemed by the Hindoos as sacred, from being the abode of Rama, the site of whose temple is still resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of India. The native population of Fyzabad is numerous; but consists chiefly of the descendants of persons of *low-caste*, who were forbidden to follow the court and principal inhabitants upon their removal to Lucknow.

At the end of May, 1857, the troops in cantonment at Fyzabad, consisted of the 22nd regiment of Bengal native infantry, under the command of Colonel Lennox; the 6th regiment irregular Oude infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel O'Brien; a troop of irregular cavalry, and a company

of the 7th battalion of Bengal artillery, with one horse battery of light field guns, under the command of Major Mill, of the Hon. Company's artillery. This force was, as usual, stationed in cantonments a short distance from the town; and, until the latter part of May, nothing had occurred to excite suspicion of any ill-feeling toward the Europeans, either on the part of the troops or the inhabitants. The rajah, Maun Sing, was upon amicable terms with the officers and their families, and mutual confidence appeared to exist.

At length, indications of a perturbed spirit among the troops, who had been visited by emissaries from some of the regiments in revolt, became manifest. The confidence between the European officers and their men was shaken, and each party eyed the other with suspicion and disregard. This unpleasant state of affairs commenced several days before any decisive step was taken, either on the part of the troops or the authorities; but it became daily more and more apparent that an outbreak would be inevitable. Anticipating the crisis, an officer holding civil charge of the Fyzabad district, made arrangements with the rajah, Maun Sing, for the protection of the women and children of the station: the charge was readily undertaken; and there was every reason to believe it would have been faithfully observed.

The temper of the troops had become excessively embarrassing to their European officers, who were without any force upon which they could rely for support in an endeavour to re-establish the discipline of the two regiments; and, in the midst of the difficulty by which they were surrounded, an order arrived from Lucknow, directing the immediate arrest of their influential friend, Maun Sing. This ill-timed step was carried out by Colonel Goldney, the superintendent commissioner of Fyzabad, in opposition to the earnest remonstrances and written protest of the assistant-commissioner, who, after the indignity had been perpetrated, obtained permission to release the prisoner, just in time to ensure the safety of the ladies and children, by sending them, under his protection, to a fortified residence belonging to him at Shahgunj. Three ladies—Mrs. Colonel Lennox, her daughter (Mrs. Morgan, wife of Captain Morgan, 22nd regiment), and Mrs. Major Mill—alone remained with their husbands at Fyzabad.

On the 3rd of June, it was reported to the civil authorities, that the mutineers of the 17th regiment from Azimgurh were approaching Fyzabad; and a council was at once held with the officers in command of the troops, that measures might be adopted to meet the emergency. Colonel Lennox, as senior in charge of the station, immediately summoned the officers commanding, with their respective staffs, and the senior native officers, to a conference, when the latter declared themselves true and loyal, and ready to act in resisting the advance of the mutineers. Such precautions as could now be taken were adopted for the defence of the lines from outward attack, although grave causes for disquietude, as regarded their safety from the attack of traitors within, still existed.

At length, on the 7th of June, as the mutineers had not yet arrived, and the troops in cantonment expressed great impatience at being compelled to wait inactive for them, it was proposed by Colonel Lennox, that they should march out to a village called Surooj-Khoond, about five miles from the cantonments, and give battle to the rebels. To this, however, the native officers objected, alleging that they had their families and property in the lines, and there they intended to protect both by remaining in the cantonments: they declared they would render loyal service, and would fight valiantly for their lives, and for those belonging to them; but they were sure the men would not quit the lines. At the close of this consultation, the native officers shook hands with Colonel Lennox and his officers with apparent cordiality, and left, saying, "We are all of one heart." Thus ended the military council of the 7th of June.

Towards evening of Monday, June the 8th, a messenger arrived at the cantonment, with intelligence that the mutineers of the 17th regiment would march into Fyzabad early on the following morning; and active preparations were immediately made for their reception. These will be best described in the words of Colonel Lennox, who, in his statement addressed to the adjutant-general for the information of the commander-in-chief, says—"Every officer was at his post in the lines of the regiment, myself at the quarter-guard, and the troops by their arms. Two companies were told-off for the support of the 13th light field battery artillery, and every precaution was

taken for defensive operations. At 10 P.M., an alarm was sounded in the lines of the 6th irregular Oude infantry, and taken up by the 22nd regiment of native infantry; the battery prepared for action, loaded, and fusees lighted; when the two companies in support of the guns immediately closed in and crossed bayonets over the vents, preventing the officer of the artillery from approaching the battery. This was reported to me by Major Mill, commanding the artillery. I then went to the guns, and explained to my men that the bugle-sound was a false alarm, and ordered them to return to their respective posts, and leave only one sentry over each gun. I then returned to the lines of the 22nd, with a view to dismissing that regiment. I found the light cavalry had surrounded the regimental magazine, in order, as they said, to protect it. It appears this was a preconcerted scheme; for the 5th troop of the 15th irregular cavalry sallied out, and instantly planted patrols all round the lines. I again visited the guns, but was refused admittance; the subahdar (the prime leader of the mutiny, Dhuleep Sing) telling me it was necessary to guard the guns, and he would take care of them, requesting me to go to the quarter-guard and take my rest, and that nothing should happen to myself and officers so long as we remained with the regiment: a guard with fixed bayonets surrounded me, and escorted me to my charpoy. The officers also of the regiment were not allowed to move twelve paces without a guard following them. Several officers asked me leave to flee away. I told them I had no power, and that I was a prisoner as well as themselves; but if they would remain quiet in their lines till daybreak, Dhuleep Sing would give them an escort to the boats at Meerum ghat, and send them off down the Gogra. Two officers trying to escape were fired at by the cavalry patrols, and brought back into the lines. About sunrise on the 9th, the officers were allowed to take to the boats, myself and family alone remaining in cantonments. At 10 A.M., Subahdar Dhuleep Sing visited me, having previously placed sentries all round my bungalow. He stated he was sorry for what had occurred, but such was our fate, and he could not prevent it; that the rissaldar of the 5th troop of 15th irregular cavalry was the leader, but that not a hair of our heads should be touched; and that he (the subahdar) had come to order us a boat and get it prepared for us, and he hoped we should pass down the river in safety, for he could not be answerable for us when the 17th native infantry arrived at Fyzabad. We remained in cantonments till 2 P.M., and during the course of the day, the Moolavie who had created a disturbance in the city of Fyzabad, and was confined in our quarter-guard until released by the mutineers, sent requesting my full-dress regimentals, which were delivered up to him. He sent the sub-assistant-surgeon of the dispensary to assure me how grieved he was that I should be obliged to flee, as through my kindness he had been taken much care of while confined three months in the quarter-guard of the regiment, and had been allowed by me his hookah; at the same time requesting me to remain, and he would take care of me and my family. The sub-assistant-surgeon begged me to pardon him for obeying the orders of those whom he now served; that times were altered, and he must obey those who fed and clothed him."

The mutiny of the troops had now become a fact established: the gaol guard had left their post, and the mutineers had undisputed possession of the city and cantonments; but, unlike their comrades in disaffection in many other places, the men of the two infantry regiments abstained from offering violence or insult to their European officers. Not so, however, with the troopers of the 15th irregular cavalry, who held a council, and proposed to murder every officer; but were restrained by their more moderate fellows, who, on the other hand, informed their officers that they were free to leave, and might take with them their private arms and property, but no public property, as that all belonged to the king of Oude. They then placed guards round the bungalows of the officers, to ensure their safety until they could leave, and stationed sentries over the magazines and public buildings; they also sent out pickets from each regiment, to prevent the townspeople and budmashes from plundering. The officers made a last attempt to recall them to their duty by appealing to their loyalty, and the distinctions won by both regiments, in well-fought battles, by the side of their European comrades; but it was of no avail—the men heard them respectfully; but when the officers had finished addressing them, they stated that

they were now under the orders of their native officers; that the subahdar-major of the 22nd regiment had been appointed to the command of the station; and that each corps had appointed one of its own officers to be chief, from whom only they could now receive orders.

Returning to the statement of Colonel Lennox, who was still remaining with his family in the lines; he says—"The sepoys guarding our house becoming riotous and insolent for plunder, we deemed it prudent to leave; and all being ready, we were enabled to leave Fyzabad by boat at 2 o'clock P.M. In nearing Ayodha, we were suddenly hailed by a cavalry patrol, who, after looking into the boat, suffered us to pass on. We had not proceeded far when another scout hailed us, ordering us to bring-to, or we should be fired upon. He also suffered us to pass; the sepoys with us (Thacur Missir and Sunker Sing) explaining to the scout that we were sent off by the rissaldar. At about half-past ten at night we passed the camp of the 17th regiment; but in rounding a sand-bank, came upon a picket of the mutineers, and were advised by our sepoys and boatmen to leave the boat, and creep along the side of the sand-bank, and that the boat should be brought round to meet us. We accordingly did so, and crossed the sand-bank, being out nearly two hours: when the boat came round at midnight, we crossed over the river to the Goruckpore district. In the morning, about daybreak, some men coming down to bathe, told us that there were men on the look-out for Europeans, and advised us to leave our boat as soon as we could, and follow some six or seven *sahibs* (officers) who, the day before, had gone on towards Goruckpore. We were about leaving the boat, when a party of men came down and inquired who was in the boat; being satisfied by the boatmen, they went away, and we then immediately quitted the boat, leaving our remaining property, which the subahdar had directed to be given us at Fyzabad, and which was now plundered by the villagers.

"We began our flight towards Goruckpore on foot, with only the clothes we had on. Our *ayah* (woman-servant) and *khitmutgur* (table-attendant) accompanied us; we stopped often under trees and at wells, and had proceeded about six miles (it being now ten o'clock), when we halted at a village, and having got a draught of milk, prepared to rest during the heat of the day. We were, however, soon disturbed; for a horseman advanced over the country, armed to the teeth, having a huge horse-pistol in his hand, which he cocked, and levelling it at my head, desired me to follow him to the camp of the 17th native infantry, and make no delay, for he was to get a reward of 500 rupees for each of our heads. We had not retraced our steps for more than a mile, when a lad joined us who was known to the horseman, which determined the latter to make us quicken our pace. The lad, however, persuaded him to let us drink water and rest near a village; and while so doing, he sent a boy to bring men to our rescue. It appears that a nazim (Meer Mahomed Hossein Khan) had a small fort close by, about three-quarters of a mile off. The nazim immediately sent out ten or twelve foot-men armed, who, on coming up, directed us to follow them, and also led the horseman by the bridle, having disarmed him. One of the men sent out for our rescue greatly abused me; and looking at his pistol and priming, swore he would shoot those Englishmen who had come to take away their caste and make them Christians. About mid-day, we reached the fortified dwelling of the nazim, and were ushered into the place where he was holding a council. He bade us rest and take some sherbet, assuring us that no harm should happen to us; and he rebuked his insolent retainer for hinting that a stable close by would do for us to dwell in, as we should not require it long, he being prepared to kill the dogs. The nazim again rebuked him, and told us not to fear, for he would not suffer us to quit till the road was open and we could reach Goruckpore in safety. On the second day the nazim, fearing that the scouts of the 17th would give intelligence that Europeans were hid in his fort, made us assume native dresses; the zenana clothed my wife and daughter, and the nazim clothed me. He then dressed up a party in our English clothing, and sent them out with an escort, about nine at night, to deceive his outposts, and also the villagers; they returned about midnight in their proper dresses; and it was supposed by all, except the confidential persons of the nazim's household, that he had sent us away. We remained in captivity in rear of his zenana, in a reed hut, nine days, treated kindly, having plenty of food, and a daily visit from our keeper.

"The nazim personally visited the mutineers at Fyzabad, to learn their plan; which was to march to the attack of Lucknow, and then proceed to Delhi. The first time he visited the regiments at Fyzabad, they inquired very minutely concerning certain Europeans he had harboured. The nazim declared he had only fed and rested three Europeans, and then sent them on: to this they replied—'It is well; we are glad you took care of the colonel and his family.'

"After we had been in captivity seven days, the nazim came to me and said, he had just heard that the collector of Goruckpore was at the station, and if I would write a letter to him he would get it safely conveyed. On Thursday, the 18th of June, an alarm was given that an enemy was in full force coming against the fort; my wife and daughter were immediately hid in the zenana, and myself hid in a dark wood (godown.) The horsemen, however, on nearing the fort, were found to be a party sent by the collector of Goruckpore for our rescue. The nazim furnished my wife and daughter with palkees; and the rest of us, on horses, left our noble and considerate host at 11 A.M., and passing Amorah, reached Captaingunge at 4 P.M., where I found Farrier-sergeant Busher, of the artillery, who also had been rescued from captivity by Mr. Pippy, with a guard of the 12th irregular cavalry. The next day we arrived at Bustee, and were hospitably received by Mr. Osborne, opium agent, and his family, who gave us European clothing. After remaining three days, we proceeded to Goruckpore, thence to Azimgurh, thence to Ghazeepore, and by river steamer to Calcutta; when the medical board advised that I should proceed to England for the recovery of my health.

"Throughout this severe trial, I have found the promise fulfilled to me and my family—'And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.'

"W. LENNOX, Colonel, Bengal Army.

"Calcutta, August 1st."

Of the party of officers that left Fyzabad in the boats at sunrise on the 9th of June, we have several accounts; the boats having separated, and each freight of fugitives having its peculiar adventures. The following appear to be the most distinctly-marked portions of their narratives. One officer writes thus:—"After a long altercation amongst the mutineers, it was determined that the officers should be allowed to go. They went off in boats; but just opposite Begumgunj they were seen by the 17th regiment native infantry (mutineers from Azimgurh), who gave chase, and here poor Goldney, Bright, and a sergeant appear to have been shot; Mill, Currie, and Parsons drowned, having left the boats and attempted to escape inland. The rest of the party got to the Tehseeldaree of Kuptamgunj, where they were well treated, and received fifty rupees to prosecute their journey to Goruckpore. At a bazaar on the road called Mahadewa, a body of armed men sallied forth, and, without the slightest provocation, cut the unfortunate fellows to pieces. Here English, Lindsay, Cautley, Thomas, and Ritchie, with two sergeants, fell. One artillery sergeant (Busher) alone escaped. Another party—O'Brien, Gordon, Collison, Anderson, and Percival—changed their boat, and got a covered one at Ajoodhia; they lay *perdu*, and were not observed by the 17th regiment native infantry. Hiding in the daytime and travelling at night, they managed to reach Gopalpore, in the Goruckpore district, where a powerful rajah took them under his protection, and forwarded them to Dinapore. A third party consisted of Morgan and his wife, Fowle, Ouseley, and Daniell. They were robbed, imprisoned, and suffered great hardships—almost starvation; but they, too, eventually escaped. I must now return to my own party. The troops mutinied on the night of the 8th, but did not come down to the city till the morning of the 9th of June. Orr and Thurburn slept at my gateway; Bradford, being obstinate, slept at the Dilkoosha. We had about a hundred armed invalids. We tried to raise levies, and, with Maun Sing's co-operation, might have succeeded. As it was, we failed. We collected 400 or 500; but the greater portion were rather a source of apprehension, and I was obliged to get rid of them.

"During the night of the 8th, the gaol guard (6th Oude irregulars) and others left their posts, and the mutineers stationed themselves so as to prevent all communication through the city. I was unable to warn Bradford. They came down upon us in three divisions, with two guns attached to each; and, having no means of resistance, we bolted from my gateway towards the Akburpore-road. We at first intended to go to Shahgunj, but, fearing

the sowars, who were most bloodthirsty, I turned off as soon as we got out of sight, and made for Rampore, but finally went to Gowrah. I knew the zemindars well in these parts. We changed quarters in the evening to a pundit's at no great distance, and thence went to Shahgunj. We had at that time the Azimgurh mutineers coming on the Tanda-road, and those from Benares on the Dostpore and Akburpore lines. Bradford managed to get away on foot. I had lent him my Arab for the flight, but he could not find it. We were afterwards told that these brutes of sowars followed us as far as Bhadursa, but we saw nothing of them.

"The day after we reached Shahgunj, Maun Sing sent to say, that the troops would not harm the ladies and children, but insisted upon our being given up, and were coming to search the fort; that he would get boats, and that we must be off at once. We were all night going across country to the ghat at Jelalooden-nuggur, during which time we were robbed by Maun Sing's men of almost all the few things we had managed to take with us. The ladies took some of their valuables to Shahgunj; of course we had only the clothes on our backs: however, we got off—first in two boats, but afterwards in one—eight women, fourteen children, and seven men. We suffered great misery and discomfort. The heat, too, was terrific. We were plundered by Oodit Narain, one of the Birhur men; and when they took Orr and me into one of the forts, I fully expected to be polished off; and all the ladies got ready to throw their children into the river and jump after them. However, God willed it otherwise, and Madho Persad, the Birhur Baboo, came to the rescue—entertained us hospitably for five or six days, and then forwarded us to Gopalpore, where we were comparatively safe."

Another gentleman who shared the perils of the Fyzabad mutiny, says—"I remember the officers in the two boats. I accompanied Lieutenant Bright, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Parsons, 6th Oude irregulars; Lieutenant Cautley, 22nd native infantry. Sergeant Busher, Sergeant-major, Quartermaster-sergeant, 22nd native infantry, and myself were in one boat; Colonel Goldney, Lieutenant Currie, artillery; Lieutenant Ritchie, 22nd native infantry; Sergeant Edwards, and Sergeant-major Matthews, in the second boat; three other boats followed behind. We waited two hours for them, but, as they did not come, we pushed off. As we were getting into the boat we saw the sepoys of the 22nd rushing towards the treasury; there were about two lacs and 40,000 rupees in Captain Drummond's house, where the treasure had been placed. On reaching a place called Begumgunj, about ten miles below Fyzabad, we met some mutineers encamped; at half-past one these men fired upon us; there were 800 or 900 of them; about 100 men fired upon us when we were 600 yards off. Colonel Goldney advised our pushing off to the opposite bank of the Gogra; we got on an island among some jhow fields. The mutineers got into dhingies and followed us; we made for the main boat from the island; there were about forty or fifty yards of water between. Major Mill was drowned. The sergeant-major, Lieutenant Bright, and I were made prisoners, and taken to the camp of the mutineers, who were men of the 17th and 37th native infantry and the 17th irregular cavalry. We were taken before the subahdar commanding the rebels: I don't know his name; he was a Hindoo, and belonged to the 17th native infantry. He was an old man, slightly made, about five feet eight inches high, with gray hair, no hair on his face, and dark complexion. He asked us who we were: we replied. He then appealed to the Mussulmans on the Koran, and to the Hindoos on the cow, not to injure us, and told us to go away. Two men of the 17th then stepped out and shot the sergeant-major and Lieutenant Bright. I was rescued by an artilleryman, and was hid in a serai at Begumgunj, and sent off in disguise. While we were talking to the subahdar, some fifteen or sixteen of the irregular cavalry, and ten or twelve sepoys, went after the remainder of our party. We heard firing across the river; the party returned, and reported they had killed Colonel Goldney and six other officers, and that three had escaped. On arriving at Tanda, on the 10th instant, I heard people in the serai saying that six or seven officers had been killed, and two or three were sheltered by some zemindars in the Goruckpore district. After this I came *viâ* Mattoopore, Shahgunj, and Juanpore. Captain Reed, deputy-commissary; Captain A. P. Orr, assistant-commissary; Mr. E. O. Bradford, ditto; and Captain Thurburn, reached Rajah Maun Sing's house, and he promised

shelter and protection. When I was at Mattoopore I heard that the above officers were going down in boats, with their families, escorted by some of the rajah's guard. At Tanda I heard that a Mr. Fitzgerald (clerk in the deputy-commissioner's office) and Overseer-sergeant Hurst, who were escorting the families of some sergeants to Allahabad, *vid* Sultanpore, were killed, and the women and children also murdered. I do not know what has become of the officers who were in the boats behind us when we left Fyzabad."

A great deal of the uncertainty that might otherwise have existed as to the ultimate fate of many of the fugitives, is removed by the personal narrative of Farrier-sergeant Busher, of the light field battery, who left the station in one of the boats on the morning of the 9th; and, after many extraordinary deliverances, arrived in safety at Ghazeepore on the 26th of June. The sergeant's statement commences with the incidents of the 8th of the month, and proceeds thus:—"On the morning of the 8th of June news was brought into the station, that the 17th native infantry, mutineers of Azimgurh, had encamped a day's journey from Fyzabad, and intended marching into the station the following morning. I received orders from Major Mill, commanding the battery, to send my family without delay to Shahgunj, and place them under the protection of Rajah Maun Sing, of that place. I accordingly did so, sending along with them the families of four other non-commissioned officers. In the evening, by order of Colonel Lennox, commanding the station, two companies of the 22nd native infantry were ordered to support our guns, and to take up their position, one on either side of the battery, or a company on each flank. This they did. The officers and men—both Europeans and natives—remained with their guns all ready for action, when about 11 P.M. the alarm was sounded in the lines of the 6th Oude irregular infantry, on hearing which the *golundauze*, or native artillery, immediately loaded their guns with grape. While the portfiremen were in the act of lighting the portfires, the two companies of the 22nd, that were placed on either side of the guns, rushed in, with loaded muskets in hand, among the artillery, and pointed them at the heads of the golundauze. Colonel Lennox, and the other officers of the 22nd native infantry, were on the spot almost immediately after the occurrence, and tried, by every persuasion, to get the men from the guns, but to no purpose. About this time the whole of the 22nd native infantry left their lines, and advanced towards our position shouting. On coming up they ordered us (the Europeans) to quit this place, and said the guns were no longer ours, but theirs. We were escorted by a portion of the 22nd native infantry to the quarter-guard of that regiment, and kept there under restraint till the following morning, when at break of day we were escorted to the river-side, and directed to enter some boats that had been provided for us by the insurgents, and proceed down the river.

"While at the ghat, intelligence was brought to our escort, that the mutineers were helping themselves to the treasure. This caused the escort to hasten back to the lines as quickly as possible. Here I will take the liberty to mention, that the rissaldar of the 15th irregulars appeared to be the moving man in the mutiny, and undertook the general direction of affairs.

"When the escort left us we took to the boats, four in number, but found them without boatmen. However, as there was no time to proceed in search of boatmen, it was resolved that the boats should be manned by ourselves; so we got in, and, as far as my memory serves me, in the order mentioned below.*

"In this way we dropped down the river on the 9th, a little before sunrise. While dropping down, a sepoy of the 22nd (Teg Ali Khan), who had not joined the mutineers, was observed following in a canoe. He hailed and requested to be taken with the party. He was accordingly taken into No. 1 boat. An hour or so after he was

* "In No. 1, or the first boat:—Colonel Goldney, commissioner; Lieutenant Currie, artillery; Lieutenant Cautley, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Ritchie; Lieutenant Parsons, 6th Oude irregulars; Sergeant-major Matthews; Sergeant Edwards, 13th light field battery; Sergeant Busher, ditto.—In No. 2, or second boat:—Major Mill, commanding 13th light field battery; Adjutant Bright, 22nd native infantry; Sergeant-major Hulme, ditto; Mrs. Hulme; Quartermaster-sergeant Russell, 22nd native infantry; Bugler Williamson, 13th light field battery.—In No. 3, or third boat:—Colonel O'Brien, 6th Oude irregulars; Captain Gordon, ditto; Assistant-surgeon Collison, ditto; Lieutenant Anderson, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Percival, 13th light field battery.—In No. 4, or fourth boat:—Lieutenant Thomas, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Lindsay, ditto; Lieutenant English, ditto."

taken up he made himself useful in procuring boatmen for Nos. 1 and 2 boats near a village. After a little delay, which occurred in procuring boatmen, we again proceeded, and in a short time boats Nos. 1 and 2 passed the town of Ajoodhia. This was between 8 and 9 A.M.; boat No. 3 was observed to put in at Ajoodhia, and No. 4 was lost sight of, having dropped far astern. Nos. 1 and 2 proceeded on, and after leaving Ajoodhia about three miles in the rear, put-to to await the arrival of Nos. 3 and 4. After waiting two hours, and seeing no signs of the boats coming, we again proceeded on for about nine koss (or eighteen miles) down stream, when we observed what appeared to be scouts running along the right bank of the river, and giving notice of our approach. We then suspected all was not right, that we had been duped, and purposely led into danger. On proceeding a little further we distinctly observed a regiment of mounted cavalry, and another of native infantry in a body, at the narrowest part of the stream, awaiting our approach. We had no alternative but to proceed on. When Nos. 1 and 2 boats arrived opposite to them they opened a brisk fire on us. Sergeant Matthews, who was one of the rowers, was the first who fell, a ball having struck him at the back of the head. Another ball struck my hat and knocked it into the stream, sustaining no injury myself. Those in No. 2 boat, about 100 yards behind, seeing our hazardous situation, put their boat to at a sand-bank, entirely surrounded by water. We in No. 1 then put-to also and went ashore, when Colonel Goldney requested us to lay down our arms and wait to see if we could come to terms with the mutineers, they directing their fire on us (Nos. 1 and 2) the whole time. Some boats with mutineers pushed off from the opposite shore, and came towards us. When about the centre of the stream they opened fire on us. Colonel Goldney observing this, directed that those who could run should, without any further loss of time, endeavour to escape, remarking that there was not even the shadow of a chance of our meeting with mercy at their hands, and at the same time added that he was too old himself to run. We, now seven in number, including Teg Ali Khan, took Colonel Goldney's advice, and hastened off, taking a direction across the country. I may here mention, that from this period we remained in ignorance of the fate of Colonel Goldney and those of No. 2 boat.

"We now started, and continued running, but did not do so long before meeting with an obstacle which precluded our further advance in the direction we marked out; and this was the junction of two streams of considerable width. While at a standstill, and deliberating as to our future course, we saw a number of men coming towards us, whom we took for sepoys. All but Teg Ali Khan and Sergeant Edwards jumped into the stream, and thought to escape by swimming to the opposite bank. After swimming a short distance, Teg Ali Khan called us and told us to return, as they were only villagers. I, Lieutenant Ritchie, and Lieutenant Cautley returned; but Lieutenant Currie and Lieutenant Parsons got too far into the stream, and, in endeavouring to return, were both drowned. I myself narrowly escaped, having twice gone down, but, through the timely aid of one of the villagers, was safely got out.

"We had no sooner got out of the water than we were again alarmed at seeing a boat full of people rounding a point, and thought they, too, were sepoys. We now ran, and continued our course along the bank, not missing sight of the stream, until we were fairly exhausted. We then entered a patch of high grass growing at the river-side, or at a short distance from it, and rested ourselves. We missed Teg Ali Khan at this time. While in our place of concealment, a boy herding cattle caught sight of us, and ran towards the river, and with his herd crossed over, himself holding-on by a buffalo's tail. On crossing over, it appears he informed the jemadar of his village of our situation; for, shortly after, the jemadar came down and called out to us, and told us not to be alarmed, and that he would bring a boat for us. This he did; and on reaching his side of the river, he informed us that Teg Ali Khan had reported all the particulars to him, and requested that a party be sent in search of us, and that the boy who had been herding cattle brought him information of where we were. This jemadar very kindly took us to his hut, and entertained us as hospitably as he could, supplying us with provisions, and cots to lie on. We remained under his protection till twelve o'clock; and as we had the light of the moon we recommenced our journey, and took the road for Amorah, the jemadar himself accompanying us to the next village; a little before entering which we were surrounded by a party of freebooters, who demanded money. We

told them we had none; but this did not serve them, and they satisfied themselves by searching our persons. When convinced we possessed nothing, they offered no molestation, but allowed us to prosecute our journey. On entering the village, the jemadar, who accompanied us, made us over to a chowkedar, and directed him to take us on to the next village, and leave us with the chowkedar of it; and thus we proceeded on from village to village till we arrived at Amorah. Here we were rejoiced to meet the party who belonged to No. 4 boat, who told us that as they could not get their boat along they deserted her, and proceeded across country. We were glad to find that these gentlemen had arms, for we who had joined them had not even a stick. I must not forget to mention that Teg Ali Khan again formed one of our party, for we lost sight of him crossing the river, where we experienced the kind treatment at the village jemadar's hands. We did not remain more than a few minutes at Amorah, as we were anxious to renew our journey. The tehseeldars, who at this place gave us protection, further aided us by giving each a couple of rupees, and one pony to Lieutenant Ritchie, and another to Lieutenant Cautley, for the journey. We again started (now at 7 A.M. of the 10th), taking the road to Captaingunge, under the guidance of a couple of Thannah burkandazes.

"We reached Captaingunge safely, and inquired at the Tehseeldaree if there were any European residents at Bustee, a place of some note; and were informed by the jemadar that there were not, but were told that he had received information that a party of the 17th native infantry, with treasure, had marched from Goruckpore, and were *en route* to Fyzabad, having halted at Bustee; and advised us not to take the road to Bustee, but to go to Ghie Ghat, where he said we should meet with protection, and get boats to Dinapore. The jemadar furnished us with five ponies and fifty rupees, and put us under the protection of three burkandazes, giving them directions to proceed directly to Ghie Ghat. We accordingly started, and, after making about eight miles, sighted a village (Mohadubbah), which one of the burkandazes invited us to go to, telling us that we could there rest ourselves for a short time, and that he would refresh us with sherbet. We agreed; and this burkandaze who gave the invitation started off ahead, with the pretence of getting ready a place of accommodation and the sherbet. Nothing doubting that all was right, we proceeded on, as we thought in perfect safety. On nearing the village this burkandaze again joined us, and had some conversation apart with the two other men. On our reaching it, we observed, to our horror, that the whole village was armed. However, we made no remark, but passed through it under the guidance of the three burkandazes. On getting to the end we had to cross a nullah, or small stream, waist-deep in water. While crossing, the villagers rushed on us, sword and matchlock in hand. Seeing that they were bent on our destruction, we pushed through the water as quickly as possible, not, however, without leaving one of our number behind, who, unfortunately, was Lieutenant Lindsay; and him they cut to pieces. On reaching the opposite bank the villagers made a furious attack on us, literally butchering five of our party.

"I and Lieutenant Cautley then ran, and most of the mob in full chase after us. Lieutenant Cautley, after running about 300 yards, declared he could run no longer, and stopped. On the mob reaching him, he also was cut to pieces. After dispatching poor Lieutenant Cautley, they continued the chase after me: they ran but a short distance, when finding that I was a long way off, they desisted. I was now the only one left, not having even Teg Ali Khan with me. I proceeded on, and in a short time came to a village, and the first person I met was a Brahmin, of whom I begged a drink of water, telling him I was much exhausted. He asked me where I came from, and what had happened to me. I told my tale as quickly as I could, and he appeared to compassionate my case. He assured me that no harm would come to me in his village, and that, as the villagers were all Brahmins, others would not dare to enter it to do me any harm. He then directed me to be seated under a shady tree in the village, and left me. After a short absence he returned, bringing with him a large bowl of sherbet. This I drank greedily, and was hardly done when he started up and bade me run for my life, as Baboo Bully Sing was approaching the village. I got up and attempted to run, but found I could not, and tried to get to some hiding-place. In going through a lane I met an old woman, and she pointed out an empty hut, and bade me run into it. I did so, and, finding in it a quantity of straw, I lay down, and thought to conceal myself in it. I was

not long there when some of Bully Sing's men entered and commenced a search, and used their lances and tulwars in probing into the straw. Of course it was not long before I was discovered. I was dragged out by the hair of the head, and exhibited to the view of the natives, who had congregated round him, when all kinds of abusive epithets were applied to me. He then commenced a march, leading me from village to village, exhibiting me, and the rabble at my heels hooting at and abusing me.

"After passing through each, his men used to stop and tell me to kneel, and then to ask Bully Sing if they were to decapitate me. His usual reply was, 'Not yet; take him on to the next village.' I in this manner passed through three villages, and was then taken to his own house. I was led into the courtyard and put into the stocks; this was about nightfall. During the night, I heard angry words pass between Bully Sing and his brother. I could not exactly make out the particulars; but I remember his brother telling him to beware of what he was doing, and that his acts of this day would perhaps recoil upon himself. However, the result of the quarrel proved in every way beneficial to me; for, about three in the morning, Bully Sing came to me himself, directed my release from the stocks, asked me if I should not like to have something to eat and drink; and his bearing towards me was entirely changed, and different from what it had been.

"The following morning a party made their appearance, headed by a villain named Jaffir Ali, whom I recognised as the person who shot poor Lieutenant Ritchie the previous day, and also fired at me. Of this he made a boast to Bully Sing when he saw me, and asked Bully Sing to make me over to him, and that he would burn me alive. He was told, in reply, that I should not be delivered over to any person, and to quit the place. This rascal said my *kismuth* (fate) was very good. I remained at Bully Sing's ten days, during which time I had no reason to complain of the treatment received; but this I mainly attributed to the interference of his brother on my behalf.

"On the tenth day a Mr. Pippy sent a darogah, with an elephant and an escort, to take me to him. I was glad of the opportunity, and willingly accompanied the party; but it was not without some trouble, and a good deal of persuasion, that the darogah induced Bully Sing to let me go. Previously to this, a Mr. Cook, indigo planter, and Mr. Patterson, collector of Goruckpore, made several attempts to get me away from Bully Sing, but to no purpose. I here offer my best and most grateful acknowledgments to all these gentlemen for their kind consideration and endeavours on my behalf. On joining Mr. Pippy, I proceeded with him to Captaingunge; and there, to my joy, I met Colonel Lennox and his family. Here we remained for the rest of the day and the night. The next morning, I accompanied Colonel Lennox and family to Bustee, escorted by a party of sowars. Here we were most hospitably entertained by Mr. Osborne, of the opium department. I shall not soon, myself, forget this gentleman's kindness, nor that of Colonel Lennox to me, and here offer to both my hearty and sincere thanks. At Bustee we were joined by Teg Ali Khan, who managed to effect his escape from the onslaught at Mohadubbah. At Bustee we halted two days, and in the evening proceeded to Goruckpore, thence to Azimgurh, and from Azimgurh to Ghazeepore, without anything further of note occurring. At this station I arrived on the morning of the 26th, thankful to Providence for bringing me safely through all my difficulties."

Colonel Lennox, in a list of casualties appended to his statement, enumerates the following officers as among the victims of this mutiny. He says—

"I believe the casualties of the Fyzabad officers to be as follows:—Colonel Goldney, superintendent commissioner of Fyzabad district, taken into the camp of the 17th Bengal mutineers (afterwards allowed to go away in one of the boats on the 9th of June, and killed at Begumgunj); Major Mill, drowned; Lieutenant Currie, ditto; Lieutenant English, murdered by the villagers of Mohadubbah; Lieutenant Lindsay, ditto; Lieutenant Bright, taken prisoner in the camp of the 17th regiment (afterwards embarked); Lieutenant Thomas, murdered by the villagers of Mohadubbah; Lieutenant Cautley, ditto; Ensign Ritchie, ditto; Lieutenant Parsons, drowned; Sergeant Hulme and wife, 22nd regiment, taken prisoners into the camp of the 17th regiment (afterwards embarked); Quartermaster-sergeant of the 22nd regiment, taken prisoner into the camp of the 17th regiment (fate unknown); Sergeant Edwards, artillery, murdered by the villagers of Mohadubbah."

On the 17th of June, the following officers of the Fyzabad station arrived at Dinapore by boat, and reported themselves to Major-general Lloyd, commanding the division—viz., Brevet Lieutenant-colonel Charles O'Brien, commandant, 6th Oude

irregular infantry; Lieutenant W. R. Gordon, second in command; Ensign J. W. Anderson, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Percival, of the artillery; and assistant-surgeon J. B. Collison. These gentlemen occupied the boat No. 3, on Sergeant Busher's list, and are mentioned by him as lost sight of at Ajoodhia.

The exact number of Europeans at Fyzabad, when the mutiny commenced, has not been stated in any official document; but that many families were there is very evident, from occasional reports that have been made public. Thus one writer, dating on the 22nd of June, says—"We are now with a friendly rajah at Gopalpore, on the river, twenty-five miles from Goruckpore. He has promised to send us to Dinapore, which is distant 120 miles. I believe we are now quite safe, though we have been in danger, and suffered much discomfort and misery. Our party consists of Captain and Mrs. Reed and two children; Captain and Mrs. Orr and sister, and five children; Captain and Mrs. Thurburn and one child; Captain and Mrs. Dawson and four children; Mr. and Mrs. Bradford; Mr. and Mrs. Fitzgerald and child; and Mr. and Mrs. Hurst and child."—Another correspondent, on the 24th, writing from Allahabad, says—"Mrs. Black, Mrs. Goldney, and Mrs. Strahan, have been brought into Allahabad by that noble fellow, Ajeet Sing, who saw Lieutenant Grant, and the party of thirty-seven Europeans that accompanied him, from his camp near Fyzabad."

An officer of the 22nd regiment, whose name has not transpired, says, in a letter from Gopalpore on the 15th of June:—"I have only a few minutes to write and tell you that, by the mercy of God, I am all right. On Monday night last I had, with all the officers of the regiment, to run away to save our lives. We got into an open boat, and tried to work our way down to Dinapore; but we have been hunted like dogs, and have twice been taken prisoners, and robbed of everything we had. I have hardly a thing left, except the shirt and trowsers I have on, and which I have not taken off for seven days. The rajah has taken compassion on us, and is going to send us to Dinapore."

Of any others of the unfortunate European community at Fyzabad, there does not exist an account that can be relied on, with the exception of the following, which is contained in a letter from the Rev. H. Stern, of the Church Missionary Society, stationed at Goruckpore, who, on the 3rd of August, writes thus:—"Two gentlemen and a lady, with two children, are in my house. This poor lady is Mrs. Mill, fugitive from Fyzabad. Her husband, Major Mill, is one of those who was murdered in this district; however, she has still some hope of his being alive. This poor lady was wandering about in the district for a fortnight, with her three children, one of whom died since she came here. She has suffered awful hardships and privations, and was obliged to beg her bread in the villages. I am thankful to say that she is recovering and gaining strength. Other fugitives are brought in; among them five women and seven children, one of whom was born on the road during the flight."

How far the indignity offered to Maun Sing, at the very moment his good offices were most essential and were relied upon for the protection of the females and children, may have contributed to increase the difficulties by which they were afterwards surrounded, we can only conjecture from the result. The fact is, however, quite evident, that his friendly interposition for their safety was but of short duration; and that those who, unconscious of the wrong done to him, relied upon it, were grievously disappointed and betrayed.

Almost daily throughout the month of June, 1857, the fires of rebellion glared wildly over the wide provinces of British India; and it was but in few instances that the reeking blade of the murderer did not precede or follow the torch of the incendiary. The confidence that for more than a century had subsisted between European and native society had been rudely shaken, and the bonds of union that connected the European officer with the native soldier, were suddenly and irreparably severed. It had become less a cause of surprise than of apprehension when, day after day, intelligence spread over the country of unexpected outbreaks in this or that quarter of the Bengal presidency, sometimes accompanied by rumours of the most dire import—at others, appearing only as an effect of some popular and systematic design to shake off the yoke of foreign domination, without unnecessarily provoking the wanton effusion of blood that too frequently already had characterised the progress of the insurrection, and had degraded a struggle for liberty and independence as a people, into

a war of senseless cruelty and unmanly vengeance. It was under the milder phase of the guilty obscuration of Indian renown, that the revolt of the troops at Jullundur—a large town and military station in the Doab, about seventy-five miles east of Lahore—occurred on the 7th of June.

JULLUNDUR.—For some time previously, this cantonment had been occupied by the 36th and 61st regiments of native infantry, and some troops of the 6th regiment of Bengal light cavalry; there was also at the station a troop of European horse artillery. Nothing had occurred to give rise to suspicion that the native troops were yet tainted by the mutinous spirit that hovered like a destroying angel over every station of the Bengal army; but the repose of the cantonment was at length to be interrupted.

On the night of the 3rd of June, an alarm was raised that fire had broken out in the lines of the 61st regiment—a circumstance that of itself, when the general good conduct of the regiment was taken into consideration, might, in all probability, have been regarded as accidental, and so would have passed away without necessarily exciting any serious fears of impending mischief from the troops; but it happened that, on the following night, the hospital of the cantonment was also discovered to be on fire, and was entirely destroyed. It was no longer doubted that the continuous mischief was the work of an incendiary; but, from the mystery that enveloped the occurrence, it was not possible to trace the guilty hand. Sufficient cause had, however, been given to encourage suspicion of the fidelity of the soldiers; and the inhabitants of the station ventured to suggest to the officer in command, that their position was one of considerable danger—an idea which he decidedly refused to adopt. The European residents then took measures for ensuring the safety of their families, and most of the women and children were removed from the station. The day and night of the 5th passed over without renewing cause for further apprehension; and on the 6th the force at Jullundur was augmented by the arrival of a troop of native horse artillery, and the 4th regiment of Sikh infantry. The appearance of the latter in the cantonment gave umbrage to the men of the Bengal regiments; and the brigadier in command of the station, yielding to some inconceivable influence, sought to conciliate the offended fanatics by a most unmilitary concession; and the Sikhs were actually ordered out of the cantonment on the evening of the very day they had marched into it. The troopers of the Bengal artillery, who had arrived at the same time, were encamped in the lines of the European horse artillery, and their guns were safely parked with those of the latter.

The propriety of disarming the men who had exhibited so much feeling against the Sikhs, was urged upon the brigadier; but he could not be persuaded to doubt the fidelity of the regiments, and hesitated to offer such an offence to men whom he still believed to be loyal and well-disposed. His indecision encouraged the discontented, and enabled them to choose their own time for action.

The 7th of June (Sunday) passed quietly until about an hour before midnight, when an alarm of fire was raised in the lines of the 36th regiment, and at the same time a party of the 6th light cavalry galloped into the infantry lines, shouting furiously that the Europeans were at hand to attack the native troops. The latter were instantly in a state of disorder, and rushed to the bells of arms to secure means of defence. The officers of the two corps hastened to the lines to endeavour to pacify the men, and recall them to their duty; but their efforts only provoked insult; and at length the mutiny was complete. Two or three of the officers were slightly wounded in the confusion, and in the random firing that occurred while the lines were blazing; but there was no meditated attempt to murder or even injure the Europeans of any grade by the soldiers, even when their excitement was at the highest pitch. After setting fire to some bungalows, in revenge for not being allowed to take possession of the guns (which were manfully held by the European artillerymen, and preserved without bloodshed), the mutineers left the station in a body, in the direction of the Sutlej, taking Phillour, a neighbouring cantonment, in their way, where they were joined by the men of the 3rd Bengal regiment, and, together, marched off *en route* for Delhi.

Owing to the prevalence of the same strange hallucination that had controlled his previous conduct, the mutineers were suffered to get a start of several hours before Brigadier Johnstone could be persuaded to allow the European troopers to follow them. When at length he did move,

his force was halted after a march of ten or twelve miles, and the fugitives were thus enabled to cross without molestation, by the chief ferry, over the Sutlej. Upon their arrival at Loodiana, they were opposed by a few Sikhs, under Mr. Ricketts, the civil magistrate; but numbers prevailed over valour; and the rebels, after setting free the prisoners in the gaol, pushed on by forced marches for the Mogul capital. During the stay of the mutinous force at Loodiana, a body of Cashmerees took advantage of the disorder occasioned by their presence, and commenced plundering the town, and ill-using some of the inhabitants who would not join in their outrages; the missionary house, and buildings occupied by the public officers, were partly destroyed, and some valuable property carried off; but on the departure of the rebel force, quiet was restored, and the authority of the civil magistrates re-established. The punishment of those who had been taken in the act of plunder and outrage, followed as a necessary consequence, and on the 13th of June twenty of the offenders were hanged, in the presence of the whole native population.

The mutiny of the native regiments at Jullundur naturally excited some alarm among the Europeans resident at the station; but the timely provision made for the safety of the women and children, relieved them from much of the anxiety they must otherwise have suffered. Beyond a few slight wounds, and firing some of the bungalows, it does not appear that any serious injury was sustained either at Jullundur or Phillour.

Some details of this almost bloodless *émeute* are furnished by the subjoined extracts from a letter dated June 10th, 1857. The writer, an officer of one of the mutinous regiments, says—"I must explain, as briefly as possible, how all this miserable business took place. After about a week of comparative quiet, we were put on the *qui vive* on the 3rd inst. by a fire breaking out in the men's lines of the 61st. On the following night they burnt the hospital. On the 5th all was quiet. On the 6th a native troop of horse artillery marched into this station; the 4th Sikh infantry also came in. I believe that the reason of the move on the part of the native troop was, that it was not considered safe to leave a native troop at a station where there was no European regiment. The arrival of the 4th Sikhs, it appears, caused great anxiety in the minds of the men of the native regiment here; and the brigadier, fearing that some of them would desert, ordered the Sikh regiment out of the station on the evening of the day on which they arrived. The native troop were encamped in the horse artillery lines, and their guns were parked with those of the European troop. This brings us up to the morning of Sunday, the 7th: during the whole of the day everything was quiet. Our men showed no symptoms of uneasiness, and all went on as usual. So quiet was everything, that in the evening my wife went to church with our old friend Harris, the veterinary surgeon. I could not go, as I wished to visit the lines, as has been my invariable custom ever since hearing the lamentable news from Delhi. After church several of our regiment dined quietly with us; and at ten o'clock, having sent my wife to sleep at the artillery barracks with the other ladies and children, I went to bed at eleven, with all my clothes on as usual. I had just closed my eyes, when I heard one of my guard call out that there was a fire. I jumped up, and saw the reflection of fire in the direction of the 36th native infantry lines. I instantly mounted my horse, and rode down to our lines as hard as I could gallop. On reaching our men's lines all appeared quiet. I rode gently up between the men's and horse lines, and had nearly reached the lines of the second troop, when I heard a shot fired in the direction of the 36th lines. Not an instant elapsed before I saw a rush made by the men of the second troop for the bell of arms, which they had reached before I could get up to them. I drew my sword, rode at them, and succeeded in driving them back to their lines, but not until they had forced one of the doors. The troopers stood at the end of their lines, and I appealed to them in every possible way—reminded them of the distinguished name their fathers had gained for the regiment, and told them to prove they were faithful soldiers by returning every man to his hut. (In the meantime I sent off to our commanding officer, Macmullen, who was in the lines, to tell him what was going on.) The men seemed to have come to their senses, and I hoped the panic was over, for they turned to obey me, and walked back towards their huts. Before they had reached them a brisk file firing commenced in the infantry lines: the men turned

again and made another rush towards the bell of arms. I stopped them at the head of the troop, and swore I would cut the first man down who crossed the little ditch that runs across the front of the lines. I kept them in check for a minute or two, during which I heard horses galloping, and, glancing in the direction of the sound, saw men galloping out of the horse lines of the 3rd squadron. A cry was raised that the 3rd squadron had mounted, and the men of the right wing dashed off to the bell of arms. I rode at them, and upset some of the infatuated scoundrels, but it was of no use. One fellow drew his tulwar, which he had in addition to his regimental sabre, and made a cut at my leg. Fortunately, I managed to guard it. Some of the men tried to catch at my reins; and seeing that it was all up, and that half the regiment was mounted, I rode through them, and galloped off towards the artillery, to warn them that our men were in open mutiny. I must tell you that the artillery lines are between the 36th native infantry. Before I had left the lines, some of our men came at me and rode across the road after me, close up to the barracks. I rode up to the orderly room, and told the first person I met, who happened to be Hill, what had occurred, and told him to go off to the brigadier and warn him. I then rode back into our lines along the front of the horse lines, and found that almost all the men had made off. As I reached the horse lines of the 1st troop I was overtaken by our quartermaster-sergeant, who told me that Macmullen had been shot by one of our men. I instantly went off with the sergeant, and found poor Macmullen with some of the other officers between the men and horse lines of the 6th troop. He was wounded in the hand. Just at this time there was a rush made towards us by part of our men, and, seeing that to remain was only to sacrifice our lives uselessly, I prevailed on Macmullen to leave the lines and proceed to the artillery barracks, which was the rendezvous. On reaching the barracks, where all the ladies were congregated, we found poor Bagshawe, the adjutant of the 36th, had just been brought in severely wounded. It appears that some of our men rode off to the 36th and 61st lines, and attempted to cut down all the officers they saw. They wounded three officers in the 61st, and one in the 36th; the scene at the barracks was one of the utmost confusion—ladies, children, servants, and soldiers all mixed up together. An order was given for the ladies, children, &c., to be taken to a barrack nearer the gun-sheds; and off they went, my wife in an awful state, and our little boy sitting on my holster-pipe. We had nearly got them into their new quarters, when file firing commenced from the direction of the 36th lines, the shot whistling through the artillery lines. Shortly after the firing commenced, some of our men made a dash at the guns, but were received with a couple of rounds of grape and a smart volley of musketry, which stopped them. I was standing in view of the guns, and saw the wretches sheer off to the right. There is no doubt that they fully expected the native horse artillery to join them; and I am told that they shouted to them to do so; but this I did not hear myself.

"The native troop were, by a judicious arrangement, so dovetailed with the European troops, and, in addition, had a company of the 8th foot to look after them, that had they wished it they could not have sold us. We were troubled no more by the mutineers, who seemed to have commenced their march to Phillour, on finding that it was hopeless to attempt to take our guns. The hours passed slowly enough till morning; and, to make matters still more uncomfortable, we were treated to a sandstorm, which at once blinded and choked us. At 2 o'clock A.M. Macmullen and Farquharson went into our lines, and found many of our men there. They called the roll, and took the names of all the men who were present. This I did not know until afterwards. As soon as day broke, Ray (our riding-master) and I went to our standard guard, and, to my great delight, found that the guard had remained at their post, and our standards were safe. I had been up to the guard during the night, but could not hear or see a soul, and concluded that they had also gone off. We went to the men's lines, turned them out, and took the muster; the result was, that we found 156 men, not including the native non-commissioned officers, were present; doubtless many of them had gone off and returned.

"We had ninety troopers on furlough, so that just one squadron of the regiment has joined the mutineers. However, I have now no confidence in any native. Some of our best men have proved the most active in this miserable business. A

rough rider in my troop, who had been riding my charger in the morning, and had played with my little child, was one of the men who charged the guns; he was wounded, and had the impudence to go up to our hospital. On taking the muster in the morning, we compared it with the one which was taken by Farquharson, and found that a native officer and ten men had returned subsequently to the muster being taken. These we made over to a party of the 8th foot. We tried them by a drum-head court-martial, and had them shot. We received an order to make over all the horses and arms that remained to the artillery. The men were ordered to give up their arms, and did it. It was a cruel sight, and we all felt it most bitterly. These were men in whom we had implicit confidence.

"The 6th has now virtually ceased to exist. Our horses are all being given to irregulars, or being draughted into the artillery, and our men guard their lines with bludgeons. It seems, that after their attack on the guns, finding that the native troop would not join them, the whole of the mutineers left this station, and marched for Phillour; and I believe the larger number of them were out of this station by two in the morning. When the mutiny commenced, we telegraphed to Phillour to break the bridge of boats, to prevent the rascals crossing; but, the men at Phillour being all asleep, the message was passed on to Umballah, to be telegraphed back to Phillour in case the wire between this and Phillour should be cut, which was done very shortly after the message was sent. I am perfectly certain that our men went in a panic; some, of course, were bad; but many galloped off, believing what they were told—viz., that the guns and 8th foot, with the Kapootallah rajah's men, were coming down on them; and then, feeling that they had compromised themselves, they feared to return."

The intended warning to the authorities at Phillour failed for the reason alleged, and the consequence was, that the mutineers from Jullundur were actually at the station before their revolt was known. The men of the 3rd regiment did not hesitate to make common cause with the rebels, and at once set out with them for Delhi—first, however, assuring their officers that their persons should be respected; and they appear to have acted in accordance with such assurance, as no personal injury was sustained by any one, although the whole of the European families were completely in their power, if they had chosen to exercise a vindictive spirit. The officer in command at Phillour at the time, writes from Simla on the 23rd of July, in reference to the occurrence, thus:—"I could have managed my own regiment, had not the three regiments at Jullundur—viz., the 6th cavalry, 36th and 61st native infantry, mutinied, and fallen back on us. The telegraph wires were cut; so I got no information of the Jullundur corps coming our way till they were almost on our parade. I got my family, and the families of all the Europeans then in cantonments, off to the fort, which had latterly been garrisoned by a hundred men of her majesty's 8th foot.

"On going to parade, I found the officers could not get the men to turn out and form in any numbers; and as fast as they got a few here and there, others went back to the lines. Seeing the case was hopeless, we retired to the fort, myself and other officers on foot. Our men had always said, 'Happen what would, not one of us should be hurt while they lived.' This is all I can say for my men: they kept their word; for had they liked, they could have murdered every man, woman, and child before I got them out of the cantonments. On reaching the fort, I found everyone safe. A few days after, the families of all officers were ordered off to the hills, and I arranged for my wife and children coming here. A few days later I got a letter from the general, saying, that as the fort was garrisoned by her majesty's corps, he wished the command to rest with the officer of that regiment, and, as my corps was gone, I might proceed on leave; so I followed my family.

"Some 80 of my men remained stanch, and I had a company on duty at Delhi; making 180. Stanch, 180; Sikhs, also in the regiment, 75; sepoys away on furlough, 150: total left, out of the 1,000 men of the 3rd regiment, 405."

It certainly appears strange—although it may admit of a satisfactory explanation—that, with a fort in his immediate neighbourhood, garrisoned by 100 men of her majesty's 8th regiment, and the 80 of his own corps that "remained stanch," this officer should so unresistingly have acquiesced in the quiet and unobstructed desertion of his regiment. It may be fairly

assumed, that permission to retire from active duty, "on leave," at such a crisis, may have been only an inevitable consequence of such acquiescence.

The opportunities afforded for recounting incidents of such bloodless ebullitions of disaffection as those exhibited at Jullundur and Phillour, are but rare throughout the wild progress of the Indian rebellion; the pages of its history being far oftener shaded by the sombre hues of a desolating and indiscriminating vengeance, than brightened by the lighter tints of human feeling, or the recognised usages of modern warfare.

In connection with the mutiny at Jullundur, the following graphic letter of an officer of the 60th regiment of native infantry, stationed at Umballah, will probably be deemed entitled to attention. We shall best preserve the interest of the narrative by following the text of the gallant writer, without interrupting it by comment. Writing on the 15th of July, from Umballah, he says —"One day I was hastily summoned to a council of war, and learnt that the troops at Jullundur had mutinied, consisting of three regiments, a cavalry corps, and two guns, and that they were marching on us; so, with my 100 men, I was ordered to defend the left flank of cantonments—not a pleasant duty, as I should be a mile away from the rest of the Europeans in the fort, and my men had been whispering ominously among themselves. The next afternoon some troops were perceived advancing; the dust was so great, that their numbers could not be ascertained. Directly the alarm was sounded, every man took refuge in the church, while I rode away to my lines. However, I put on a good face, and being mounted on a capital horse of Colonel Seaton's, I soon reached the lines, and turned the men out. They were very eager, and talked amazingly of what they would do; but I thought very differently, and determined to fight on horseback. However, it turned out a false alarm, the troops being friends; but as they filed under the guns of the fort, a European artilleryman requested leave to give them some 'grape,' saying, 'Sure they are niggers.' All that night I patrolled by myself, being more afraid of my own sentries than any enemy; however, like all nights, it at last came to an end; and I felt like another man when daylight came and no enemy; for I do not think I am maligning my men when I say, that had an enemy appeared, they would have shot me and joined the rebels. That morning information was received, that General Johnstone, from Jullundur, was pursuing them, and that the 61st native infantry had separated, and was sneaking along the foot of the hills by by-roads, and thus trying to get to Delhi. Two companies of Europeans were immediately ordered in carts to intercept them in the Malka-road, and I volunteered to go with them, and was appointed aide-de-camp and quartermaster to the force. I had previously volunteered for Delhi, for a volunteer troop of cavalry and a volunteer troop of infantry, and had been invariably refused. We did not start till 1 P.M., a wind blowing as hot as the breath from a furnace. There were no carts for us, and we had to ride. The officer commanding got struck by the sun, and two others fell sick, so at last I was left by myself. We did not halt all day; and at about 11 P.M., my pony having outstepped the carts, I was about a mile ahead, and passing through a nasty brushwood, and thinking what a place it would be for a surprise, when a volley of musketry came on one side. I pulled up, clutched that invaluable weapon 'Colt,' and listened. The night was as dark as ink, and all quiet and still again. I listened for the carts, but could not hear them, and was surprised to find how I had unconsciously wandered away from them. Just then I faintly heard the bugle sounding the 'assembly,' followed by the 'double:' putting spurs to my 'tat' I flew back, and found that the enemy were close by, and we were going to foot it after them. A party was put on some elephants and sent ahead, but those on foot declared they would get on first, and set off at about five miles an hour. I got off my elephant and fell-in with them, and we had a hottish walk, beating the elephants hollow. I was afterwards called out, and sent on ahead to where the commissioner was to give orders; so I galloped off, and found the said gentleman in an unpleasant state of fear, and so disordered in mind that he could give no orders, except that Mr. Forsyth (civilian) had come upon the rebels, and that his men had all bolted, and Forsyth had taken refuge in a walled town. I took the liberty of ordering dinner for six, sharp, and carried back this intelligence, and strongly advised pushing on eight miles more to relieve Forsyth. We all arrived at the bungalow, and then the commissioner kept saying that we were too late by three hours. So

we ate our dinner at 1 A.M., and, putting my saddle for a pillow, I turned-in on the floor. In about an hour I was awoke, and told we were going on to relieve Forsyth; so we all got up, weary and tired, having had just enough sleep to make us wish for more. We reached Forsyth, and heard we were just too late again; but he had carriage for fifty men, he said, if we were game to pursue, and he offered fifty rupees for every head brought in; so of course all volunteered, but only fifty were chosen, and the officers drew lots for it. The commanding officer told me to do as I liked, so I volunteered and attached myself to Forsyth as deputy-assistant, and found him a jolly companion, and a resolute, energetic man. He mounted me on his elephant, and, the men being all likewise mounted, we started at 6 A.M. after the rebels. The heat was fearful that day, and the road nothing more than a track over dazzling, drifting sand. After marching for two hours, a temporary halt for water was called, and I was thinking how lucky I was to have a flask of brandy with me, when Forsyth offered me claret. I was delighted of course to find myself attached to one who marched with claret. We did not halt again till 12 P.M., and then found the rebels still ahead, but very close.

"Forsyth then asked me to make a 'dour' twenty miles on horseback, and try to reach a police-station before the rebels, and check them till the Europeans could arrive. As I had no good horse, he lent me a government artillery horse, as it was imperatively necessary to be well mounted in case of having to bolt. He rode a beautiful Arab, and, buckling on swords and pistols, and slinging our rifles on our backs, away we went as hard as we could, with an escort of ten mounted natives. We were meeting the wind, and the heat was insufferable; the wind dried me up, and blistered my face almost to suffocation; still, 'forward' we cried, and in a state of mad excitement we hammered along, our poor horses suffering greatly, mine especially; however, I never mounted a gamer animal; he would not allow the Arab to be one inch ahead of him. The escort had fallen to the rear, and were nowhere. Still we flew along, and at last reached a fort, and, summoning up the head man, demanded intelligence. He lied to us, and tried to break our scent, so he was hung there and then, and another fined 1,000 rupees. After having been so merciful we started afresh, and actually rode right through the 61st native infantry, who were eating their dinners, when a cry arose of 'Two Europeans!' They immediately fled to the jungle. We, observing places for cooking, and fires burning, thought they must be just ahead, and dashed forwards with renewed speed. I never could understand why they spared us, except that they were chased off their legs, and had lost all pluck and heart. Just beyond we came to a nullah, with steep banks. We charged it abreast, without looking to see what it was, and took it exactly together; but my horse had not the blood of the Arab, and was done. He reached the other side, but his hind legs slipped back, and over he went to the bottom. I got bruised from the lock of the rifle entering my back; but it was softish ground, so I scrambled up and soon remounted; but the horse was nearly done for; still he gallantly held out for five miles more, when we entered the police-station, and then he lay down and died. I got some rice to eat, almost the first thing I had tasted since I left Umballah. We laid down and got a bit of rest, all owing to my poor horse; for if he had not failed, we should have ridden on and destroyed a bridge over the Jumna. The detachment soon arrived, and we let them rest a little, seeing nothing of any rebels. After our dinner, Forsyth and I were once more in the saddle, and ready to proceed. I was on my white pony. No mounted men would come with us unless we promised to ride like men in their senses. As it was pitch dark, we promised, and off we went for fifteen miles more. We went very quietly at first, Forsyth's Arab as fresh as if he had not been out of the stable for a month. We soon increased our speed, and at last were in a sharp canter, to the horror of the men behind. One man was very troublesome, and would persist in keeping close by me, making my pony very fidgety and warlikely inclined; so, at last, I paid him out beautifully, though quite by accident. We came suddenly on a great fissure across the road. It was too late to stop, so I rode at it, and reached the other side all right. The native behind me did not see it, and rode right into it. I heard a heavy fall and cry of 'I'm killed!' but we only laughed, and rode on and saw no more of the escort. Just before we arrived at the little station we rode through a clump of

trees, and a low bough caught Forsyth, who was thrown. I caught his horse, and we rode quietly on, and got in just in time to warn Plowden (civil servant.) The next morning, the fall, combined with fatigue and heat, prostrated Forsyth, and, not willing to leave him in the jungle, I stayed with him, and returned to Umballah the next night, having been out three days, two of which, night and day, had been incessant marching; but the sun had no effect upon me, and no one stood it better, if so well, as I did. I only changed the skin on my face and hands. Perhaps the excitement is good for me; but certainly it seems to me to be the coolest hot weather altogether that I have experienced. On my return, I heard the news of the mutiny of our regiment. They are all gone! The men that we so trusted; my own men, with whom I have shot, played cricket, jumped, and entered into all their sports, and treated them kindly. They mutinied at Bhotuck. It was a hard trial their being sent there, only three marches from Delhi. While there they received hundreds of letters from the rebels to come over to them. So, on the 11th of June, they rushed on the drummers. The officers were collected in the mess-tent when the regiment came up, fired a volley through it, miraculously hitting no one, and then off they went. The officers rushed out, got on their horses, and bolted to Delhi to join the camp. Shebbeare refused to leave them at first, hoping to bring them round again, and trusted to his great popularity to get off; but their looks were so murderous that he soon walked off, and, when told by them to quicken his pace, told them that he would not put himself out for any of them. They then looted the mess, smashed all the mess-plate, carried off all our silver of every description, plundered the wine, took the treasure chest, and, after hanging a policeman who had hid their camels, they marched for Delhi. But the officers arrived first, and gave information, and all the guns were laid for the gate by which they would enter; so as they approached they were awfully cut up, and the 9th lancers swept down upon them, so that the left wing was annihilated. The next day the rebels made a fierce attack upon the camp, and the 60th were told to lead, and were cut up almost to a man. Miraculous to say, this is the only station that has escaped a massacre, and it was a touch-and-go here; few knew their danger until it was over; even now we dare not go to church. Sunday here is a day when revolvers and two-barrelled guns are by our sides. What has kept us afloat so long is the constant passing of Europeans, and the rajah of Putteeala, who is for us at present; but if he were to go we should have to fight our way either to Delhi or Loodiana—the latter is only six marches, and then we can drop down the Sutlej to Mooltan; but I hope it will not come to that; for fancy the ladies, who have all been ordered up to the hills! some thousands of them.

"I have got into the habit of sleeping so lightly, that a cat walking across the room would wake me. Under my pillow is a revolver and a suit of mud-coloured clothes, in which I am at night nearly invisible; my sword by the bed, and rifle and gun in the corner; so I think I could manage a few of them if they came. All I want now is a good horse, and then I am game for anything. * * * We have had that terrible scourge the cholera. It has been raging here with frightful violence for two months; but, thank God, has now left us without harming the 'sahibs.' It seemed a judgment on the natives. They were reeling about and falling dead in the streets, and no one to remove them. Now it is all over. It is the only time we have looked on it as an 'ally,' though it has carried off many soldiers, two native officers, and six policemen, who were guarding prisoners. All fell dead at the same place. As one dropped another stepped forward and took his place, and so on the whole lot. We have just disarmed the natives here, and got three cartloads of weapons from them. I have applied for leave of absence for all the men left here under my command. If granted, I shall be free and able to join my officers in the camp. I am looking forward to my furlough, or rather sick certificate, or something—sick, indeed, of India and its army of murderers. This dâk is going round by Mooltan, Kurrachee, and back to Bombay. Three sepoys to be executed this evening. We have blown away a great number from guns; in fact, we show them every week what they will get."

The hand of retributive justice was by this time uplifted, and the sword ready to fall upon the guilty perpetrators of unprovoked and hitherto unparalleled crimes; and it was at Ferozepore and Peshawur

that the presence of the avenger was first impressively manifested to the actors and abettors of a career of treason and murder. At the former place, it will be remembered, the men of the 45th regiment of native infantry had broken into revolt, and attacked the Magazine fort during the morning of the 13th of May.* They were, however, repulsed by a detachment of her majesty's 61st regiment, and finally driven out of the cantonment; but not before they had committed great depredation, and wantonly destroyed much property of the Europeans at the station. Some of the mutineers were taken prisoners; and as an example was necessary, to deter the other troops from following their example, a number of them were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death.

On the morning of the 13th of June, exactly one month from the mutinous outbreak by which the destruction of the whole European community at Ferozepore was to have been accomplished, a huge gallows was erected at the south-east end of the Suddur Bazaar, and north of the Old Fort, the side at which the rebels had effected an entry. All the available troops, and persons belonging to public departments at the station, were collected to witness the scene. On three sides of the area, of which the gallows formed the centre, the troops were stationed in the following order:—On the east a squadron of the 10th native light cavalry, the remnant of the disbanded 37th regiment of native infantry, and some persons belonging to the commissariat and magazine departments: on the south, her majesty's 61st regiment and the artillery, with twelve guns loaded and portfires lighted: and, on the west, the city and cantonment armed police. When the hour arrived for the execution of the sentence, twenty-four of the mutineers, wearing irons, were brought into the centre of the area by a guard of the 61st regiment, one of them being carried in a dhooly, in consequence of a wound received by him in the attack upon the fort. Lieutenant Hoggan, adjutant of the 61st, then, by order of the brigadier, read aloud the proceedings and sentence of the court-martial, and, at its close, announced to the condemned, that if any among them would become queen's evidence, the brigadier would reprieve them. The sight of the preparations for an otherwise inevitable punishment, had an instantaneous effect upon twelve of the miserable wretches, who declared their readiness to inform against the ringleaders of the movement, and also to divulge the secret as to the origin and object of the revolt. These men were immediately marched to the rear of the artillery, from whence they were compelled to witness the fate of their more inflexible comrades. Of the latter, two were then led, or rather taken to the gallows, one of them being the wounded man. Each of them ascended the ladder with a firm step, and without betraying the slightest indication of terror at the fate they had provoked. On gaining the platform, they coolly adjusted the ropes with their own hands in silence; their arms were then pinioned, and their eyes bandaged, and in another second they were suspended in the air. With one, death appeared to be instantaneous; but the wounded culprit struggled for some time, as the knot had slipped from its position, and the hangman had to readjust it, and again launch him from the platform before his death was accomplished.

As soon as this, the first act of the tragedy, had been performed, the remaining ten prisoners were marched up to the guns, and their irons were struck off, previous to their being bound to the muzzles of the terrible implements of destruction. While being freed from their shackles, some of them appealed to the brigadier for mercy, exclaiming, "Do not sacrifice the innocent for the guilty!" Two others indignantly cried out to these, "Hold your tongues!—die like men, not cowards! You defended your religion, why then do you crave your lives? Sahibs!—they are not sahibs, they are dogs!" Others upbraided the commanding officer, saying, "He released the havildar-major, who was chief of the rebels." By this time the process of fastening them to the guns had been completed. The commandant then gave the word, "Ready—Fire!"—and instantaneously the ten miserable wretches were scattered in bloody fragments over the ground.

As the smoke cleared away from the horrible scene, the view to the spectators was overpowering: many of the firmest nerved were shaken by a glance at the carnage that lay around and before them. The native lookers-on—and they were numerous—appeared awe-stricken, and, according to the description of one of the officers, "not only trembled like aspen-

* See *ante*, p. 119.

leaves, but their colour actually changed into unnatural hues." Unfortunately, this execution was attended by a series of accidents, that rendered it painfully impressive upon others than those for whose just punishment it was required.

In the first place, precaution had not been taken to remove the sponge and loadmen from their proper station near the muzzle of the guns; and the consequence was, that they were bespattered with blood, and bruised by the scattered limbs of the prisoners—one man in particular being struck down by a heavy fragment of one of the mutilated bodies, and severely injured by the contusion. The next mishap was yet more disastrous in its consequences. An order had been given that the guns should be loaded with blank cartridge only; but, by oversight or neglect, one or two of them were charged with grapeshot. In the direction in which the guns were pointed, a number of spectators, supposed to be out of the range of blank cartridge, had assembled, and amongst them the grapeshot was scattered with distressing effect. Five were carried off the ground, severely, if not dangerously, wounded; two others were shot through the thigh, and three more in various parts. All were promptly conveyed to the station hospital; and of some, the limbs had to suffer amputation.

The execution of these mutineers was but an instalment of the just vengeance that the crimes of their race had provoked. In the evening of the same day, two ruffians, who had taken advantage of the disturbed state of the district to commit depredations upon the roads, were summarily tried, convicted, and hung at the gaol: from their capture to their death, three hours had not elapsed! On the 14th of June, the trials of the deserters from the 16th and 49th native regiments were proceeded with, and the various sentences accorded to them were instantly carried into execution. Some mitigating circumstances in the conduct of the men of the 57th regiment, rendered a sentence of imprisonment sufficient, in their case, to satisfy the requirements of justice.*

PESHAWUR.—At this place also, although as yet preserved from the ferocious outrages of a sepoy revolt, there were sufficient reasons, about the beginning of June, for apprehending that the immunity from danger would not be of long continuance. It had, by some means, been made known to the officer in command of the station, that a total massacre of the Europeans was contemplated, and that its execution had been fixed for the 23rd of May; but, for some reason not explained, had been deferred. With a conviction of the perfect truth of this information, it would have been perfectly suicidal to have allowed the troops implicated in the frightful project to retain possession of their arms, if ever they were allowed to be at liberty; but the disarming of four regiments was not a feat to be undertaken without some danger of failure, or without precautions for neutralising its effect, should the failure actually occur. At the time this necessary step was resorted to, the position of the 2,000 Europeans at this station was as follows:—

The native force in cantonments at Peshawur consisted of the 21st, 24th, 27th, 51st, and 64th regiments of Bengal native infantry, and the 5th light cavalry. The cantonment in which this host was quartered, was filled to repletion with vagabonds and camp-followers of the vilest description. The city itself was thronged with a disaffected rabble, ripe for any atrocity; and in a chain of forts surrounding the station, were four other native regiments, all animated by the same spirit of hostility to the Europeans, and only waiting the signal to concentrate upon their prey, and carry out the sanguinary purpose of the whole body. Beyond the line of forts the station was again encircled by hills, swarming with Mohammedan fanatics, who thirsted for the blood of the Christians, and were known to be in communication with the embryo mutineers; and to add to the difficulty of the European residents, the country people, to whom the intended rising of the 22nd of May was well known, had refused to furnish supplies of provisions; and, being in daily expectation of the destruction of the Feringhees, no longer cared to have any intercourse with them, or to minister to their wants. It was obvious this state of existence could not be endured long after its reality had become apparent; and, by the judicious and energetic measures adopted, the evil was remedied, and the cause of disquietude removed.† It yet, however, remained to punish such of the guilty contemplators of a wholesale massacre as, by

* See *ante*, pp. 120, 121.

† See *ante*, p. 124.

their conduct, had put themselves beyond the pale of forgiveness.

At the time the regiments in Peshawur were deprived of their arms without offering resistance, the men of the 56th native infantry, occupying the adjacent fort of Murdan, were also required to surrender their arms; and the result was a furious mutinous outbreak, during which a reckless disregard of life and property was as usual exhibited. Upon the arrival of Colonel Nicholson with a sufficient force of Europeans to compel obedience, it was found, that in addition to other calamities produced by the misconduct of the regiment, its commanding officer, Colonel Spottiswoode, had, in a paroxysm of frenzy and disgust, terminated a life of honour by an act of suicide. The rebels had the audacity to offer battle to the men with Colonel Nicholson, and the offer was eagerly accepted to their cost; for after the first discharge of musketry, their hearts failed them, and they sought to escape in every direction. This, however, could not be permitted; 150 of them were shot down in the momentary contest; others were made prisoners; and of these, several were tried by drum-head court-martial as soon as the contest had ceased, and were at once consigned to the death they merited. Some few of the mutineers fled before their pursuers into the hills, and were dispatched by the hill-men for the sake of a reward of ten rupees per head.

Of the prisoners taken during this affair, it became of course requisite, for the better instruction of the inhabitants of Peshawur and the adjacent district, that an example should be made; and, like that at Ferozepore, it was a terrible one. On the 11th of June, forty of the sanguinary demons that would have revelled in the hearts' blood of their too long confiding friends, were marched to the parade-ground of the cantonment at Peshawur, where a square of troops had been formed, with ten guns loaded and pointed outward. The usual formalities were observed as to the proceedings of the court-martial, the sentence, &c., and then ten of the miscreants were bound to the guns, and, at a signal, the horrible salvo was fired. Without clearing away the mutilated and shattered fragments that lay around, the guns were again prepared—a second ten were bound—and again a shower of blood and human fragments marred the light of the sun. Twice more was this awful scene repeated; and twice again was retributive justice exhibited in its most fearful aspect. In one of the sections of ten that were thus to be destroyed, there were two prisoners who, from terror or, it might have been, some yet lingering hope of mercy, refused to be bound to the guns, and, in their desperation, struggled hard with the men appointed to place them before the engines of destruction. With this insane conduct there could be but one way of dealing; and the painful scene, thus aggravated by unavailing resistance, was terminated by throwing the two men upon the ground, and discharging the contents of two muskets through their heads. The appalling business of the morning was then proceeded with; and at its close, such of the native troops as were present, were marched round the field of slaughter, and dismissed to their lines, thoroughly, if not usefully, impressed with the importance of the terrible lesson they had received. The result of this decisive conduct on the part of the commandant, Colonel Edwardes, C.B., was quickly apparent in the altered demeanour of the native inhabitants and the people of the valley, who now hastened to renew a friendly intercourse with the Europeans, and evinced wonderful activity in furnishing supplies of all kinds of necessaries almost gratuitously, that a few days previous they would not produce for any amount of money, or, in short, for any consideration whatever, if they were required by the Europeans, or by those connected with them.

Of the terrible exhibition thus briefly described, the following account is rendered in a letter from Peshawur, which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for November, 1857:—

"It was an awfully imposing scene. All the troops, European and native, armed and disarmed, loyal and disaffected, were drawn up on parade, forming three sides of a square; and drawn up very carefully, you may be sure, so that any attempt on the part of the disaffected to rescue the doomed prisoners would have been easily checked. Forming the fourth side of the square, were drawn up the guns (9-pounders), ten in number, which were to be used for the execution. The prisoners, under a strong European guard, were then marched into the square, their crimes and sentences read aloud to them, and at the head of each regi-

ment; they were then marched round the square, and up to the guns. The first ten were picked out, their eyes were bandaged, and they were bound to the guns—their backs leaning against the muzzles, and their arms fastened to the wheels. The portfires were lighted, and at a signal from the artillery-major, the guns were fired. It was a horrid sight that then met the eye; a regular shower of human fragments of heads, of arms, of legs, appeared in the air through the smoke; and when that cleared away, these fragments lying on the ground—fragments of Hindoos and fragments of Mussulmans, all mixed together—were all that remained of those ten mutineers. Three times more was this scene repeated; but so great is the disgust we all feel for the atrocities committed by the rebels, that we had no room in our hearts for any feeling of pity; perfect callousness was depicted on every European's face; a look of grim satisfaction could even be seen in the countenances of the gunners serving the guns. But far different was the effect on the native portion of the spectators; their black faces grew ghastly pale as they gazed breathlessly at the awful spectacle. You must know that this is nearly the only form in which death has any terrors for a native. If he is hung, or shot by musketry, he knows that his friends or relatives will be allowed to claim his body, and will give him the funeral rites required by his religion; if a Hindoo, that his body will be burned with all due ceremonies; and if a Mussulman, that his remains will be decently interred, as directed in the Koran. But if sentenced to death in this form, he knows that his body will be blown into a thousand pieces, and that it will be altogether impossible for his relatives, however devoted to him, to be sure of picking up all the fragments of his own particular body; and the thought that perhaps a limb of some one of a different religion to himself might possibly be burned or buried with the remainder of his own body, is agony to him. But notwithstanding this, it was impossible for the mutineers' direst hater not to feel some degree of admiration for the way in which they met their deaths. Nothing in their lives became them like the leaving of them. Of the whole forty, only two showed any signs of fear; and they were bitterly reproached by the others for so disgracing their race. They certainly died like men. After the first ten had been disposed of, the next batch, who had been looking on all the time, walked up to the guns quite calmly and unfalteringly, and allowed themselves to be blindfolded and tied up without moving a muscle, or showing the slightest signs of fear, or even concern. Whence had these men this strength? Their religion, bad as it may be and is, in all other points, at least befriends them well at the hour of death; it teaches them well that great and useful lesson, how to die."

The beneficial effect of the plan adopted at Peshawur for the instruction of the disaffected, was not confined to the immediate locality, or to the population around it, as may be inferred from a communication of Colonel Edwardes, dated from that place between the 21st of June and the 6th of July, in which the gallant officer thus expresses his view of the state of local affairs at that period:—

"This post, so far from being more arduous in future, will be more secure. Events here have taken a wonderful turn. During peace, Peshawur was an incessant anxiety. Now it is the strongest point in India. We have struck two great blows—we have disarmed our own troops, and raised levies of all the people of the country. The troops are confounded; they calculated on being backed by the people. The people are delighted, and a better feeling has sprung up between them and us in this enlistment than has ever been obtained before. I have also called on my old country, the Deragât, and it is quite delightful to see how the call is answered. Two thousand horsemen, formerly in my army at Mooltan, are now moving on different points, according to order, to help us in this difficulty; and every post brings me remonstrances from chiefs as to why they have been forgotten. What fault have they committed that they are not sent for? This is really gratifying. It is the heart of a people. It does one good all through. The Peshawurees had often heard that I had been grateful in getting rewards for my followers after the Mooltan war; but they were not prepared to see such a demonstration from the other end of the Soolimanee mountains. It excites their better feelings, and will do them good too. All yesterday I was busy fitting out 700 horse and foot levies (Mooltanee) to reinforce Nicholson at Jullundur. How all the liberality shown to these Mooltanese after

the war of 1848-'49 is now repaid, in the alacrity with which they rush to our side again to help us! They are now invaluable, and so glad to see me again; it is quite a pleasure in the midst of this howling wilderness."

RHONEE.—About the time the stern but imperatively called-for measures we have recorded were progressing in one division of the great presidency of Bengal, ample grounds for the introduction of somewhat similar correction were daily obtruded upon the attention of government in other directions. At Rhonee (Deoghur), a small station in the Sonthal district, garrisoned by a company of the 32nd regiment of native infantry, and a portion of the 5th irregular cavalry (the whole under the command of Major Macdonald, of the latter corps), a sudden and murderous attack was made, in the evening of the 12th of June, upon three of the officers at the station, which resulted in the death of one, and the severe and dangerous mutilation of the others, under the following extraordinary circumstances:—

On the evening mentioned, the three officers—namely, Major Macdonald, Lieutenant Sir Norman Leslie, and assistant-surgeon Grant, also of the 5th irregulars—were sitting together in the verandah of the major's house. The night was dark and cloudy, and the moon was not yet up, when, shortly before nine o'clock, as Dr. Grant rose from his seat, and was turning to enter the house, his attention was attracted by hasty footsteps. He had scarcely time to exclaim, "Who can these fellows be?" when, on the instant, three men, in the undress of troopers, rushed into the verandah with their swords drawn, and furiously attacked the three unarmed men. The assassin who struck Sir Norman Leslie, threw such vigour into his blow, that the unfortunate gentleman was cut down from the shoulder to the chest; another aimed at the head of the major, whose scalp was completely taken off; and the third selected for his victim Dr. Grant, whom he severely wounded in the arm and hip. The lieutenant, deprived of all power by the magnitude of the injury, fell from his chair to linger a short time and die. Major Macdonald seized the chair on which he had been seated, and used it to defend himself against successive attacks of the murderers, one of whom he struck a blow that induced him to retreat from the place: the miscreant was quickly followed by his companions; and the major and Dr. Grant made their way, streaming with blood, into the house, and gave an alarm. The whole affair was so sudden, and so entirely unexpected, that, at the moment, pursuit of the assassins was unthought of.

Upon recovering from the surprise occasioned by the attack, the major and Dr. Grant went back to the verandah, to see after Lieutenant Leslie, whose condition is thus described by his gallant commander:—"We found poor Leslie stretched on the ground, in a dying state. He must have received his death-blow the first cut, and have fallen forward on his face, for he was cut clean through his back into his chest, and breathing through the wound in the lungs; also many cuts on the head: he was quite sensible, and said, as I bent over him, 'Oh, Macdonald, it is very hard to die in this manner!'—and added, 'My poor wife and children! what will become of them?' I told him he had only a few minutes to live, and to make his peace with God, and that all should be done for his poor wife and family that could be done. Under such fearful circumstances he then applied himself to make his peace with God, poor fellow! and breathed his last in about half-an-hour afterwards."

The surprise and consternation occasioned by this sanguinary attack was so great, that some time elapsed before the servants of the house could be prevailed upon to go to the lines (a short distance from the house) and alarm the soldiers. To the credit of the latter, the major states that, as soon as the men were acquainted with the cowardly transaction, every man off duty crowded round his bungalow, all evincing sympathy, and expressing horror and detestation of the murderous act that had perilled the life of their commandant, and had actually deprived another officer of existence.

Any attempt to trace or pursue the ruffians by whom the savage attack had been perpetrated, was now useless. Some of the troopers, nevertheless, rode off to Deoghur, about two miles from Rhonee, where they found everything perfectly quiet. A detachment of the 32nd regiment (of which the head-quarters were established at Deoghur) were immediately marched over for the protection of the major and his station; but the former at once sent them back, as he considered the hundred men he already had in the lines, quite suf-

ficient for that purpose; and the men themselves declared they were more than a match for any odds that might appear, composed of such miscreants.

Neither Major Macdonald or Dr. Grant were dangerously, although badly wounded. One of the blows aimed at the major took off his scalp, which was found next morning near the scene of outrage. For a short time, it was supposed the three assassins were some of the disbanded sepoys who were prowling about the district, and trying to instil their mischievous doctrines into the Sonthals; the object being to induce the troops to join them by first removing the obstacles in the way of revolt, presented by the watchfulness of the European officers, who were, therefore, to be murdered out of the way.

On the 14th of June, an official communication referring to this lamentable affair, was made to the adjutant-general by Captain Watson, second in command of the 5th irregular cavalry. In this report, the incidents of the murderous attack are related; and the detail thus proceeds:—"Major Macdonald had his head cut open and was insensible when the express was dispatched to me, four hours after the occurrence; the assistant-surgeon received two cuts, one on the arm and one on the leg; and Lieutenant Sir Norman Leslie was cut down from both shoulders to the waist, and expired in about half-an-hour. A guard was at the major's quarters; but the sentry says he saw nothing of the men, who escaped immediately after attacking the officers. The Woordie major of the regiment assembled all the men who were present, and examined their swords, which were perfectly clean. As far as I can judge, none of the men seem to have been implicated in any way."

On the 15th, Captain Watson forwarded to the adjutant-general a copy of a letter sent him on the 13th by Major Macdonald, describing the murderous affair thus:—

"I am as fairly and neatly scalped as any Red Indian could do it. Grant got a brace of ugly cuts, but Leslie was literally cut to ribbons; he lived half-an-hour, poor fellow, and quietly died. We were sitting in front of my house, as usual, at 8 P.M., taking our tea, when three men rushed quickly upon us, and dealt us each a crack. I was scalped; Grant cut on the elbow; Leslie, sitting in his easy chair, appeared to fall at the first blow. I got three cracks on the head in succession before I knew I was attacked. I then seized my chair by the arms, and defended myself successfully from two of them on me at once; I guarded and struck the best I could, and, at last, Grant and self drove the cowards off the field. God only knows who they were and where they came from, but they were practised swordsmen. Leslie was buried with military honours, and had the burial service read over him at Deoghur, in Ronald's garden. This is against my poor head, writing; but you will be anxious to know how matters really were. I expect to be in high fever to-morrow. I have got a bad gash into the skull, besides being scalped. Grant and I have had the most miraculous escape from instant death. The men of the regiment are most attentive, and would sit up all last night round us. My poor head is aching, so I can write no more."—Captain Watson adds to this communication, that he has received a report of the occurrence from the civil commissioner of the district, and that he has great satisfaction in repeating the opinion of the latter official, "that the men of the 5th irregular cavalry are loyal, and not in the smallest degree suspected."

The mystery, however, that darkness had thrown around the perpetrators of the savage act, was not of long endurance. On the 15th, it was discovered that three troopers of the major's own regiment were the assassins by whom Sir Norman Leslie was foully murdered. The means by which they were detected, or the motives upon which they acted, are not stated; but summary justice was awarded the miscreants by drum-head court-martial on the 16th, and they were immediately hung in the presence of their comrades, within view of the scene of their butchery, and under the eyes of their surviving victims. Major Macdonald, whose good spirits, like his high courage, appear to have been indomitable, wrote on the same day to Captain Watson thus:—

"I received your kind note as I was sitting in my verandah, seeing the last struggles of our friends (the three assassins.) To tell you the truth, when we were attacked, I felt convinced that our own men did the deed, and I told the Woordie major so; but Grant thought otherwise, and I was only too glad to think our own men could not have had a hand in it. Yesterday evening two of the fellows were found with bloody clothes; and the third, who lived with a sick sowar, confessed he had done for

Leslie; and this was evidence enough. I had them in irons in a crack, held a drum-head court-martial, and convicted and sentenced them to be hanged this morning. I took on my own shoulders the responsibility of hanging them first and asking leave to do so afterwards. One of the fellows was of very high caste and influence; and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy by getting the lowest caste man to hang him. To tell you the truth, I never for a moment expected to leave the hanging scene alive; but I was determined to do my duty, and well knew the effect that pluck and decision had on the natives. The regiment was drawn out: wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting the ropes; and saw them looped to run easy. Two of the culprits were paralysed with fear and astonishment, never dreaming that I should dare to hang them without an order from government. The third said he would not be hanged, and called on the prophet and on his comrades to rescue him. This was an awful moment; an instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen of balls through me; so I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's ear, and said, with a look there was no mistake about, 'Another word out of your mouth, and your brains shall be scattered on the ground.' He trembled and held his tongue. The elephant came up; he was put on his back, the rope adjusted, the elephant moved, and he was left dangling. I then had the others up, and off in the same way; and after some time, when I had dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, and still found my head on my shoulders, I really could scarcely believe it. However, it is now all over. I have had a sad time of it, and but little able to go through such scenes, for I am very badly wounded; but, thank God, my spirits and pluck never left me for a moment. Grant says I am playing the dickey with my head, with all this work and bother. Certainly not! any strange officer with the men. I'd rather stay and die here first. There will be no more such scenes, depend upon it. You must make the report to army head-quarters. I think I must come in for fever. Thanks be to God for such a miraculous escape, and enabling me to go through all I have done. When you see my poor old head, you will wonder how I could hold it up at all. I have preserved my scalp in spirits of wine; such a jolly specimen!—I had hopes our men had no hand in it; but, after all, two were only recruits."

A correspondent of the *Hurkaru*, writing upon the subject of the execution, says—"When these scoundrels were being executed, they gave utterance to expressions that were most mutinous in their character. One of them cried, 'Which of you, my brethren, have the courage to rescue me from the hands of these dogs!' But the brave old major, who, despite his wounds, was sitting in his chair with his pistol in his hand, instantly and sternly exclaimed, as he pointed his weapon at the miserable assassin, 'One word more, and I will fire.' This decisive act settled the affair; not a voice was heard, and the execution proceeded without any further effort to interrupt it."

Throughout this extraordinary business, nothing appeared at the time upon which to found suspicion that it was in any manner connected with the object for which the mutineers of the Bengal army were in a state of general revolt; yet as, within two months of the occurrence, the sowars of the 5th irregular cavalry (to which regiment the assassins belonged) broke into mutiny at Bhaugulpore, Deoghur, Rhonee, and their other stations, it is more than probable, that the murderous attack upon their commanding officer and adjutant, was only part of a more comprehensive design, by which the lives of all the European officers would have been jeopardised, but which was happily frustrated by the impetuosity and subsequent cowardice of the miscreants employed to strike the first blow. At all events, the conduct of the regiment was so unexceptionable at the time, that the confidence of Major Macdonald in its loyalty was unshaken; and to mark his sense of their soldierlike behaviour, three of the non-commissioned officers were promoted, and rewarded with handsome gratuities; while, upon his recommendation, the Woordie major was presented by government with a handsome sword and belt, as a token of its approbation. The head-quarters of the regiment was then removed from Rhonee to Bhaugulpore, where it remained quietly until the period of its mutiny and desertion in the following August.

CHAPTER XXII.

GWALIOR; RECOGNISED AS A SUBSIDIARY STATE; LOYALTY OF THE MAHARAJAH; REVOLT OF THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT; MURDER OF OFFICERS; FLIGHT OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILIES; HAZARDOUS FIDELITY OF SCINDIA; FUTTEHPORE; EXCITEMENT OF THE POPULACE; DEFENCE AND ESCAPE OF EUROPEANS; TREACHERY OF A DEPUTY COLLECTOR; MURDER OF MR. TUCKER; BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF HIS REMAINS; BANDA; ARRIVAL OF MUTINEERS OF THE 6TH REGIMENT; THE LIVES OF THE EUROPEANS DEMANDED; PROTECTED BY THE RAJAH; ESCAPE TO NAGODE; REVOLT OF THE TROOPS, AND THEIR REVENGE; AURUNGABAD; INSPECTION OF THE TROOPS; REVOLT OF THE HYDERABAD CONTINGENT; CAPTAIN ABBOTT'S REPORT; CONCILIATORY MEASURES RECOMMENDED; ARRIVAL OF GENERAL WOODBURN'S COLUMN; THE CAVALRY DISARMED; FLIGHT OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILIES; RARE FIDELITY OF A MOHAMMEDAN TROOPER; PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION; CONCESSIONS TO THE NATIVE TROOPS AT CALCUTTA; DISAFFECTION AT CUTTACK; OCCURRENCES AT JUBBULPORE AND NAGPORE; FLIGHT FROM ARRAH; OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE; ALARM AT GYA; PRISONERS AT MIDNAPORE; THE PANIC AT TIRHOOT; MARTIAL LAW AT SARUN.

THE subsidiary state of Gwalior—formerly an independent principality of Central India—extends between lat. 21° 27′ N., and lon. 74° 79′ E., and is surrounded by the Rajpoor, Baroda, Indore, and Bundelcund dominions, and the Bengal and Bombay presidencies. It is now the dominion of the Maharajah Scindia, one of the most faithful and disinterested of our allies among the native chiefs of the Indian empire; and had become, early in June, infected by the malaria of religious animosity: its subsequent contribution to the ranks of the rebels and murderers of the Bengal army was merely a question of time and opportunity, which at length arrived.

The celebrated hill fortress of Gwalior, in the centre of the capital city of the same name, is situated upon a precipitous rock, about eighty miles southward from Agra, and at a short distance from a branch of the river Jumna. The hill on which the fortress is built is a mile and three-quarters in length, rising at its northern extremity to an elevation of 342 feet: a parapet of stone runs along its entire length, built close to the edge of the rock, the sides of which are almost perpendicular, and so difficult of scaling, that until it was taken by escalade by the troops under Major Popham, on the 3rd of August, 1780, it was deemed perfectly impregnable and secure from assault. The fortress was afterwards restored to its native prince; but, in 1804, it was again surrendered to the English, to be again relinquished; and upon this occurrence, the Mahratta chief, Scindia, made it his capital and seat of government. The position and natural strength of this stronghold always rendered it a military post of great importance. Under the Mogul dynasty it was used as a state prison, in which obnoxious members of the royal family were imprisoned, tortured, and murdered, as expediency required; and, on account of its presumed security from the attack of an enemy, it was also used as a grand depôt for artillery, ammunition, and military stores. The town, which surrounds the fortress, has externally a fine appearance, with its countless minarets glittering in the sun, and interspersed with luxuriant trees: it is unenclosed; but the streets can be shut by numerous gates, many of which possess great architectural beauty. The chief mosque, palace, and buildings within the citadel, are in the most ancient style of Hindoo architecture; and a fine tomb of a Mohammedan saint is erected on the east side of the city. In the sides of the rock upon which the fortress of Gwalior is built, are numerous excavations used as Hindoo temples, covered with sculptures and inscriptions.

The contest that terminated the independence of Gwalior, and eventually procured its recognition among the subsidiary states of India, was precipitated by the feuds and anarchy that had for some time prevailed among its native chiefs; and as the British government was bound by treaty with the late rajah to protect his successor and preserve his territory undivided, it was deemed necessary, in 1848, to take measures for the effectual promotion of those objects. The then governor-general (Lord Ellenborough) thereupon directed the necessary advance to be made upon the disturbed territory; and, after a succession of brilliant actions, the Mahrattas were finally defeated by Sir Hugh Gough, at Maharajpore, on the 29th of December, and the British troops again became masters of

the fortress and capital of the enemy. Under the auspices of the victorious government, the infant heir of the deceased rajah was forthwith installed, with great ceremony, in the presence of the British troops; and the state and its sovereign were alike taken under the protecting care of the government. By this act, tranquillity was for a time restored to the whole of our Indian empire; and the service rendered to the sovereign of the subdued territory, was destined to produce results that could not at the time be contemplated.

The loyalty of the maharajah of Gwalior had hitherto been tested by acts of the most unequivocal friendship to the English authorities; and but one opinion existed as to the reliance that could be placed upon his disinterested fidelity, in case an emergency should arise for its further development. A trial was, however, before him, that had there been the slightest wavering of principle in his mind, might suddenly have deprived the government of all the benefit assured to it by an alliance with a chief so universally popular as the Maharajah Scindia. The active services this prince had already rendered by placing the flower of his troops, including his own body-guard, at the disposal of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces,* had occasioned some murmuring among the men of his contingent not so employed; and the resentment felt by some few of the troops on account of being passed over in the selection for an honourable service, was soon blown into a flame of general insubordination and revolt by the management of emissaries from the mutineers of the Bengal army. The process was silently and slowly carried on without awakening suspicion, until the plot was ripe for execution; but the aim was sure, and success certain, before a blow was struck.

Nothing had occurred to excite alarm, or even suspicion of impending evil, at Gwalior, from the beginning of the troubles that had agitated the adjacent country; and consequently, the European residents at the capital of Scindia were not prepared for evils they did not care to anticipate the possibility of. They were, however, awakened from their dream of security on the night of Sunday, the 14th of June; and too late; for many of them had cause to regret the want of reasonable precaution, by which, it is possible, the calamity suddenly scattered amongst them might have been altogether prevented or greatly mitigated.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th, a fire broke out in the lines of the contingent, which destroyed three dwellings and a mess-house: the event appeared purely accidental; and as the men of the contingent worked steadily and heartily in an endeavour to preserve the adjacent buildings, the affair was soon over, and the European officers and their families resumed their wonted Sunday pursuits—dined, and retired to rest. Presently, as night advanced, shouts were heard from all parts of the cantonment, followed by an announcement that the troops had risen, and were preparing to fall upon the Europeans, whom they were determined to destroy. Upon the first alarm, followed by a report of musketry, some officers who had dined with Brigadier Ramsay, of the Maharajah contingent, and had not yet separated, were ordered to their regiments; but on their way, were informed, that they would be murdered by the men of the 4th regiment, who were in a state of frantic excitement and insubordination. Shots were now flying in every direction, and several of the unfortunate officers were shot down; nothing remained, therefore, but to escape, if possible: but again a difficulty was presented. The troops, in order more completely to carry out their plan of extermination, had dispatched a number of their body to take possession of the roads by which the unoffending objects of their vengeance might attempt to escape. The route to the fortress occupied by Scindia was alone open to the fugitives; and of this several, fortunately, availed themselves. The maharajah had no sooner been informed of the danger that menaced his English friends, than placing himself at the head of his body-guard, he hastened down towards the city, meeting on his way many of the affrighted supplicants for his protection, and for whose safety he immediately interposed his authority, and ultimately facilitated their escape to Agra. The first intimation of the defection of the Gwalior contingent, reached government in the following communication of Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces:—

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report, that last night I received an express from Major Macpherson, political agent at Gwalior, informing me, that on the pre-

* See *ante*, pp. 127; 184.

vious night of the 14th instant, the regiments of the Gwalior contingent stationed there had risen in mutiny, and that the maharajah had declared, that from the temper of his own Hindoo and Mohammedan troops, he could not answer for the protection of the British officers and families; and that the agent himself, with a number of the officers and residents of the cantonment, had, in consequence, quitted Gwalior, and were in retreat upon Agra. Of the fate of some of the officers and families, Major Macpherson could not give me any account, as the departure from Gwalior had been so hurried. This event gravely complicates the difficulty of our position here; for it may lead to an open declaration of the Gwalior government against us.—I am, &c.—J. R. COLVIN."

The uncertainty in which Major Macpherson's report left the question of life and death among the unfortunate residents compromised by the outbreak, was shortly afterwards removed by the publication of the following list of officers, &c., killed by the excited soldiery during the night of the 14th of June:—

"Major Blake, 2nd native infantry, Gwalior contingent; Lieutenant Proctor, adjutant, 4th infantry; Dr. Kirke, superintending surgeon; Captain Hawkins and Captain Stewart, artillery; Major Shirriff, 4th infantry; Rev. Mr. Coopland; Sergeant-major Twitcham; Quartermaster-sergeant Webb; Mr. Collins, brigade-major's clerk; Sergeant Cronin."

Of the officers and families that escaped the perils of that night, and subsequently arrived at Agra, the subjoined list was also promulgated:—

"Major Macpherson; Brigadier Ramsay; Mr. Innes; Mrs. Hennessy, son, and infant; Mrs. Christian and child; Mrs. Ferris and three children; Captain and Mrs. Meade and two children; Captain and Mrs. Murray and child; Lieutenant and Mrs. Pearson; Lieutenant Smalley; Dr. M'Keller; Mr. Sheet; Mrs. Bryant and child; Sergeant Lynch, artillery; Mr. Martin, customs; two gentlemen of the electric telegraph department; Captain Maude, her majesty's 8th foot, and Lieutenant Ryves, 12th native infantry; Mrs. Raikes and child; Mrs. Gilbert and children; Mrs. Kirke and child; Mrs. Campbell; Mrs. Blake; Mrs. Proctor; Mrs. Coopland; Mrs. Monks, with two children; Mrs. Cronin and child; Mrs. Webb; Mrs. James; Mrs. Quick (died on the road.")

It is observable, that with the exception of one female, who died from fatigue and fright on her road to Agra, none of the women were molested, nor did the children sustain any injury beyond the terror consequent upon the circumstances of their parents.

Some interesting details of the outbreak and subsequent flight of the Europeans, are given in the following extracts. The first are passages from a letter written by the adjutant of the 2nd Gwalior regiment, who, describing the incidents of the revolt, says—"It was sacrament Sunday, and I went to church; but at twelve o'clock up went the mess-house in flames, and, there being a strong wind, it was soon burnt down, as well as the bath and another bungalow. The day passed off, and we went to bed as usual; but shortly afterwards we were aroused pretty quickly by the whole of the troops having risen and lined all the roads, with the determination of killing all Europeans they could lay their hands on. We both got up and dressed as quickly as possible, and, putting a bag of money into my bearer's hands, I mounted my horse to go to my regiment, telling him to take every care of my poor wife. As soon as I got out into the road, I was joined by M'Keller and Ryves (12th), who had just escaped from Jhansie, and we were regularly hustled down to parade by crowds of sepoys, who put their arms between our legs and the saddles, as much as to say, 'Do not attempt to bolt.' Before we got a hundred yards, we sustained three volleys from men not fifteen yards off, but were not touched. The fourth volley saluted us just as we passed the head of the grenadier company, one ball of which shot my poor charger right through the heart. He fell dead on me; and I had the greatest difficulty in extricating myself, expecting a bayonet in my back every moment. In getting from under him I tore off my boot, so proceeded to parade without it, as retreat was hopeless. Almost the first thing I saw, was poor Major Blake lying mortally wounded, shot through the lungs. They said it was useless even to unfasten his coat; but I insisted on it, and did it myself, placing his head on my shoulder, and trying to make him speak; but it was no good—the poor fellow was dying fast. All the time we were with Blake, we were surrounded by hundreds of mutineers; but none touched us. After we got into the light cavalry lines, the firing was very brisk, and we all thought it was all over with us; but a merciful Providence watched over us, and not a ball hit us. Those who were mounted were then able to get off—

made a rush for it, crossed the river, and rode straight across country for Agra—leaving me in this delightful predicament. Just at this moment, three sepoys caught hold of me, and said they would try and save me. They threw off my hat, tore off my trowsers and the remaining boot, covered me as well as they could with my horsecloth, which my groom had brought along with us, and, putting me between the two, the third walked in front; and what between knocking up one man's musket, whose bayonet was just at my back, and declaring I was one of their wives, we got through all the sentries, and crossed the river. They then wanted me to make the best of my way off, saying, that the chances were ten to one that my wife was killed by that time; but I told them plainly I would not try to escape without her. After a great deal of persuading, they took me down the bank of the river (the opposite side of which was regularly lined with sentries to prevent escape) till we came opposite our house, where they set me down, and one man said, 'Now I will go and bring your wife to you if she is alive:' so off he went; and after about twenty minutes of the most agonising suspense, dear M—— and I met again. I must say, the three sepoys with us behaved splendidly. Seeing poor M—— was unable to walk, they tied my horsecloth in a sort of bag fashion on to a musket, put her into it, and placing the butt and muzzle on their shoulders, carried her this way seven miles, till we reached the residency, by which time I could hardly put my feet to the ground, from walking barefoot over the thorny ground. On arriving there we met three other people just escaped, and I got an elephant, on which we all mounted, intending to seek further protection in the Lushkur, with the maharajah, where lots of people had gone; but before we had got half a mile, we met nearly a dozen carriages, all in full gallop, accompanied by the body-guard, in full retreat back to the residency. Well, we went 'bout ship' in less than no time, and a party of sowars were left with us, and we soon after arrived, where mutual congratulations were exchanged, and in half-an-hour we were all provided with carriages, and set off to Agra. We have now a room in the fort; and I am appointed superintendent of the first division of the commissariat. We are 7,000 people in the fort, all living in gunsheds and casemates; the appearance of the interior is amusing, and the streets are named. We have Regent, Oxford, Quadrant, Burlington, and Lowther Arcade. Ours is Trafalgar-square, Nos. 48 and 49."

An officer of the 12th native infantry, that had mutinied at Nowgong on the 10th of June, and who had to ride for his life from that station, was also present at the outbreak at Gwalior, whither he had fled for an asylum. This gentleman, in a most interesting letter to a relative, dated June 24th, says—"I wrote to you from Sepree on the 10th, which will tell you of my escape from the mutineers of our regiment and the 14th irregular cavalry. It was dreadful work. I left Sepree on my horse for Gwalior on the 11th, and reached it in three days—eighty miles; and on the day I came in, the 14th inst., about 2 P.M., they set fire to three houses and the mess, and burnt them down. The Gwalior contingent came, and gave every assistance, so I fancied they were all right. However, we sat down to dinner at the Brigadier Ramsay's, and at nine o'clock, when the gun fired, we heard a row in the lines, and the brigadier ordered the officers to go to their regiments. So I went with the doctor, Mackallan (whom I was living with), and the others, first getting our swords, and gave the word that the corps and batteries were in mutiny, and then were riding towards the lines, when some men of the 2nd regiment met us, and said we must come to their lines, as the 4th regiment were murdering every one. There was heavy firing going on all round the station. They had pickets all over the place to catch us. When we got among their lines, they blazed away at us from every direction. How I escaped is marvellous; the adjutant, and myself and doctor, were together, and a volley was fired, and down fell the adjutant and his horse. The horse was shot dead; but he escaped. I put spurs to my horse, and galloped on until I was stopped by a man who fired about two yards away, right in my horse's face, the sparks all about me; but the bullet passed me, and the horse and I went on, and came on 200 men drawn up at the quarter-guard, and whom I spoke to, and asked them what was the cause. They said some of the regiments were going to kill every one in the place. They said we must go on the top of the quarter-guard; that it was the safest place; but I said, if we did we

should be murdered at their leisure: the commanding officer and his horse were lying dead near us. The officer was mortally wounded in the lungs, and dying; some of the men crying over him, saying their regiment did not do it, that it was the men of the 4th. We remained some time with them—half-an-hour; they wanting us to go into a house; but we would not go. At last, I asked some of the men why they did not let us out of cantonments; and they said, after a time, they would; so they took myself and the doctor, and prevented the men from firing any more at us, and we galloped away towards what we supposed, in the dark, the road to this place. We rode all night among ravines, and, in the morning, luckily came on the Agra-road. We went towards a ford in the river Chumbul, but found some troops were ahead, so we turned back and made for a fort twenty miles off. We were from ten o'clock at night until four o'clock the next day without food, upon our horses. We then got some milk, and fed our horses; and the people said, that at the other side men were ready to shoot anyone, so we were rather in a mess, we thought. As no one would come on with us, after some conversation, I promised, if they would come and see us safe in Agra, which was forty miles away, we would give them 500 rupees. Seven men then came with us, and we crossed and reached a bungalow some five miles off, passing a fort and numbers of men armed, who behaved well in letting us pass. We had a fowl, and then started and reached Agra the following night, or morning at sunrise, on the 17th, and the lieutenant-governor advanced me 500 rupees for the men, government paying half. I was glad to give it them, as it may save some poor ladies and children; and they have brought lots in safe. They killed eight or ten officers of the Gwalior force; only one lady and three or four children were killed. All the officers who were at mess with me, were shot in about five minutes after. It was a dreadful sight, I assure you."

There is no authenticated report of the death of any lady or children in the course of the disturbances at Gwalior; and it is therefore probable, that the above passage, referring to one lady and three or four children as among the slain, was grounded upon erroneous information. Another correspondent, writing on the 19th of June. from Agra, says—"The rumour of mutiny at Gwalior, of which I wrote to you the day before, has proved but too true. Several officers and men have been killed; but such as could escape from Morar towards the rajah's cantonment were saved, and have come into Agra. There is an *on dit*, that the rajah has been murdered for siding with us; and Beja Baie raised to the musnud. The mischief began on the parade-ground. Some officers were here shot at, and others escaped; but this did not satisfy the mutineers: they made towards the bungalow of the brigadier, called him out vociferously, and sent in shots after him on his non-appearance. He was miraculously, however, saved; for, as he attempted to escape out of his closet, a sepoy is said to have laid hold of his hands, and to have quietly cut out of the compound, in the dark, towards the ravines. Here is one instance of the fidelity of some of the sepoys, and goes much in defence of the lieutenant-governor's proclamation; for it is not wise to destroy the grateful with the ungrateful. The insurgents, however, on not finding Brigadier Ramsay, ransacked the whole of his property, and then set fire to his bungalow. And this is not the only instance of a sepoy's fidelity. There was another officer who was roused by his guard at 10 P.M., and out of the nine that were in his compound, one is said quietly to have gone up to him, and said, 'Khamin, bhago, sub bigurgaya.' This sepoy had just moved off when the rest came up in a body, saying, 'Houses are on fire, shall we load?' The officer observed, that it was folly to load muskets to put out a fire. On this they retired, and the officer into his bungalow, whence, through a window of his closet, he descried the whole of the guard quietly loading. He roused his servant at once, and escaped behind his house. Two shots were fired at him, but did not tell. He then made toward the bed of the river, and escaped among the ravines, four shots again whizzing over his head and that of his khansumah. Happily none told. Consternation became general at this time; and the Christian portion of the place—man, woman, and child—were flying in all directions towards the rajah's. Another rumour has reached us, that the maharajah is not killed. He was bent upon going down upon the insurgents; but the Baie would not allow him, saying, that he was sure to be killed, and, as he has no legiti-

mate issue, the estate would be confiscated, and he, his wife, and daughter, ruined. She advised him, therefore, to send the minister, Dhunker Rae, who is said to have been killed. The mutineers are gone towards Jhansie—some say towards Oojen. We have no official report, but are glad they have not visited us."

For the present, our notice of the outbreak at Gwalior may conclude with the following extract from a letter of the wife of one of the murdered officers, who, writing from Agra on the 27th of June, says—"I will now try to describe all this as it happened. A rising had long been expected at Gwalior; but, alas! nothing was done, and we had no English troops. On Sunday, the 14th of June, just as we were going to bed, about half-past nine, our servants rushed in, and said the sepoys had risen. We dressed as quickly as we could, and then walked to an officer's bungalow, to learn what we could do to escape. We found the family in a state of great alarm. As we were talking to Mrs. ——, her husband's horse rushed by, and they said he had just been shot. We then went and hid in the garden, under some trees, for about three hours; the shot was flying round us in all directions, and the houses were burning. The servants then hid us—that is, my husband, Mrs. ——, and myself, in one of their houses. Here we lay hid some time, expecting every moment to be discovered and dragged out. The sepoys came in once or twice, but did not see us; at last, about five o'clock in the morning, they found us. They were afraid to come in at the door, so they pulled the roof off, and fired in upon us. We then went to the door, and begged them not to kill us. When my husband went to the door, they fired twice at him. There were about twenty-nine of these horrid-looking men, and quite drunk. He was not wounded, and rushed on, they pursuing him, and firing at him as he ran. I then rushed forward too; and at first they fired at me as well, but then they dragged me away. I never saw —— after this; but I have since heard that he was killed two or three compounds further on. I got an officer here, who escaped, to make all the inquiries he could. It is not known if the bodies were buried or not, but it is believed they were all thrown into the river. I can scarcely write or think, so fearful is it all!

"After, I suppose, they had killed ——, the sepoys came back to us; they pushed all the ladies into a little hut that was near, and then they all crowded in and mocked at us, and threatened us with death—worse than death. They then took us to the lines. After keeping us there some time, they said they would not kill us, as we were only women, and they had killed our husbands; and so they crammed about six ladies into a carriage, and sent us away. I cannot tell you the misery of the five days it took us to reach Agra. Our lives were in danger the whole time, both from villagers and from parties of sepoys we fell in with. They held loaded pistols and naked swords over us again and again. Our party, altogether, consisted of eight ladies, besides four sergeants' wives and a number of children. We had nothing but grain to eat and water to drink. One sergeant's wife died on the way from a sunstroke. We had no covering to our heads, and some had no shoes. The sepoys had robbed us of everything; they even took the ladies' wedding-rings. I tied mine round my waist, and so have kept it. At last we reached here. I am staying with the political agent, as I have no friend here. My miseries are almost more than I can bear. On the first anniversary of our wedding-day, I heard for certain of ——'s death. Even here we feel far from safe. We sleep in our clothes at the barracks; and every night we expect an attack. There is only one English regiment here; and in the gaol there are 3,000 of the worst characters."

The conduct of Scindia throughout this affair, and in the complications that followed—in which he maintained his authority over his mutinous troops, and yet preserved his loyalty to the English government—stands out as a remarkable exception to the behaviour of the native princes generally. Of his fidelity there was no doubt from the first moment in which the difficulty arose; but of the good faith of those around him there was much ground for suspicion. The Bye-za-bye (his adoptive grandmother) was known to be an intriguing and active enemy of the English government; and the whole weight of her influence and great wealth was employed in fomenting the hatred of her grandson's troops against the Europeans. It was discovered, that, by her desire and assistance, secret emissaries had been dispatched to the rajahs of Baroda and Kolapore, under a

pretence of mere complimentary intercourse: the positive object of the mission was studiously concealed from the English residents at both courts, and had occasioned considerable disquiet for some time previous to the actual explosion at Gwalior. Surrounded as he was with advisers inimical to the policy he had steadfastly followed from the day he ascended the musnud under the protection of the British government, and thwarted in his views by the domestic and natural influences that pervaded his court, the position of Scindia was one of extreme perplexity; and the manly courage with which he opposed, and ultimately conquered, the adversaries of his career of loyalty and honour, entitles him to high consideration and substantial gratitude.

FUTTEHPORE.—Among the perilous adventures that chequered the existence of Europeans in India, during the first two months of the military revolt, those connected with the individuals at the large civil station of Futtehpore,* between Cawnpore and Allahabad, were not among the least hazardous, although happily, at the time, unattended by a fatal result, except in one solitary instance. Early in the month of June, the attention of the European authorities was attracted by an appearance of unusual excitement among the lower class of the people, who, day after day, congregated together with the budmashes and vagabonds of the adjoining villages, as if for the purpose of deliberating upon some design studiously concealed from the Europeans. At length, it fortunately became known that a plot was in agitation, the object of which was the massacre and plunder of all the Europeans at the station; who, being exclusively in the civil employment of the government, were without any adequate means of protection beyond those afforded by their private resources. Upon this nefarious plot becoming known, no time was lost in adopting measures for ensuring the common safety, until the arrival of troops, known to be on their way from Allahabad toward Lucknow *viâ* Cawnpore, should relieve the intended victims from the grasp of their destroyers, which was daily tightening around them. The protective measures taken were effectual, and the whole of the English residents found shelter and safety in a large pukka building, which they stored with provisions; and from the roof and windows of which they kept the rabble at bay during ten days. At the expiration of this period, their ammunition and provisions began to fall short; and as the expected troops had not arrived, it was determined to hazard an attempt to escape. This, owing to the fidelity of some native servants, they were enabled to effect; and having conveyances prepared at the outskirt of the town, the whole of the beleaguered band, with one exception, took advantage of the darkness of night, and one by one silently emerged from their retreat, and, gaining the vehicles provided for them, rapidly fled towards Banda, a small rajahship, about forty-six miles distant in a north-western direction, which they reached in safety, and remained there until the revolt of the rajah's armed followers on the 16th of the month, compelled them again to seek other protection for their lives. But one blood-spot stains the record of the popular outbreak at Futtehpore; and the victim sacrificed to the fury of an excited mob, was the judge of the district, Mr. Robert Tudor Tucker, a gentleman whose amiable qualities had procured for him great and deserved influence over the native population; and whose rigid sense of duty prevented him from quitting his post, while a possibility existed of his calming down the excitement of the rioters by his presence and remonstrances. In the patriotic execution of the hazardous experiment, this valuable public servant fell a sacrifice, through the treacherous act of Hikmutoolah Khan, one of the deputy collectors of his district, by whom he was betrayed, when, in full reliance upon his fidelity, he had entrusted him with a knowledge of his intention to leave the town. It appeared that, as soon as the escape of the English families had become known to the rabble, who were thirsting for their blood, the rioters gave way to the most vindictive rage, destroying everything that yet remained belonging to the race they so much detested. Mr. Tucker at length perceived, that for him to remain at Futtehpore, was now only to provoke his own certain destruction, without the possibility of any advantage to the government. He therefore arranged with the deputy collector for the means of escape by dâk to Allahabad. The traitor pretended to have made the requisite preparations, and announced that all was ready for the judge's departure, when he should think fit to

* See *ante*, p. 362.

leave the shelter of the pukha building that had so long protected the Europeans from their assailants. The hour appointed for flight had arrived; and the collector, upon a pretence of assisting him from the compound, introduced a number of armed men, who seized the unfortunate gentleman before he was aware of the miscreant's treachery. He was instantly dragged from the building, and riddled with shot from a score of guns levelled at random. His body was then stripped, and shamefully mutilated in the presence of the mob; and his head, hands, and feet were chopped off, and held up by the kotwal of the town for the savages to exult over as trophies of their victory over a "Feringhee"—whose countrymen and women, they were told, were then undergoing the like punishment in all parts of the Mogul's dominions. It was subsequently found that the outbreak had been arranged and headed by Hikmutoolah Khan, for whom a reward of 10,000 rupees was offered by the government.

The details of this tragic episode in the history of the insurrection, could hardly have been known to the English troops when triumphantly driving the armed rebels from Cawnpore, through the streets of Futtehpore, on the 11th of July, or justice might have paused in its onward career, to avenge this unprovoked and cowardly murder. While the blood of an upright magistrate lay upon the stones of the city—unatoned for, and, it may be, unrepented of—little consideration was due to the sufferings of the inhabitants, who had, at least, abetted the treacherous act; and it was perhaps well for the whole of them that their complicity in the foul affair was not then generally known among "Havelock's band of avengers."

BANDA.—The generous example of the Maharajah Scindia, of Gwalior, was not without a beneficial influence in quarters even remote from the confines of his own dominion; and among the faithful few of the chieftains of India who adhered to the obligations they had taken upon themselves, in return for the recognition and protection of the English government, the ruler of the tributary rajanship of Banda—a flourishing district of Bundelcund, about ninety-five miles north-west of Allahabad—is entitled to honourable notice. In consequence of the disturbed state of the country around Banda, in the latter part of May and the beginning of June, many European families from the adjacent stations availed themselves of the known loyal disposition of the nawab, to seek protection and hospitality within his territory. Both were readily and liberally accorded; and it was hoped, by the numerous guests that found shelter within the walls of his palace, that there, at least, they would be secure, until the proximity of European troops might render their departure for a more permanent asylum practicable and convenient. This hope was, however, fallacious. The storm of revolt approached the little territory of Banda; and, by the middle of June, the whole of the adjacent districts were in open insurrection, and murder and plunder raged on every side. On the 16th of the month, the 6th native infantry, which had mutinied and deserted from Allahabad on the 5th of June, arrived in the neighbourhood of Banda; and learning that some European families were sheltered in the nawab's palace, they at once declared their determination to have the "Feringhees" delivered up to them, or to destroy the palace. Very little persuasion sufficed to induce the Mohammedan troops of the nawab to join them in the vindictive movement; and, together, they congregated in front of the royal residence, where they unfurled the green standard, and with shouts of "Deen! Deen!" demanded that the Christians should be brought out to them. The nawab had, however, yet some men on whose obedience and fidelity he could safely rely; and he peremptorily refused compliance with the insolent demand. The mutineers made some demonstrations of a design to attack the palace; but finding preparations were made for a vigorous resistance, they abstained, and their intended victims were saved. The nawab had sworn to protect the fugitives who came to him defenceless, and confiding in his friendship; and, with rare fidelity, he honourably discharged his self-imposed obligation; and, moreover, provided means for their safe conveyance to Nagode, where they arrived without molestation, although the roads were swarming with released prisoners of all grades from the gaols of Allahabad and other revolted towns, by whom every kind of atrocity was perpetrated with impunity. The fidelity of the nawab cost him dear; as, in revenge for the disappointment caused by his determination to protect the Europeans, the sepoys of the 6th regiment set fire to the palace and

town; and before the fugitives had got a mile from the latter, it was in a blaze from one end to the other, and the destruction of property was very great. On the 16th, a telegraphic communication from Major Ellis, the political agent at Nagode, announced to the secretary to the government the safe arrival at that place, on the same morning, of the individuals named on the appended list;* and proceeded to say—"I have addressed requisitions to the nawab of Banda, and other pensioners of the British government at Banda, one jemadar of Newshar, and others, calling upon them to exert themselves in recovering all property, either government or private, plundered consequent upon the outbreak on the night of the 14th instant. I have written to Major Hampton, commanding at Nagode, drawing his attention to the necessity of troops being sent, with as little delay as practicable, to take possession of the strong fort Kulinsi, and beg earnestly to draw the attention of the government to the necessity for something being especially done for the purpose of assisting in repressing the existing panic, and restoring order to the Banda district."

To this communication, the reply from the government secretary ran thus:—

"(Telegraphic.) Calcutta, June 19, 1857. —With reference to your message of the 16th, the governor-general can hold out no hope of European troops being detached from the main line of operations at present."

AURUNGABAD.—The large province of this name, forming, with Bejapore, the western region of the Deccan, is the native country of the Mahrattas, and was the original seat of their government. It lies principally between the 18th and 21st degrees of north latitude, extending about 300 miles in length, by an average breadth of 160. The country is rugged and mountainous, and abounds with natural fortresses and strongholds: its population has been estimated at 6,000,000, of which the far greater portion were Hindoos. The ancient capital of this province was, until its conquest by Shah Jehan in 1634, at the city of Dowlatabad; but upon the reduction of the country to a province of the Monghol empire, the distinction was transferred to a neighbouring town called Gurka; and the latter becoming a favourite residence of Aurungzebe during his viceroyalty of the Deccan, the new capital received from him the name of Aurungabad, which it has since retained. Favoured by its royal patron, Aurungabad rapidly increased in size and importance, and continued to be the capital for some time after the Nizams became independent of Delhi, and until they found it expedient to remove the seat of their government to Hyderabad, from which it was distant 274 miles. The city was surrounded by low walls, flanked with round towers; and, in its flourishing state, was of importance as a great mart for the exchange of European and Indian commerce. It is now much reduced; but the magnificent ruins of Aurungzebe's palace and gardens may yet be traced; and a building called the "Fakir's Tomb," is still described as a structure of great elegance.

A portion of the Hyderabad contingent force, consisting of the 1st regiment of the Nizam's irregular cavalry, was, in May and the beginning of June, stationed at Aurungabad, under the orders of Captain Abbott, who had no reason to doubt the loyalty of the corps until, some time after, intelligence of the revolt in the North-West Provinces had reached his cantonment. The best feeling appeared to exist between the European officers of the regiment and their men, until a rumour became prevalent, that the services of the contingent would be required for the suppression of the mutinies, and that it would consequently be transferred to the disturbed provinces. This difficulty was at once seized as a pretext for mutiny by some Mohammedans of the regiment, and they speedily contrived to infuse a spirit of alarm and dissatisfaction throughout the entire corps, which eventually determined to resist any order for its removal; and, if necessary, to murder the officers that should attempt to interfere with its views on the subject.

* Arrived at Nagode from Banda, June 16th, 1857:—G. Edmondston, Esq. (civil service), and lady; H. B. Webster, Esq. (C. S.), and lady; Dr. Clarke; — Bence, Esq., Nawab's agent; Dr. Hutchinson; Captain Benjamin (Nawab's troops); Lieutenant Bennett; Ensign Fraser, 1st N. I.; Ensign Clarke, from Futtehpore; J. W. Sherer, Esq., C. S.; E. MacNaghten, Esq., C. S.; B. Stenthcote (Qy. Heathcote), East Indian Railway Service; W. Bews, E. I. R.; G. Currew (Qy. Cassens), E. I. R.; O. Swift, E. I. R.; P. G. Anderson, Esq., opium agent; R. G. Lymes, Esq., salt department; Mr. Mayne, C. S.; Mrs. Crawford, and family of seven, from Ameerpore; and five English writers from Futtehpore and Ameerpore: the whole amounting, in number, to thirty-three individuals.

The first intimation of this insubordinate state of the regiment, came upon its commanding officer by surprise on the 12th of June, notwithstanding that mischievous influences had been operating throughout the cantonment for several days previous. The question of religion, and of fidelity to the king of Delhi, had been earnestly discussed by the troopers, both Hindoo and Mohammedan, and they resolved to do no act that would be likely to injuriously affect either. The mode in which this resolution was made known to Captain Abbott, is described in the following communication from that officer to the political resident at Hyderabad, dated June 13th :—

"Sir,—It is with the deepest regret I have to report, that serious disaffection exists in the 1st cavalry. It first manifested itself yesterday morning, about seven; but no information regarding it reached me until about one o'clock, at which time I was on duty at the mess-house, as president of a court of inquiry.

"A non-commissioned officer and his brother (Sikhs) came to me, and reported that the regiment was in a state of mutiny; that the men declared that they had been enlisted for service in the Deccan, and would not march beyond it; that they would not fight against their king: to this they added, that many, both Mussulmans and Hindoos, had taken their oaths. They said, that the 3rd cavalry had been entrapped into their service; that reports were circulated and believed, that the 2nd cavalry was to go up to Umballah, the 4th to come here, and that this regiment also would be sent up to join some column which they thought would be composed almost entirely of Europeans. I had intimated to the rissaldar, that I should come to the lines in the afternoon, to look at the horses: they fancied that this was preparatory to a march; and they declared (and subsequent inquiries have corroborated this), that they had determined on mine, Lieutenant Dowker's, and the rissaldar's death, if we went to the lines in the evening. I sent immediately for the rissaldar, and the senior rissaldar, who has been for many years in the regiment (Mahomed Booron.) I asked the rissaldar if all was well? He replied, 'Yes;' and seemed to be—and I believe was, in a great measure—ignorant of what had really happened, as he had been spending the morning in the house of a relative in the 3rd cavalry lines. Mahomed Booron, however, acknowledged that a great disturbance had been going on in all the troops of the regiment during the morning; that it had commenced in the 5th troop, and that meetings had taken place in all the other troops; that a number of men had collected, and come to his tent, and spoken of 'the flag of their religion having been established,' and expressed umbrage at my having spoken to a man on the march who had taken off his regimentals to pray. Though the circumstance itself was one of a most trivial nature, I will relate it circumstantially, that the president may see that no blame can, in justice, be attached to me; but that the men, being disaffected, are ready to seize any pretext for an outbreak. I halted the regiment at a nullah about ten miles from Aurungabad, on the morning we reached this station, to give the men time to rest a little, and water their horses. After half-an-hour had elapsed, I sent the rissaldar to tell the regiment to mount and form up, which they did in an open spot; and, as I walked my horse up to the regiment, previously to sounding the march, I observed a man in the nullah, with his regimentals off, washing himself. I turned to my orderly, and asked what the man was doing; and was told he was washing himself previous to saying his prayers: and I replied, that though it was quite right he should say his prayers, this was not the time to do so, and that he should put on his regimentals, and join us as soon as possible. This was all that occurred, except that I mentioned it to the rissaldar when I joined. After consulting both the rissaldar and Rissaldar Mahomed Booron, I directed the rissaldar to go to the camp, and assemble all the troop officers at his tent, and speak to them about what had occurred; that I trusted it would be found that this movement had been commenced, and was supported, by a few bad men; and that they would have sufficient influence to prevent its spreading. I went down to the lines myself, in company with Lieutenant Dowker, about half-past five o'clock. The rissaldar came from his tent to meet us, and said that this had been caused by certain bad men in the regiment, and there was every reason to hope that it would soon subside. The rissaldars were all present with him, and accompanied us as we walked through the

lines of each troop and looked at the horses: many men were respectful, and seemed well disposed; others not so, I thought. I then asked the rissaldar and the troop officers to ride with me; and we rode for camp, when I and Lieutenant Dowker entered into conversation with the native officers, and pointed out the folly and disgrace of such conduct. It was ascertained, that the 3rd troop, to a man, both Hindoo and Mussulman, refused to move from this place; that is, if they were ordered to march, they declared that they would refuse to do so. The 1st troop rissaldar said, he believed some portion of his men were disaffected, but that the rest of the troop were not, and would obey any orders given to them. I could get no satisfactory accounts of the other troops, except that they all acknowledged that a great portion of the men were disaffected; and they all, when I left, promised to do their best to bring them to reason. I, of course, informed them, that I was not aware of there being any probability of their being ordered to move to the north. The report of this morning was very unsatisfactory indeed: one troop only has sent in its report (the 1st troop), in which the rissaldar says, that he had endeavoured, to his utmost, to bring the men to reason; but they had abused him, telling him he was no Mussulman, but a 'Norsara;' and they said distinctly, that if ordered to march, they would refuse; and that they would not fight against their king ('Assue badshah rieussur rumar naheen bandnigga.') There was an attempt made in the night, about one o'clock, to saddle the horses; and many loaded their pistols: but it was stopped. The rissaldar and native officers are at present endeavouring to influence the men for good. I have directed the rissaldar to instruct troop officers to assemble the native officers, silladars, and other respectable men in their troops, and point out to them the ruin and disgrace to which such conduct must inevitably lead. As the native officers are so employed at present, and things appear quieter, I am unwilling to interfere in too direct a manner, which I am assured, and I myself believe, would lead to an open rupture. The rissaldar has just sent word to me, that he cannot bring me a satisfactory report of the result of his endeavours before three o'clock this afternoon. He was of opinion this morning, that the regiment was in such a state, that it was unadvisable, just at present, to take any steps for separating those who might be well-disposed towards the government, from those who are openly disaffected. He assures me, that it is out of his power to collect around him any number of men over whom his influence would be sufficient to insure their acting as ordered: he ascribes this to his being in the regiment a short time only, and to an ill-feeling existing against him by certain parties, which was manifested on the occasion of the Mohurrum two years ago. The rissaldar's uncle, Huncour Ally Beg, has remained at Ambah with his troop. This, also, is instanced by the mutinous men as a grievance; the rissaldar, they say, has been favoured by his relations being allowed to remain behind, whilst they have been sent up. Strong reports were circulated and credited by the 1st cavalry, that the 3rd cavalry would not proceed on the service on which they had been sent; and it was said, that one of their most influential native officers had returned at four o'clock on Monday afternoon (the 8th.) I have just received the visits of the rissaldar and the senior rissaldar; and I regret to say, that the men are in much the same state as that I have already described. There are some few who say they are ready to obey any orders given to them; but there are a very great portion who speak of the son of the Delhi emperor (whom the mutineers have proclaimed king) as their king, and say they will refuse to march if they are ordered to proceed against him. Acting on the suggestion of the officers here in command of regiments, I have refrained from making any demonstration; but I have warned all to be in readiness.

"I have, &c.—H. D. ABBOTT, Captain, commanding 1st Cavalry."

The receipt of this unfavourable report was acknowledged by the resident at Hyderabad in a letter from Major Briggs, the military secretary, in which he says—"The resident trusts that the excitement that prevails in the regiment will have subsided previous to the arrival of the report of it. He approves of your proceedings, as you are aware that, situated as Aurungabad is now, no immediate assistance can be afforded you. He begs you will assemble the regiment, and assure the men, both in his capacity as British resident, and as their old friend and brother-officer, that he is satisfied that their present conduct arises

from the pernicious counsels of bad and designing men; that the government have no intention to call for their services to act against the king of Delhi, who is himself a supplicant for the protection of the British government; but, wherever their services are required, it will be necessary for the regiment to obey.

"The resident trusts that, by the early return of the corps to fidelity, he will be able to induce government to overlook their present proceeding; but, at the same time, he must point out the ruin and disgrace that a persistence in their present conduct must inevitably lead to. You will mention that the resident had hoped to be able proudly to point out to government that every corps in the contingent was stanch and loyal. The 3rd cavalry are now in the field against the mutineers; the 2nd are in charge of the residency; and the whole corps have volunteered to march to suppress the revolt at Delhi. Should your next report on the regiment not prove satisfactory, the resident will telegraph to the commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, to march the movable column assembling at Malligaum, upon Aurungabad, to coerce the regiment.—I have, &c.—L. C. Briggs."

On the 15th of June, Captain Abbott again reported the state of his regiment in the following letter to the military secretary at Hyderabad:—

"Sir,—I have much pleasure in being able to report that affairs appear to be taking a much more favourable turn, and that one troop of the regiment (the 1st troop), as well as all the Hindoos, have separated themselves from the rest of the regiment, and encamped between the regiment and cantonments. The 1st troop have given in a paper to say that they regret what has occurred, and that they are ready to march anywhere they may be ordered. The Hindoos I believe have, for the last two days, been ready to do this, but they were deterred from fear of the rest.

"Things looked so serious yesterday, that I wrote to Nuggur and Poonah for assistance, but I have this morning sent off express to say they are not required. After writing to you on Saturday afternoon, things remained quiet until about nine, at which time a Sikh trooper rode down to me, and told me that the regiment was mounting, intending to come into cantonments. I had heard during the afternoon, that the men had determined on planting a standard, and that the Mussulmans had tied the *nara* (pieces of red and yellow thread used at the choborrum) round their arms. I believe myself this was in truth a panic, caused by an infantry picket being placed at the bridge, and a report having been spread by a syce that the infantry and guns were to be taken against them. Jemadar Ameer Khan, supposed at first (though I cannot say whether justly or not) to have been in some measure mixed up with this disaffection, came to me, and I sent him up to assure the regiment that no orders had been previously issued. Although the regiments had turned out on the alarm being given that the cavalry had mounted, I placed a strong picket at the bridge leading to the cavalry, and remained there myself during the night. The rissaldar and the senior rissaldar of the regiment quitted camp that night, as they considered their lives in danger.

"The following morning (Sunday) I had an interview with the 3rd troop rissaldar, who is said to be the head of the Shahjehanpore men, a great number of whom are disaffected: he replied, in answer to my inquiries, that he had tried all in his power to bring his men into a proper state, but that the universal feeling in his troop was, that they would 'not move' beyond the Nizam's country, and that they would not act against the insurgents in Hindostan. The exact words were, 'Nizam ke Serhud ke bahir naheen jamgy. Our deen ke upeer kumur naheen bandingy.' I then sent for the troop officers and the jemadars of each troop, and word was sent back that they would not come, as they suspected that they would all be arrested if they came; but if they did come, they would come making their own arrangements; by which they meant, they would bring a large body of these disaffected men with them, which I saw was likely to bring on a rupture at once. At about nine o'clock, all the rissaldars and jemadars of the regiment, accompanied by a number of troopers, came to the bridge: the men were stopped by the picket, and I went out to converse with them: they were respectful, but excited and loud in their way of talking; and no change whatever seemed to have taken place in the determination they had expressed, to which I have before alluded. Jemadar Chedah Khan seemed to be the principal person, and was spokesman. On their leaving me, I went out with Captain Sinclair and Cap-

tain Spied to select a position for the troops, in the event of anything happening: reports were circulated that the city men were congregating in large numbers; and it was said that the cavalry had determined to leave this and proceed to Ambah. About two o'clock, Duffadar Husso Khan reported to me that the cavalry would certainly leave, and had made up their minds to march at three; but that there would be considerable bloodshed on the occasion, as they had determined to take by force all the native officers and others who might wish to separate themselves. If bloodshed were commenced, I knew it was likely to spread: I therefore turned out the troops at three o'clock, taking up a position with the guns so as to protect the flank of the infantry lines, at the same time to sweep the road leading up from the cavalry lines, as well as the small space towards the parade-ground, if the river was crossed at other points lower down. The infantry took up very strong positions covering the lines, and strong advanced parties at the mess and travellers' bungalow. I caused some trees to be felled and placed across the bridge, as well as the ascents on the side of it; and I sent away the ladies and the families of the non-commissioned officers. The cavalry seem to have changed from this time. At about half-past five, Rissaldar Abdool Rhyman Khan came and reported his troop ready to obey any orders; that they regretted what had occurred; and each man put his seal to a written document to that effect. I told him to return and move his troop off from the rest, which he did. This morning, all the Hindoos of the regiment sent word that they wished to join Abdool Rhyman Khan's encampment, and have done so. I have had visits from the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 6th troop officers, all of whom represent their men as being sorry for what occurred. They each brought a paper to say, 'that they had always done their duty, and that they were still the servants of government.' But I have represented to these officers, that what I require is an acknowledgment of their offence, and of their willingness to do and go wherever they were ordered.

"I hope now that the regiment as a body will become quiet and orderly; but, at the same time, I cannot help feeling that full reliance cannot be placed on men who were so ready to fall off from allegiance to government without the slightest pretext or cause of offence or discontent being given to them. I think it right to mention, that Captain Sinclair entertains doubts of the fidelity of one or two of his men. One man is reported to have invited the troopers to send up a troop and take possession of the arsenal, which is on one flank; and for the protection of which we cannot spare many men. Under the provisions of the order lately published by the governor-general, I believe I have power to promote a man who shows himself anxious to assist government; and I have promoted to the next rank of jemadar, two duffadars who have been very useful and zealous in their endeavours to assist me; and I trust the resident will confirm the promotions. Throughout the whole of these occurrences, I have had no reason to think otherwise than that Rissaldar Zoolficar Ally Beg was, at heart, most anxious and desirous to do anything in his power to assist us; but I am fully impressed with a conviction that he is a man entirely unfitted for his position; the men look upon him with the greatest contempt. Had there been a man of a different stamp as rissaldar—a man of high spirit and courage, who could have rallied round him some twenty or thirty Bailcunds—he could have suppressed this feeling, I think, in its outset. The infantry regiment has hitherto behaved in the most exemplary manner.—I have, &c.—H. D. ABBOTT,

"Captain, commanding 1st Cavalry."

This report was acknowledged on the 19th, and Captain Abbott was informed that the resident would admit of no compromise with the men; and he was directed, as soon as he was in a position, by the aid of European troops then upon the march towards Aurungabad, to select the ring-leaders of whatever rank, and try them by court-martial, carrying the sentence into execution. He was also informed, that the movable column, under the orders of Major-general Woodburn, was ordered to Aurungabad, for the purpose of coercing the mutineers.

On the 24th of June, General Woodburn arrived at Aurungabad with the force under his orders; and having left a portion of his troops to protect the cantonment, he proceeded with the guns, dragoons, and native infantry, to the camp of the 1st cavalry. The proceedings there are thus described by Captain Abbott:—

"I preceded the general to the camp, and ordered the men to fall-in at foot-

parade; they did so: and I first called on the 1st troop rissaldars to read out the names of the men who were most to blame, and most implicated in this mutiny. Jemadar Abdul Bazan Khan began to read out the names, and he commenced with that of Jemadar Ameer Khan. While reading out the names, Ameer Kkan became very violent, and said this was very improper, that it was all false and untrue, and called on the men to prime and load. While doing so, a number of the men ran off the parade, and proceeded to saddle their horses. Every endeavour was made to stop the men, and induce them to remain and hear what was to be said to them. With great difficulty, a large portion of the men were separated and ordered to fall back in rear of the force. The rest dispersed among the lines, refusing to return, though frequently called upon to do so. They mounted their horses; upon which General Woodburn ordered the guns to open upon them. They all then immediately fled, and were pursued by the dragoons, but I am afraid with scarcely any effect. The whole of the bad men were among them; only five men of the 2nd troop had remained. Ameer Khan has sought refuge in the city, but the Poobah refuses to allow our men to enter."

A letter from Aurungabad of the 23rd of June, gives the following account of the affair described by Captain Abbott:—

"This morning, at ten o'clock, General Woodburn's brigade came in, and having marched direct to the ground occupied by the mutinous cavalry, the latter were ordered to give up their arms. All, save one troop, gave up. To this troop the general allowed six minutes' time to consider; after which, seeing no inclination on their part to obey, the artillery opened on them with canister, by which a few were killed, and about a dozen or so more were cut down by the dragoons, whose horses being tired could not keep up with the runaways; the remainder made their escape into the city close by. Captain Mayne, with a troop, or portion of one, of the 3rd cavalry, has just galloped into the city, and, if resistance is offered, will cut up the rebels. The men of the 1st cavalry who were on guard have since been disarmed, and their places taken by the men of the 3rd. To-morrow we expect to have a number of these wretches either hung or blown from the guns."—Another letter says—"When Captain Abbott directed the men of the cavalry to lay down their arms, a trooper stepped forward and snapped his pistol at the officer, but it fortunately missed fire. The fellow was secured, and during the night a gallows was erected in front of the lines. On the following morning, General Woodburn's force was paraded, and the prisoner was brought out, tried by drum-head court-martial, placed on a gun-carriage, the rope adjusted, and the limber moved away: in a few minutes from the first appearance of the prisoner, all was over! Such of the cavalry as remained stanch were then posted, while the native infantry and artillery marched past the gallows. The execution was witnessed by a great number of people from the city and adjacent villages. From thirty to forty of the cavalry mutineers, a subahdar of the 2nd infantry Hyderabad contingent, and some golundauzes, are now upon their trial; and the alacrity of General Woodburn's movements has thrown the native inhabitants into a panic. They look particularly crest-fallen and disappointed."—Another officer, describing the affair, says—"The general could not order the guns to fire, as he feared to knock over the good men with the bad; but they did not get clear off after all, though much less execution was done in consequence of the delay, than might otherwise have been the case. Two of our companies afterwards went all through the lines, and we fully expected a slight struggle there; but they were not game; and such as did not run away gave themselves up quickly. We took their standards. These mutineers are, without exception, the finest body of men I have seen in India—immense fellows, of sixteen or seventeen stone each, and scarcely one of them under five feet ten inches. We have already disposed of a goodly number of the ninety-four prisoners we took in the first haul of the net. One has been hung, four shot, one blown from a gun—a frightful sight indeed! his head ascended about twenty yards into the air, and his arms were thrown about eighty yards in either direction. I was astonished to see how coolly they received intelligence that they were to suffer death. The man who was blown away only said, 'that witnesses against him would have to answer for this in the next world,' and begged of them not to tie him to the guns, as he would not flinch at all. The fellow who was hung said, that

having washed his hands of life, he had washed away all his sins, and the sooner he went to paradise the better.' We have yet plenty of this work before us."

Of the prisoners taken in this affair, two were blown from guns; seven shot by the dragoons; four cut down in the charge; several hung; between thirty and forty transported; one hundred disbanded and turned out of the station; and some fifty or sixty others flogged and otherwise punished.

And so, for the present, terminated the mutiny at Aurungabad, some interesting features of which are delineated in the following correspondence. The first extract is from the letter of a civilian attached to the movable column of General Woodburn, dated at Ahmednuggur, June 28th.

"On the morning of Thursday week (*i.e.*, June 18th) the general sent for me, and said that the troops were to march towards Aurungabad the next morning, in consequence of a most urgent requisition from Captain Abbott; and he begged me to go out with his assistant-quartermaster-general that same evening as far as Emanpore, and choose pitching-ground, and make arrangements for supplies, &c. Well, at 4 P.M. out we went, chose pitching-ground, dug trenches for watering cavalry horses, and sent for all the supplies available. The general had told us that he should march next morning at 3 A.M., and at half-past six we began to look out for the 'army.' At about ten, up came Captain Mayne of the Hyderabad contingent, lately commanding Aurungabad. He had come to escort Mrs. M—— and the other ladies from Aurungabad, where it was no longer safe for them to remain. They went on to Nuggur, and we got an express from the general, saying that fresh orders had arrived, and that the force was to march in the old direction to Malagan. So we went in sharp, and Mayne rode with us. He went at once to the general, and represented very strongly to him that, as he (Mayne) had been connected with the contingent for fourteen years, and had been for six years commanding the very cavalry regiment which had mutinied, and again as he had only just left the scene of the row, he felt himself competent to give an opinion on the subject, and most strongly advised that we should march at once on the place, smash the mutineers, and strike a decisive blow. * * * The general sent for orders to head-quarters, which arrived in two days, to the effect that he was to march *instanter* on Aurungabad. I went on to Emanpore, in my district, and managed to get supplies, and the force came on in the morning about seven. A fine sight—14th dragoons first, then the general and his staff, then 28th native infantry, and Captain Woolcombe's battery last; the rear brought up by a pontoon train, some twenty elephants, and the baggage—extending some two miles in length. We came on to Jobra, and here my mission ended, as the troops were now out of my district, and, indeed, out of the Company's territories altogether, so I went to the general for orders. Mayne had not arrived; and as no one present knew the road to Aurungabad except myself, the general asked me to go on with them, which I was glad to do, as there were worse accounts from Captain Abbott. During the day the general received another express from Abbott, which made him determine to get on at once by forced marches. We got into Aurungabad at 10 A.M., and Abbott and his officers came out to meet us. Mayne had joined us just before. It was fortunately a cool morning, or man and horse would never have got through the work cut out for them. Well, Abbott told us that things were in a most unsatisfactory and critical state; that since the ladies had left, the officers had lived barricaded in the mess-room, and that there was reason to fear not only the stanchness of the cavalry, but of the infantry and artillery also. He said that we were quite unexpected, and that the best thing would be to march up to the cavalry intrenchments at once and surprise them. The general consented to do so at last. We found some good camping-ground for the force on the Nuggur side of the cantonments, and we marched on towards the mutineers' lines (1st cavalry pickets.)

"Two guns and a squadron of the dragoons were left to guard the bridge, in case of a rising of the Nizam's artillery or infantry; and we went on up to the cavalry lines, which we reached at twelve. A long line of white tents, with horses picketed in front, showed us where they were; and the general galloped over the ground to select a good position. All the officers were, of course, with their regiments; so that in the general's staff were only his aide-de-camp (Macdonald), Deputy Adjutant-general Coley, Mayne, Abbott, and myself. The cavalry

bugles were sounded, and men ordered to fall-in on foot, except their mounted (native) officers. Abbott then rode past them, and ordered the few men who had remained faithful to fall out of the ranks, leaving the mutineers in a body in front of their lines. The guns of Woolcombe's battery were then ordered to be loaded with canister, and drawn up within thirty yards; and the general, with Abbott and the other four of us, rode up to the ranks. Abbott was then ordered to speak to the men, and he did so, asking them the reason for disobeying orders and for mutinying; reminding them that government never dreamt of attempting to make them change their religion, and of the punishment which awaited them. The mounted officer (a jemadar) who commanded this troop, and who was one of the principal instigators of the affair, here broke out, 'It is not good; it is all false!' Abbott drew his pistol, and would have shot him as he stood (for speaking in rank is equivalent to open mutiny); but the general turned to him and said, 'Captain Abbott, I desire that you will not fire on your own men.' So Abbott put up his pistol, and went on with his harangue. After another minute the jemadar broke out again, 'It is not true; it is all false. Brothers all, prime and fire!' Upon this, with a clash, out came all their pistols; and, had they fired, we six must have fallen, as we were not five yards from them. My pistol, a revolver, was in my hand in a moment; and as I was next to the jemadar, I feel confident I could have shot him before he had time to raise his. But a panic seized them; and they bolted towards their lines, and we rode back behind the guns. Woolcombe had dismounted, and was pointing a gun at them himself; the portfire was lighted, and one word only was wanted to blow every soul of them to the four winds, and thus strike a decisive and terrible blow, which would never have been forgotten; but the word was not given. The general allowed them to get to their horses; and then, as they stood in a group mounting, some 260 yards off, Woolcombe ran to another gun, armed and pointed it, and, losing his patience at not being ordered to fire, sung out, 'May I fire, sir?' If any answer was returned, certainly no order was given; and the rascals got to their horses, and were up and on them, and away in a moment. Then came the order to fire, just as they were getting under cover of some buildings: some twenty-nine shots were fired at them, but without effect, only killing some few horses and a poor Ghorawalla. The dragoons were then ordered to charge, as the mutineers had by this time cleared their lines, and were drawn up in a line on a plain to our right, out of shot of the guns. Forward went the 14th at a gallop; and the men of the 1st waited in line till the 14th were tolerably near them, and then broke up, and each man turned his horse's head and dispersed in every possible different direction. The dragoons caught and cut down some half-dozen, and the rest got away. Abbott joined the charge; and, his horse being fresh, he managed to get up with one of the mutinous officers, who, seeing no chance of escape, put his sword between his teeth, dropped his reins, and held up his hands in token of submission, and as a sign for quarter. Abbott lowered his sword, and the brute, as he passed him, drew his pistol, and fired it straight at his face. A motion of the horse saved him; and he drew his pistol and fired two shots at the ruffian, but missed him. He was caught later in the day, and hung next morning before all the troops. After the charge, the rest of the native cavalry were brought out, and those suspected were disarmed and placed in confinement, to await their trial by drum-head court-martial. Towards the evening, nearly seventy of those who had escaped were taken or given up; and this reduced the number of those who had actually got away to about fifty-five. The jemadar who had first drawn his pistol was missing altogether, and no tidings could be got of him, though the general was most anxious to secure him. Had the guns opened upon the rascals directly they drew their fire-arms, not one could have escaped; and a blow direct and decisive would have been struck, and the mutiny in all probability quelled in these parts, at all events. All were disappointed at the result, and particularly as the general had them so entirely at his mercy."

An instance of disinterested fidelity on the part of a Mohammedan trooper of the Hyderabad contingent, to the family of one of the European officers, has been recorded by one of the ladies preserved by his courage and devotion. There are few, indeed, of such records to break the monotony of the continuous tale of horror, and connected

with the revolt of the Bengal army; and, as it is gratefully expressed by the individual preserved, "it seems an imperative duty not to conceal from observation this solitary ray of light shining in a dark place." The lady alluded to writes thus from Ahmednuggur:—

"On the 12th of June, the day preceding the more open mutiny of the 1st cavalry Hyderabad contingent, we heard that some part of that corps had armed itself on the previous night with the intention of advancing on the cantonment, but that from the absence of unanimity among the men, the plan had been for the time abandoned. We heard, also, that they had spoken of murdering their officers. These and other reports made us feel very uneasy; but in the course of the morning, a sowar of the 3rd cavalry Hyderabad contingent, named Booran Bucksh, whom we had known for some little time, and whose character we had always respected for its truthfulness and simplicity, came to my husband, and told him he need feel no apprehension for his family, for he had made every provision for their safety and for that of a lady who was staying with us, to whose husband he was greatly attached. He said, 'They shall travel to Ahmednuggur as my family;' and, looking up to heaven, he swore 'by Allah' that he would never reach that place alive alone. He added, 'I will leave my children behind; and if any evil happen to yours, you may destroy them.'

"On the evening of that day, we thought it prudent to go as usual to the band to avoid the appearance of suspicion; and as it became dusk, we observed some horsemen watching us from a distance; and on going home, we heard that some of the sowars of the 1st cavalry had been in the lines of the 2nd infantry, to inquire which of the houses in the cantonment were occupied by English officers (the corps had only recently arrived at Aurungabad), and also to ascertain the state of feeling of the 2nd, and their intended line of conduct should they receive orders to march towards Delhi. These and other facts which had come to our knowledge increased our anxiety; but faithful Booran Bucksh had said, 'Fear nothing, I will watch day and night; sleep quietly, and the moment danger approaches I will be with you.' We implicitly relied on him; and my husband having issued some necessary orders for the night to a native officer of the 2nd, retired to rest. At eleven o'clock that night Booran returned to us, and said we must prepare to leave, as the cavalry were again arming. My husband, hastily commending us to his care, left us to make preparations to man the bridge between the cavalry and infantry lines; and Booran, placing us in a country cart, and covering its open front and back with sheets, in the fashion practised by the families of Mussulmans when travelling, armed himself, and, mounting his horse, proceeded at our side to a place some twenty miles distant, where we halted for a time. We continued the journey for several successive days, till we reached Ahmednuggur; and he endeavoured the whole time, by the most vigilant attention and kindness, to lessen the discomforts of the road. In the course of the four or five days, I several times offered him a bag of rupees, which I begged, nay, besought him to take and use as freely for his own wants as for ours; but I could only persuade him to take very small sums from time to time, as they were required for our expenses. Again and again, in the course of our subsequent intercourse, knowing him to be much embarrassed by a large and unavoidable addition to his usual expenses, I begged him with great earnestness to allow me to relieve his necessities, or even (as I found it impossible to induce him to listen to this proposal) to accept any sum he might require for a time, and till, possibly, he might be in better circumstances: he said it would be a 'great disgrace' to him to accept money from me, and that he only desired 'that his name might be good' among the English; and neither by tears nor entreaties could I ever persuade him to change his mind. I had some difficulty in inducing him even to accept as a memorial a ring of little value which I chanced to have on my finger when I bade him farewell; but the tears streamed from his eyes when I told him I felt I owed him more than I ever could repay, and that to the latest hour of my life I should consider him one of my most valued friends. Since the above circumstance occurred, Booran's house has been burnt down, as it is supposed, by some one inimical to the English."

Such testimony is alike honourable to the protected and the protector; and the name of Booran Bucksh, of the 3rd Hyderabad cavalry, stands recorded with that of the fakir, Himam Bhartee of Dhunoura,* as rare exceptions, and most worthy of public

* See *ante*, p. 67.

acknowledgment among the few right-minded individuals of the native races who, at intervals, have stepped out from the chaos of revolt, to turn aside its horrors by alleviating the wretchedness of its otherwise helpless victims.

The progress of the insurrection had, by the middle of June, spread widely in every direction. Early in the month it had been announced, that the rajah of Etawah had rebelled, and had cut off all communication between Agra and Allahabad; that the Bhurtpore levies had joined the rebels at Muttra; that mutineers, driven from Lucknow, had made an irruption into the Doab, and stopped the dâk from the stations in that quarter of the presidency; that the troops at Gya were upon the eve of breaking out; and that the cavalry of the Malwa contingent had also mutinied. On the 27th of the month, it was officially announced that, with the exception of Lucknow, every station in Oude was in the hands of the rebels; and that Sir Henry Lawrence was so ill, that a council had been appointed to assist him.* On the other hand, assistance had been called for from the rajahs of Rewah and Banda, and the Nepaulese government had volunteered the aid of six regiments of Ghoorkas,† comprising 3,000 men, who were to flesh their swords among the revolted sepoys and zemindars of Oude.

At Midnapore (a town on the banks of the Cassal river, seventy-two miles W.S.W. from Calcutta), a regiment of native infantry, under the command of Colonel Forster, was dispatched with treasure to Calcutta on the 17th of June; and, as a specimen of the deference shown by the officers, and even by the government itself, to the humours and prejudices of the men, the following extracts from the correspondence incident to their march and reception at the capital, will not be out of place in these pages.

On the 21st, Lieutenant-colonel Forster, commanding the Shekawattee battalion, announced to the secretary to the government, that a party of 150 men of the regiment had marched, on the previous Wednesday, with treasure for Calcutta, and, he expected, would reach their destination about the 23rd or 24th: and he then proceeds to say—"As I believe that this will be the only party of native troops who will appear with their arms at the presidency, I humbly hope that the governor-general and his excellency the commander-in-chief, will, in consideration of their present trustworthy behaviour, on all occasions permit them the honour of retaining their arms."—This unusual application was followed by an extraordinary letter from another officer unconnected with the regiment, who addressed the secretary to the government in support of Colonel Forster's request. After stating that the regiment had been tampered with, but that it was not expected to be other than perfectly loyal; he says—"Now the loyalty and good disposition of this regiment depends conscientiously, and, I believe, entirely, on the trust reposed in the word of honour of their colonel, as their head. He is to them their governor-general; and any step, however trifling, tending to lead them to suppose he is not above board, would be highly detrimental to the good feeling that exists; and this leads me to the object in addressing you—viz., that a body of the regiment armed, and in whom perfect confidence is placed, have marched with treasure to Calcutta; and I conceive it would be a timely and wise measure, if the government took the opportunity of their presence to notice favourably both officers and men; that they, being honoured thereby, may, on their return to Midnapore, increase the high feeling among the rest of their comrades: whereas, if any of these men are distrusted by being disarmed, the case would be understood as one of treachery; would be aggravated by repetition; and would no sooner be heard, than a panic might seize the remainder, when no commanding officer, not even Colonel Forster, might be able to stem the consequences."

The writer then proceeds to describe his journey from Cuttack, in the Madras presidency, at which a portion of the regiment was stationed; and thus reports the state of military feeling at that place:—

"I lived with Captain Harris, at a dis-

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

† The Ghoorkas, from whom these regiments are named, are descended from a powerful tribe of Monghol origin (but chiefly of Hindoo faith and descent), who conquered Nepaul about the middle of the 17th century, and the government of the country has since been retained by their descendants, who are of a warlike disposition and ferocious habits when opposed to an enemy. The capital of Nepaul is called Ghoorka, from the name of the dominant tribe. These regiments are among the most valuable of our auxiliaries, and their bravery is unsurpassed.

tance from the station, and we were warned by a native to watch every hour of the night; that the Mussulmans were determined to subvert the raj; that there was no head, as there were no men of sufficient influence; but that they were at work with the regiment to tamper with the men. At 3 A.M., a Mussulman procession came, chanting, 'Khubudar Khuda Iita raho;' but on our going out, every fellow dispersed. This was either insolence or a feeler. However, they openly gave thanks when they heard of the reported massacre of the officers of some cavalry regiment. This was followed up by good espionage, which elicited the fact that the sepoys had been tampered with; but the body would have nothing to say to the business; whilst others said, that they were bound by both hands—in one they had their wives, in the other their children; and others with the excellent commanding officer, who is much loved by them. The grievance urged upon them was, that the Europeans were to be sent down to disarm them, and then they (the sepoys) are to be marched away several hundred miles. Now, a Madrassee, with his family and relations, is naturally most averse to march; and this weak point has been touched upon, but, I trust, ineffectually.—I am, &c.,

"W. D. SHORT, Captain, Engineers."

This singular appeal for the relaxation of a known rule, as regards native regiments, at the seat of government, merely for the sake of humouring the pride of the men, was transmitted by the secretary to the government to the deputy adjutant-general, with a "request that, in consideration of the good conduct and loyalty hitherto displayed by the men, his excellency the commander-in-chief may be moved to allow them to retain their arms, though the governor-general in council is of opinion, that they should not remain in Calcutta longer than may be necessary." With a belief thus encouraged, that they had only to make a demand, or desire a favour, to ensure its concession by the government, the haughty independence of discipline and subordination that characterised the native soldiers of the army of Bengal long previous to the actual outbreak of the revolt, cannot be surprising, however much the unchecked influence of such belief may be opposed to European notions of the unyielding firmness that is essential for the due maintenance of military discipline.

JUBBULPORE.—While upon the subject of temporising with men whose simple duty is instant and unquestioning obedience to command, the state of the 52nd regiment of native infantry, in cantonment at Jubbulpore—a small station in the south-western province, about 124 miles north-east of Nagpore—is not altogether undeserving of notice. Up to the commencement of June, the temper of the men had not appeared to be affected by the rumoured example presented by the native troops at other stations; and although, at times, intelligence from the disturbed districts occasioned much anxiety to the European residents, who had no means of repressing outrage if attempted by the troops, yet nothing to warrant a serious apprehension of immediate danger had occurred. Doubts would nevertheless disturb the equanimity of the little community which, in the language of one who shared the sunshine and the shade of the position, was "one day full of hope, and cheered by a feeling of comparative security, and the next depressed by gloomy forebodings, that led them to estimate their lives as not worth a day's purchase." This unenviable state of feeling was, however, approaching a crisis.

On the 9th of June, Major Erskine, commanding the 52nd regiment of Bengal infantry, in a communication to Mr. Plowden, the civil commissioner at Nagpore, observes:—"Here (Jubbulpore) all is quiet, and, to all appearance, the 52nd are behaving very well; but there is no saying how long this may last. I feel sure, that if the 52nd heard of a Madras force coming here, it would have the worst effect; but still, I think it would be right to strengthen the detachment at Seonee* by another company or two of Madras sepoys, and a troop of cavalry, with two guns and plenty of grape, from Kamptee, if only to reassure the inhabitants of the country there; and I shall be greatly obliged if you will order this; but with a full understanding that they are to come no nearer to us than Seonee, unless ordered by authority

* Seonee is a small civil station, in the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, on the high road from Nagpore to Jubbulpore, from which latter place it is distant eighty-seven miles in a southward direction: from Nagpore, Seonee is about seventy-seven miles, north. Kamptee is a cantonment of the Madras regular troops, and lies ten miles north of Nagpore, the capital of the rajah of Berar.

from this. I greatly fear, when the Saugor troops hear of the Jhansie affair, that they will rise and seize the treasury and magazine at Saugor; and if so, I can hardly expect the 52nd to stand quiet here. There is great alarm here amongst many of the Europeans, and I rather think some of them have resolved to send their families towards Seonee; but I hope all the civil officers will stand fast, and I can answer for myself and the deputy commissioner.—Please keep all I tell you private."

Upon receipt of this communication at Nagpore, it was at once transmitted to Brigadier Prior, in military charge of the district at Kamptee; who, considering that to detach the small force asked for, to remain inactive at a station nearly a hundred miles from the point supposed to be in danger, would be perfectly useless, and that if the 52nd regiment should actually mutiny, the whole of the convicts in the central and Thugge gaols at Jubbulpore, would, in all probability, be let loose upon the inhabitants—he deemed it expedient to put in motion a much larger detail, under the command of Major Baker, of the 32nd regiment, whose head-quarters would be at Seonee, while its active operations would be spread over the district, as occasion rendered necessary.* The commissioner, notifying this arrangement to Major Erskine, says—"I would strongly advise you not to halt the force at Seonee, but to order it on to Jubbulpore straight. The 52nd will never believe that the force is intended for the defence of the Seonee district; and I would therefore tell them openly, and at once, that it is coming to Jubbulpore, not because you doubt their continued fidelity, but because it is necessary to move up troops in the direction of the disturbed districts, and that you count with confidence on their joining the force in any service which may be required of it."

Notwithstanding the request of Major Erskine, that the object of his letter of the 9th of June should be kept "private," it seems that so early as the 12th, a rumour prevailed in the cantonment at Jubbulpore, that a large force of Europeans or Madrassees was advancing upon the station by forced marches, for the purpose of disarming the 52nd regiment. The report instantly threw the entire corps into a state of angry excitement, which presently assumed the features of a general mutiny. The officers were treated with disrespect, and their orders contemptuously disregarded; and when at noon the buglers sounded the usual dinner-call, the men of the grenadier and 1st companies refused to move in obedience to the summons. Gathering in little knots, they held consultation together; and a proposition being offered that they should take possession of the bells of arms, a general movement was made for the purpose. Any collision that might possibly have occurred with the European officers, in an attempt to effect the mutinous object, was, however, prevented for the moment by the persuasions of some well-disposed men of the regiment, who reminded their more impulsive comrades that the arms were, in fact, already in their possession, as their own regiment necessarily furnished the guard over them, and that they could use them at any time, if required, for defence of their honour. Whilst this disturbance raged in the lines, the subahdar-major of the regiment, an old and favourite officer, hastened to Major Erskine's quarters, and represented the excited state of the regiment, at the same time suggesting, that a few men of each company should be allowed leave to examine the roads and intervening country for a short time, and thereby satisfy the corps that no European troops were approaching in any direction—the assurances of their officers to that effect not being believed! To this extraordinary act of humiliation and confession of weakness the major assented; and some sepoys, in whom the regiment professed to have confidence, were selected by the different companies, and permitted by the commanding officer to start upon their mission. During the absence of these messengers, endeavours were made to restore subordination among the men; but they were deaf to remonstrance, and would not be persuaded that the report was only a mischievous fabrication. At length the scouts returned, and reported (as the fact then was), that they had neither heard of, or seen, any approaching European force; and, for a time, quiet prevailed at the station; but it was a quiet that brought with it no feeling of security—no confidence in its duration; and forebodings of ill were universal. An officer

* The movable column consisted of the 32nd regiment Madras infantry; one squadron 4th light cavalry, and one squadron irregular cavalry, with three guns from the field artillery, two 9-pounders, and one 24-pounder howitzer.

of the corps, writing on the 19th, says, in reference to this state of disquietude:—

"This mutiny (for it can be called by no other term) was the more to be regretted, as the men that same day had shown a good spirit under circumstances which might, if mutinous intentions existed, at once have brought things to a crisis. The adjutant was inspecting the men for duty: a man he had passed a pace or two suddenly rushed upon him with the cry of 'Death to the Feringhees!' and accompanied his cry with a downward thrust of his bayonet. The bayonet passed down the sleeve of the adjutant's jacket, and grazed his arm and side. A sudden turn forced the bayonet from the musket, and the old subahdar-major tried to seize the sepoy, but he was thrown down; the man, however, was soon captured, though he laid about him with the butt-end of his musket like a fiend. He has been twice treated for madness; so, if not mad, it is politic to say he was so on this occasion. He has been sent off to Benares under an escort. The man said he expected to have been backed by others, who had put him up to act as he did. I suppose his expected backers saw they would meet with no sympathy, and were not sufficiently numerous of themselves to get up a mutiny. There are a great number of good men in this 52nd regiment, and we must hope that they have sufficient interest to keep the bad men in order.

"On Sunday we heard of the march of a force from Kamptee to Seonee. This had to be told at once to the sepoys here; for they had said they would murder us all if any Europeans were sent here. Again the men were told they might send some of their number to see that the force had no intention of moving beyond Seonee. Good heavens! that it should have come to such a playing at soldiers as this! But what can we do but temporise? We are entirely at the mercy of a powerful body of armed men. No place of refuge or rendezvous to fly to in case of revolt; each must seek safety as best he may. The only arrangement we can come to is, that all have agreed to take the same road. Some ladies never take off their clothes at night, and all are prepared for immediate flight. Our carriage is drawn up at the door every night, and the horses kept harnessed; but for all that, we go to bed as in the most peaceful times, and sleep soundly. It is no blind confidence that enables us to do so. I think it is quite bad enough to be killed without fretting oneself to death beforehand. I keep ten or twelve of our servants sleeping near the carriage, and make one of them act as sentry while the others sleep in peace. I get up occasionally to see that my sentry is on the alert. This is the more necessary now, as Dr. W.'s house had a narrow escape of being set on fire four nights ago by some villains from the bazaar. We have now a chain of chowkedars all round the cantonment."

A second letter from this station, of the same date (19th of June), says—"One of the men, a few days ago, tried to stab Miller, the adjutant; fortunately, the first attempt was unsuccessful, and before he could make another the adjutant knocked him down, and the native officers rushed up and secured the would-be murderer, who has been tried, and acquitted on the ground of insanity. The truth is, the authorities were in too great fright to hang the scoundrel; for the sepoys had sworn they would not eat until they had released their comrade. The men say they will not mutiny unless a European regiment comes here to disarm them. The regiment is not under control. All the ladies have now left the station for Seonee and Nursingpore, and a great many of the male residents have also left; but, to all appearances, *all is serene*."

NAGPORE.—The important town of Nagpore (the Town of Serpents), capital of the province of Berar, in the Deccan, is situated about 265 miles north-east of Aurungabad, and, since its cession to the East India Company, has been the seat of civil government for the district of Nagpore. The military force at this place generally consisted of the irregulars of the contingent of the Berar rajah, and a small detachment of European artillery; and, in the month of June, 1857, the garrison consisted of the 1st regiment of irregular horse, a regiment of irregular infantry, and a troop of horse artillery. The adjacent hill fortress of Seetahbuldee was at the same time occupied by the European gunners. With disaffection raging around in all directions, it was not to be expected that Nagpore would escape the taint of the moral pestilence; but, with the exception of some mutinous conduct on the part of three native officers, which was fortunately discovered on the 12th of the month, there was nothing apparent in the conduct of the

troops to excite suspicion that they were otherwise than loyal. The arrest of these officers led, however, to the discovery that a plot was in agitation for a general rising of the native troops on the following day; and instant measures were taken to guard against the probable event. The fort and hill of Seetahbuldee were immediately placed in a state of defence, the outworks strengthened, and provisions for a month quietly stored, for the consumption of the garrison and the Europeans that might seek protection within it. The police of the town, and of the adjacent station at Kamptee, was also augmented; and all preliminary arrangements for ensuring safety being complete, it was deemed prudent to lose no further time in disarming the regiment to which the officers under arrest belonged, and which had been kept under vigilant surveillance from the time of their detection. Accordingly, on the morning of Tuesday, the 23rd of June, the decisive step was taken, under the circumstances detailed in the following telegraphic communication from the commissioner of Nagpore to the secretary to the government:—

"Nagpore, June 23rd, 1857, 12 P.M.

"The irregular cavalry were disarmed this morning. It was decided at 11 P.M. last night that this should be done; and at 2 A.M. all the arrangements were made. They were paraded with their arms, and mounted, to show that we did not fear them; the officer commanding (Colonel Cumberlage, 4th Madras cavalry) was authorised by me, if they made the slightest demur, to attack and exterminate them. I addressed the regiment. They first laid down their arms, then took their khogeers off their horses; then all the private arms in their lines, more numerous than their regimental arms, were collected. All the above were at once conveyed to the arsenal in carts ready for the purpose. They then ed their horses to the lines, and having picketed them, they brought their bridles, which were also sent to the arsenal. They were left with nothing but their horses and leading-ropes; some 650 mutinous cavalry have thus been rendered safe. Roll is to be called every four hours. Any man absent is to be treated as a deserter. The 1st irregular infantry took part in the proceedings. The trials of the native officers commence at ten to-morrow morning. Our great anxiety has, of course, been concerning a' other native troops, regular and irregular; for although none but the cavalry have shown the slightest symptoms of disloyalty, it is impossible not to feel that the native troops may turn against us at any moment. For this reason we have been unceasingly occupied in strengthening and providing for the defence of the hill at Seetahbuldee, as a last refuge for the handful of Europeans; for, isolated as we are, and in the monsoon season, possibly no succour from abroad could reach us for weeks."

On the following day the commissioner reported to government, that several suspicious strangers had been apprehended in the town, who were probably the scouts of parties collected in the neighbourhood, in readiness to take part in any disturbance. After mentioning some rumours as to the state of the surrounding districts, the commissioner proceeds to say—"I had written thus far when the alarm bugle was sounded on the Seetahbuldee hill; and shots followed from the picket at the residency gate. The residency has, since the night of the 13th, been a barrack for all the civil and military officers in Seetahbuldee. It proved to be a false alarm; but we are living at present in a terrible state of excitement."

The trials of the accused native officers for mutiny and rebellion commenced on the 22nd, and continued until the 29th, when they were found guilty of all the charges alleged against them; and, at nine o'clock on the morning of the following day, the three culprits were hanged upon a gibbet, erected on the hill of Seetahbuldee, in the presence of the troops, including the disarmed regiment to which they had belonged. Completely cowed by the promptitude and energy thus displayed, the men beheld the spectacle in silence, and not a murmur was heard, or an angry gesture seen, throughout the ranks assembled. The execution of these men had evidently a sedative effect upon the spirits of their surviving comrades, who quietly settled down to their duty, and Nagpore was for a time relieved from the incubus that had oppressed its European society.

By the middle of June the revolt had become universal in the Bengal army, which had ceased to exist, except as it appeared in disconnected bands of armed and desperate rebels, or in prodigious masses of disarmed malcontents, who were prowling about the country without any resource but plunder, or any object but wanton mischief and insatiable vengeance.

From Calcutta to Peshawur, and from Delhi to Hyderabad, India had become a theatre of savage strife, of anarchy, and of pitiless carnage; and already there was ample confirmation of the fact, that the premature outbreak at Meerut was simply a portion of an organised and well-concealed plan, by which it was intended to subvert the British government, and to restore an independent native sovereignty.

There can now be no doubt, that the disarming and imprisoning of the mutinous sowars of the 3rd Bengal light cavalry at Meerut, on the 10th of May, precipitated the blow that, in its concentrated and sudden might, would have crushed the power of England upon the soil of India. The consequence of that precipitancy was to disorganise the whole insurrectionary plan; and instead of the widely-dispersed European troops having to contend with and resist one simultaneous movement of the entire native army, the disaffected mass was broken into details and fragments, that were no longer difficult to grapple with and subdue as they successively presented themselves.

Had the efforts of the Mohammedan and Hindoo sepoys and sowars, to re-establish the dynasty of their ancient native sovereigns, been guided by the feelings that distinguish human nature from that of the most ferocious among animals, the world, while amazed at their hopeless folly, might have given them credit for patriotism and valour; but from the first step toward this coveted independence, their track has been marked by wanton devastation, and stained with innocent blood. The soldiers of the late Bengal army have put themselves beyond the pale of humanity, and the usages of civilised warfare; for their arms have been savagely employed against helpless women and unoffending children! They have slaughtered the defenceless without provocation and without mercy; submission has failed to propitiate; and the tears of woman in her soul's agony have had no influence to stay the uplifted arm of the unprovoked murderer, or to rescue her shrieking child from his ferocious grasp. The craven hordes that have dishonoured manly weapons by coward blows, have not, in this death-struggle, sought to make war on men, but on women and on children, and yet it is for such as these that morbid sensibility would urge a plea for moderate punishment, and has profaned the spirit of Christianity by appeals for mercy in its name.

ARRAH.—Continuing the narrative of occurrences connected with the revolt in June, 1857, we find that at Arrah (a populous town in the district of Patna, situated about twenty-five miles west of Dinapore, and thirty-six south-west of Patna), great alarm was occasioned, in the early part of June, by a report that the 65th regiment had mutinied and attacked Ghazcepore, from whence they intended to march upon Buxar and Arrah. On the receipt of this intelligence, a meeting of the European inhabitants was held at the residence of the magistrate, and prompt arrangements were made for the defence of the place and the safety of individuals. At this meeting, a determination to abide at their posts was unanimously expressed by all the gentlemen present, and they separated for the avowed purpose of carrying out the defensive measures decided upon. In the course of the same night, however, news arrived that an indigo factory at Buxar had been burnt down, and that a portion of a Sikh regiment, in a state of revolt, was in the neighbourhood. The consternation now became uncontrollable; and instead of remaining to defend themselves at Arrah, immediate flight was determined upon. The magistrate, Mr. H. C. Wake, endeavoured to prevail upon the men in government employ to remain at their posts; but his arguments and remonstrances were powerless to keep them to their duty, although he declared that nothing should induce him to abandon the charge entrusted to him as a public servant. In this exigency, five individuals only of the whole European community at Arrah, announced their determination to abide with, and share the fate of the magistrate. These were the judge, — Littledale, Esq.; Mr. Combe, collector; Mr. Colvin, assistant-magistrate; Dr. Hall; and Mr. Cock, head-clerk to the collector. Uninfluenced by the generous and very proper example thus afforded, the rest of the Europeans, amounting to about twenty-five males, with their families, procured conveyances in the afternoon of the 10th, and fled towards Dinapore. The people employed upon some railway-works at the adjacent station of Shahabad, also deserted their work, and joined the panic-stricken fugitives. The effect of this hasty and most unseemly exhibition of terror and desertion was naturally to damage very

seriously the *prestige* which it was especially the duty of every *employé* in the public service to endeavour, at such a crisis, to maintain; and immediately upon their departure becoming known, the native inhabitants became excited, and a popular outbreak was hourly expected. The magistrate had, however, fortified his house, and was prepared, with his five gallant companions, to hold his post to the last extremity. Fortunately, the rumoured danger at hand, as well as that said to be approaching from Buxar, had no foundation but in the excited imagination of those who speculated upon the fears of the timid; the 65th regiment being still in a perfect state of discipline at its quarters in Ghazeepore.

Mr. Wake, as officiating magistrate of Shahabad, on the same day, reported to the secretary to the government as follows:—

"Arrah, June 10th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to submit the following report, demi-official for obvious reasons:—Until the last few days there was no evidence of any particular feeling in the district; but a false report of a mutiny at Ghazeepore, and of the march of insurgents on Buxar, produced a panic which my utmost exertions failed to allay. Every European employed on the railway, contractors and engineers, with a very few honourable exceptions, who are now with us, have fled the district: the effect of such a proceeding on the native mind I need not describe. Myself, and the rest of the officials, show ourselves everywhere at every hour of the day and night, and the excitement I hope will soon subside.—I have, &c.

"H. C. WAKE."

The sudden arrival of the runaways at Dinapore, on the morning of the 10th of June, occasioned much surprise and consternation among the residents there; and, for a short time, produced a feeling of doubt for the safety of that place also. The evil was, however, but transient, and confidence was restored. On the next day, the pusillanimity of the Arrah fugitives was deservedly reproved by the following public order, conveyed through General Lloyd, then in command of the troops at Dinapore:—

"The commissioner of Patna has heard with extreme surprise and dissatisfaction, that several Englishmen in the district of Shahabad have left their houses and the station in which they live, and fled to Dinapore, although the magistrate of Arrah had, in consultation with many of them, made admirable arrangements for rendezvous and defence. In such a critical time as the present, the commissioner thinks it his duty to waive all ceremony, and to exhort all those who have thus left their district, to return to Arrah as quickly as possible, and give their support, like men, to the magistrate of the district.

"This is a crisis when every Englishman should feel that his individual example is of importance. All men of honour and spirit should refrain from exhibiting alarm or encouraging unnecessary panic; and wherever it is practicable, should band together for mutual defence and protection. Where this is done, the commissioner confidently anticipates, upon all occasions, the most complete success at every such post, the moral effects of which will be most advantageous. The treasure is now on its way from Arrah, and the only immediate danger to be apprehended is danger which will pass over in a few hours, and will be repelled by common firmness and precaution.—(June 11th.)

"W. TAYLOR, Commissioner."*

This mild, but sufficiently expressive reproof from the civil commissioner of Patna, had the effect desired, and the gentlemen returned to their various duties at Arrah, leaving their families at Dinapore, for better protection than they considered it possible themselves to afford. The conduct of Mr. H. C. Wake was reported to the government by the commissioner, as exhibiting great zeal, ability, and spirit; and it was also stated, that through the confidence inspired by his bold and active measures, and the support he received from the public officers who remained with him, order was preserved among the native inhabitants at the station, throughout the interval during which it was abandoned by the other Europeans.

On the 18th of June, Mr. Wake wrote to the secretary to the government of Bengal as follows:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the lieutenant-governor, that, with the assistance of the commissioner and the general in command at Dinapore, I have succeeded in recalling a number of the Europeans who had fled the district; and some of the railway-works being resumed, confidence is in a great measure restored. At the same time, this district, swarming as it is with sepoys and their

* Parl. Papers, Appendix A., p. 11.

relations, and also in some parts with budmashes of every description, I feel confident that a mutiny of the sepoys at Dinapore would be followed by the most disastrous consequences. Of course, no amount of extra police would be of any avail under such circumstances; and considering that the high road up country lies straight through the district, it would, if possible, be highly advisable that a European detachment should be stationed here, both to keep the district in check, in the event of a rising, and to intercept and prevent combined movement on the part of the insurgent sepoys.

"For the protection of the town from plunderers, and for watching the ghauts leading from Ghazeepore, I have entertained an additional force of one hundred burkandazes.—I am, &c.—H. C. WAKE."

This communication was acknowledged by the assistant-secretary to the government, on the 24th, who says—"I am instructed to state, in reply to your letter of the 18th, that the lieutenant-governor highly approves of all your proceedings, and, though he trusts there is no longer cause for apprehending a mutiny at Dinapore, he fully recognises the importance of the continuance of those judicious and energetic measures you have hitherto adopted, as they cannot fail to promote that feeling of confidence which you mention as only partially restored, while they will act at the same time as a powerful check on budmashes, and other evil-disposed persons, who at seasons like the present are on the watch to commit robberies or other heinous crimes.—I have, &c.,

"E. H. LUSHINGTON."

No notice whatever was taken of Mr. Wake's application for a military detachment to be stationed at Arrah; and the consequences arising from the neglect, were not very long before they became apparent, as we shall hereafter show.

On the 18th of June, the commissioner of Patna wrote to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, for precise and definite instructions to guide him in the extraordinary circumstances that were gathering around him; and says—"The people of all the districts to the west of Chupra are in open revolt. All the English of Moozufferpore have written to demand protection, as they distrust the Najeebs who are in charge of the gaol and treasury. All Buxar and Shahabad rushed into Dinapore, some, they say, disguised as women, and have been only driven back by proclamation from me, copy of which I send you.* These are no light matters; and if you could but see the daily letters that pour in, asking me for instructions, and repeating horrid tales—asking for guards, and yet praying me not to send the only guards I have, because they are mistrusted—you would see what a difficult game I have to play."

On the 22nd, this application was curtly acknowledged. The zeal and activity of the commissioner had given umbrage at the seat of government; and a line of conduct that, by its energetic action, strongly contrasted with the sluggish movements of the officials in high places, could not be tolerated in a commissioner or a magistrate. It was therefore deemed expedient to put a check upon both. Mr. Wake, to whom the preservation of order at Arrah was mainly attributable, received, in reply to a letter addressed, in his magisterial character to the secretary to the government of India, an official notification that his letter should have been addressed to the government to which he was immediately subordinate, and a request, that "in all communications he might desire to make, he would bear that in mind in future." With the commissioner of Patna a more elaborate system of repression was resorted to, as shown in the following correspondence:—

"Fort William, June 25th, 1857.

"Sir,—Intelligence has reached the lieutenant-governor, from a private source, that, on the 21st instant, you arrested certain influential Mohammedan gentlemen at Patna, and caused the town to be searched in order to disarm the population. Whether these measures were right or wrong, the lieutenant-governor has no means of judging. They are certainly extraordinary, and, at first sight, open to much question. But the lieutenant-governor has to complain seriously, that he hears, on such occasions, nothing from you of your intentions, and nothing of your acts till after they have been completed; and that your method of reporting to government, at the present important crisis, is loose, desultory, and incomplete; your letters being generally written in a hurried, and often unintelligible manner, as if you could possibly have any more pressing or important duty than that of keeping the government

* See preceding page.

fully, accurately, and clearly informed of all your purposes and acts at so eventful a period.

"For instance, the latest news from you is a letter, which is a good specimen of the style of your correspondence during this period, and is in the following words:—'All is still well; and I am in great hopes we may weather the storm. I will write to-morrow, and detail all I have been doing.'

"As to weathering the storm—an expression you have used more than once—there has, in reality, been no storm at all at Patna. But passing this over, the lieutenant-governor finds it difficult to believe, that when this was written, you had actually taken, or were just about to take, the extraordinary and possibly dangerous step alluded to in the commencement of this letter, and yet not only never alluded to it in that or any previous letter, but have not even sent the promised details on the following day; for the dâk of the 22nd has been received here, and has brought no report from you.

"I am desired to intimate the lieutenant-governor's dissatisfaction at this kind of conduct, and to request that you will change it.—I am, &c.—A. R. YOUNG."*

To this extraordinary official communication, Mr. Taylor replied thus:—

"Patna, June 28th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th instant. I regret that the lieutenant-governor should disapprove of my writing to him privately, or demi-officially, as I have hitherto done on other subjects; and I shall be careful to confine myself, in future, to official communications. The time appeared to me to be the time for action, and not for unnecessary writing.

"I have now the honour to forward a memorandum, showing the measures I have adopted, and the grounds which led to their adoption. Had I thought that words written in hurried, demi-official notes, would have been quoted in a public letter to my disparagement, I should never have addressed the lieutenant-governor in that form.

"His honour says that there has been no storm at Patna. I am thankful to say there has not been; and this being the case, perhaps the expression quoted may not be strictly or philosophically accurate; but my meaning was obvious, namely, that we should escape the storm which was raging round us; and this is scarcely the time for metaphorical expressions to be closely analysed.

"I trust that, if it be found I have provided for the safety, convenience, and comfort of all around, at much personal inconvenience and expense—if I have taken measures which have given assurance to all, and taken away all power of mischief from the disaffected—if, amidst much terror and some pusillanimity, I have taken throughout a high tone, and reduced the people of this dreaded city to a state of submissiveness not known before—if it is found that I have done all this, and done it quickly and successfully, though at some personal risk and responsibility—I trust the lieutenant-governor will kindly pardon the brevity of my bulletins, and overlook the inaccuracy of a nautical metaphor.

"I shall not fail to send up, henceforth, an official memorandum of all important proceedings.—I have, &c.,

"W. TAYLOR."

It was obvious that this style of epistolatory skirmishing was likely to bring matters to a crisis with the correspondents. Accordingly, on June 27th, the secretary to the government addresses the commissioner thus:—

"Sir,—The lieutenant-governor has received a scarcely intelligible demi-official note from you, dated 23rd instant, written, as usual, in a hurry, and affording no tangible information. It is very probable you may be doing all that is right, and the lieutenant-governor is willing to place all reasonable confidence in your zeal and discretion; but that you should keep the government wholly in the dark for days and days together, while you darkly intimate that you are adopting measures of great responsibility and importance, is, I am directed to say, quite intolerable. It is impossible that you should have anything to do of greater importance than of keeping the government informed of your proceedings.

"Should this most unsatisfactory state of things not be speedily amended, the lieutenant-governor, I am directed to say, will be constrained to supersede you (however unwillingly), in order that he may have, at Patna, an officer who will keep up the proper and necessary communication

* Parl. Papers, Appendix A., p. 18.

with his superiors. He trusts you will not force him to this extremity.—I have, &c.,

"A. R. YOUNG."

GYA.—In the old city of Gya, or Gayah (situate on a branch of the Ganges, about forty-three miles south-west of Bahar), a strong manifestation of disquietude was early apparent. The population of the town, owing to its being a favourite resort of pilgrims, fluctuates at different periods of the year, but generally ranges from 80,000 to 100,000 persons; and the spirits of the people seemed to rise or fall as intelligence reached the place of the success or failure of the insurrectionary movement in other parts of the country. The Mohammedan portion of the inhabitants took no pains to conceal their disaffection. On the 11th of June, the officiating magistrate of Bahar informed the government, by telegraph, that the unprotected state of the station called for serious attention, as, in the event of an outbreak at Dinapore, it would assuredly be followed by disturbances at Gya; and no assistance could possibly be obtained from the nearest military station (Shergotty) under a delay of eighteen hours. At that time the treasury at Gya contained about eight lacs of rupees; and in the gaol were confined some 850 prisoners of the worst characters, with merely a native police gaol guard for the protection of the whole. Under such circumstances, a detachment of 100 or 150 European troops was asked for, it being well known that the neighbouring station of Dinapore was in a state of great ferment, and that a rising among the native troops in cantonments there was daily looked for. To this application no immediate reply was vouchsafed, while the state of affairs continued to progress from bad to worse. Reports were hourly spread that budmashes and others of the Mohammedan population were strolling about in parties, poisoning the minds of their neighbours with wild stories about the destruction of the English *raj*. The massacre of Europeans in the North-West Provinces and other places was dwelt upon with exultation; and it became evident that the slightest impulse would suffice to raise the whole population in arms against European authority. On the 13th and 14th, information was given to the magistrate that some decisive act was upon the eve of execution; and at length it was asserted that, on the 15th, a general revolt would take place. While in this state of suspense and apprehension, a reply to the representation of the 11th instant was received; and on the morning of the 15th, eighty men of her majesty's 64th regiment arrived at the place, and were lodged in the circuit bungalow, in the very midst of the town. The effect produced by their unexpected arrival is thus described by the officiating magistrate, in a letter of the 20th of June:—"The move was so perfectly sudden and unexpected, that its effect upon the inhabitants is really extraordinary, both awe and respect having been created thereby. We shall have now chiefly to guard against the approach of men of disbanded regiments, the bad characters, and the machinations of disaffected Mohammedans. It is reported from several places in my jurisdiction, that men are wandering about in the guise of fakirs, and tampering with the villagers. I am doing my best to have all such apprehended and brought to trial."—The meditated revolt at Gya was therefore nipped in the bud; and the safety of the Europeans in the neighbourhood was, for a time, effectually provided for.

Unfortunately, about this period, the rapidly increasing difficulties that were presented to the provincial magistrates and officers in charge of small stations, began to render their incessant but necessary appeals to the attention of government somewhat irksome to the authorities at head-quarters; and the impatience thereby created was too frequently exhibited in petty objections to the style and manner of the correspondence, rather than to the matter communicated. In all directions the most active magistrates were officially snubbed, and their proceedings objected to, although necessarily acquiesced in. We have seen the manner in which the commissioner of Patna and the magistrate at Arrah were treated; and the following correspondence will show that the tone adopted in their case was not an exclusive one.

MIDNAPORE.—The prejudices of *caste* that were allowed to flourish in mischievous luxuriance among the ranks of the Bengal native army, were also recognised among the convicts that peopled the prisons of the country, whose fastidiousness respecting food was religiously indulged. It appears that in the gaol at Midnapore there were, in the beginning of June, about 800 prisoners, of whom 100 were at the time under trial before the assistant Dacoity commissioner, still unfettered but with a perfect

knowledge that transportation for life would be their inevitable fate. Upon occasion of a visit of the officiating magistrate, Mr. S. Lushington, to the gaol at meal-time, he observed, to his surprise, that all the prisoners, sentenced or unsentenced, of every class—those in charge for the gravest offences, and those for trifling misdemeanors—congregated together, and had free and unchecked communication with each other. This extraordinary laxity in prison management appeared to the magistrate incompatible with the discipline of a gaol, or the safe custody of the prisoners; the whole gaol guard numbering but ninety-seven men, armed with swords, of whom not more than ten were on duty at one time. Mr. Lushington, therefore, at once ordered that the prisoners should eat in their respective wards (as had formerly been the custom), to which the food was to be brought to them by the Brahmins who cooked it. The arrangement gave offence; and on the following day, the European gaoler reported that fifty-one of the prisoners had refused to eat. About ten o'clock the same evening, the magistrate, accompanied by a military officer and his assistant, visited the gaol, and found it requisite, on account of the determined conduct of some of the malcontents, to order three or four of them to be flogged. This had the desired effect; the rest of the prisoners consented to take their food, and the affair appeared to be settled.

On the 4th of the month, Lieutenant-colonel Forster, commanding the Shekawattee battalion at Midnapore, wrote to the secretary to the government of India as follows:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the governor-general of India in council, that a *thannah burkandaze* (gaol guard) belonging to the civil authorities at Midnapore (a Brahmin), came into the military lines this morning shortly after the regiment had been dismissed from exercise, and told the men that several of the gentlemen of this station, and the magistrate, had visited the gaol last night, and compelled the prisoners to eat beef and pork; and he left it to the men of this regiment to decide whether they would submit to such degradation.

"The burkandaze was armed with a sword, and is a known bad character. The sepoys took little notice of the story; and two of them followed him as he was retiring from the lines, and, at a favourable opportunity, seized and disarmed the intruder, and forthwith handed him over to the civil authorities, where immediate investigation took place. I trust the energetic measures adopted by Mr. Lushington will be viewed by his lordship in council as they merit, and that speedy permission will be granted for executing the culprit, whose nefarious endeavours to raise the flames of discontent amongst the sepoys at so critical a period, deserve immediate punishment. Had the culprit been caught within the lines of cantonments, I would not have hesitated one moment in hanging him, after a drum-head court-martial.—I am, &c.,

"H. Forster, Lieutenant-colonel."

In the magistrate's report of the occurrence, it was further stated, that the man had told the sepoys, that he (the magistrate) and other officers had fed the Hindoo and Mussulman prisoners with pork and beef, and that the kotwal had sent him to tell them, that "as the power was in their hands, so they should act." The prisoner had also, the same morning, addressed the guard at the treasury to the same effect, with the addition, that "after flogging some sepoy prisoners, the magistrate and his attendants had forcibly filled their mouths with forbidden food." The requisite authority having been received, the man, Brindabun Tewarre, was tried for an attempt to raise sedition and mutiny among the sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion, by working upon their religious prejudices; and, being duly convicted, was hung at noon on the 8th of June. The result of this affair, so far as the civil magistrate was concerned, was a notification from the government at Bengal, that as far as prisoners under trial were concerned, his proceedings were "irregular," and that prisoners were not to be brought under prison discipline, as regards their food, until after they were tried and convicted. He was also informed, that he should, in future, address all further communications he might have occasion to make to the government of Bengal, not to the government of India. The error of Mr. Lushington in this case, was not, however, the last, or the reproof the most severe with which he was visited by his superiors. On the 17th of June, the same magistrate informed the government of Bengal, that a few weeks previous, two sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion had made an aggravated

assault upon a comrade, who for a long time was unable, from his injuries, to make the necessary depositions; and before he could do so, the revolt had broken out. Evidence was at length obtained against the two men; but the evening after the trial, the magistrate received a note from Colonel Forster, stating that some forty men of his regiment had been with him, interceding for their pardon; that he had told them the affair was in the hands of the civil magistrate, but that he thought it desirable they should be liberated. The following day, Colonel Forster again interposed, begging the magistrate to liberate the men at once, and remove them from the neighbourhood of his regiment. He was very urgent, and repeatedly said, "Do it at once; do it to-morrow." The magistrate, thus pressed, gave way, and the two men were sent off, under a guard, to Burdwan, thence to be forwarded under police surveillance on their way home, which, it appeared, was somewhere near Delhi. This communication produced, on the 20th, a reply from the secretary to the government of Bengal, in which he says—"I am desired to inform you, that the lieutenant-governor considers your proceedings in this matter to have been weak and injudicious. His honour wholly disapproves of what you have done, and instructions have this day been issued to the magistrate of Burdwan, for the detention of the men in the gaol of that district till further orders."—Further information was also required from Mr. Lushington.

Upon the receipt of this unqualified censure, the magistrate, whose functions were thereby virtually suspended, addressed the following letter to the secretary to the government of Bengal:—

"Midnapore, June 24th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 20th of June, in which his honour is pleased to characterise my conduct, in the matter of releasing the two sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion, as weak and injudicious, and wholly to disapprove of my proceedings; at the same time to call for a further report. I cannot say whether I was more surprised or disappointed at receiving such condemnation; but I am fain to believe that, from his honour calling for a further report, I must have entered too little into the details to make myself well understood. I accordingly annex three papers: first, an abstract of the case against the two sepoys;* secondly, a copy of a letter from Colonel Forster, C.B., to whom I showed your communication under reply; and lastly, a copy of my letter to the magistrate of Burdwan. From the second, it will be seen that I had little choice of action, if I were to accept the interpretation of the temper of his sepoys as worthy of attention and belief. The amount of choice lay, I contend, simply between acting as I did, and previously obtaining the sanction of government to move from the usual course. I shall venture to repeat the circumstances that occurred.

"Previous to the commencement of the trial, Colonel Forster wrote to me to beg me to let them off, as many of his regiment (some forty or fifty) had keenly interceded for them; and that, in his opinion, it would be a wise proceeding, looking at the temper of the times, to concede the boon to them in consideration of their late good conduct in the matter of Brindabun Tewarree; that, at the same time, the regiment wished them to be removed from their neighbourhood, as they were turbulent characters and might corrupt others; that there were many of their caste (Goojurs) in the regiment, and many more out of it, living in the vicinity of the town. I would not accede to his request, but held the trial; nor had I the slightest intention of yielding the point until three or four days had elapsed, when I again received a letter from Colonel Forster, urging me to release them. I went to call upon him; and hearing that the solicitations had become more earnest each day; that the colonel conceived his men so resolute that they would take the law into their own hands; that he repeatedly entreated me to release them (as I wrote before) 'at once—the very next morning;' I took upon myself the responsibility of acting against the law—to my mind, as our service is constituted, requiring just as much courage as relaxing the just authority of the civil power has appeared to indicate weakness.

"If my real sin consists in not having applied to government for instructions, as indicated in paragraph 3, I can only reply, that I would gladly have done so had I had the opportunity. Until I received Colonel Forster's second letter, I had not any occa-

* This abstract is unimportant, as merely stating the incidents of a personal quarrel between the three sepoys.

sion to apply to government: I was, as you say, 'going to do my duty as a magistrate under the law.' When that second letter came, I tried to do my duty as a servant to my masters; and as the colonel plainly told me that delay was dangerous, I acted without hesitation or fear. It may have been injudicious; but there was a tolerable array of argument in my favour: first, I had the opinion of the colonel (who raised the regiment, and has commanded it for three-and-twenty years, and therefore might be well supposed to understand the temper of his men), that if I did not yield, the men would rise and take the law into their own hands; secondly, the same officer recommended immediate action on my part; thirdly, although I am very conscious of the moral force of the law, I knew that we had ample evidence how it may be ignored and trampled upon by the turbulent in times of excitement, and in that case I remembered how poor a show I could make with my material force; and chose, as his honour is pleased to call it, 'the weak side.' But I respectfully submit this question: What would have been said of me if I had not yielded, and the regiment had risen to release their comrades? Could anybody dare to say that that would be the limit of their insubordination, after the examples they had seen of successful rebellion; and on whose head would have fallen the responsibility in that case? Colonel Forster is good enough now to desire to bear the responsibility of what has occurred on his own shoulders. It is for him, certainly, to bear the responsibility of the interpretation of the temper of his own men; but he cannot bear mine for acting on his opinion; and if he might, I would not allow it.

"With regard to the first part of paragraph 3, I can only say, that I perfectly agree that it would be an impossibility to escort the men to Delhi. No man in his senses would think of giving such an order. I used the word 'homewards.' Nothing can be clearer, from my letter to Mr. Lawford, than that I allowed that they were free men. To see them removed from the neighbourhood of this regiment was absolutely necessary; how long they were to be watched, was left to the judgment of each officer as they passed through his district. If they were dangerous men, and still not to be in confinement, it was better that they should stand alone in the world than be left here to corrupt their comrades. Colonel Forster only wrote to me this morning, in a private letter—'Supposing they mingled amongst my sepoys, and told them what Brindabun Tewarree had said was true, not one of us would be alive six hours after, though we might exert ourselves to our utmost to show the folly of the assertion.' Fortunately for Colonel Forster, his character is known to the public: mine has to be known yet; and I think that when his honour knew how much it was in his power to tarnish it, he might have asked me for a further explanation before he branded me as a weak and injudicious officer. I have at least the satisfaction of knowing, that my presence in the station has not been so understood by its residents; though I do not conceal that I regret much having incurred his honour's displeasure.

"With reference to his honour's declared intention of detaining the men at Burdwan, I shall do no more than draw the attention of his honour to the corresponding paragraph of Colonel Forster's letter. If they be brought back, I shall then indeed believe that I must have been wrong in listening to Colonel Forster's warnings; if not, I shall draw consolation that government have only believed him whom I believed.—I have, &c.,

"S. LUSHINGTON."

The enclosed letter from Lieutenant-colonel Forster to the officiating magistrate, ran thus:—

"Midnapore, June 24th, 1857.

"Sir,—In compliance with your desire, I beg to submit my opinion as regards the removal of the two men, Gopal Sing and Dataram (late sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion), who were placed in confinement in the civil gaol of Midnapore for an assault on another sepoy (Bhoora Sing), believed to be a connection of the two above-named offenders. The fact that these men committed the assault laid to their charge there can be no doubt of: they were always turbulent, bad characters; still, they were of one clan (Goojurs); and it is well known that, at the time, a very general irritable feeling existed, not only in the city, but in the district around, and it was greatly enhanced by the open seditious conduct of the Brahmin burkandaze, Brindabun, belonging to the police, who, for openly tampering with the regiment and inducing them to rise and mutiny, was taken by the sepoys, and was subsequently hung. This

miscreant had, as associates, some 250 or 300 desperate adherents, spoken of as at hand, congregated around the neighbouring country; and, could they have succeeded in their base and deep-laid plans to secure the sympathy of my regiment, they proposed to let the prisoners out of the gaol (some 700 or 800); and among them were these two very turbulent characters.

"It was, I believe, ascertained that a greater portion of the gaol guard were of the same clan (Goojurs), so that they could not be entirely trusted; and a military guard was sent, when, of course, it became my duty to act with discretion in selecting men for that work, and to keep back all Goojurs; for although this regiment has ever done its duty with credit and distinction whenever called upon (and I trust it ever will), yet a commanding officer would deserve little credit if he wholly overlooked the temper of the times, and omitted to make use of his past experience to regulate and guide his course at such eventful periods, instead of evincing apparent ignorance of the springs and motives which move human actions even in the most peaceable times. It remains for me to state, that the several brethren of the two prisoners (and, foremost among them, Bhoora Sing—the man who had received the injury) came to me and threw themselves at my feet, and, touching the ground with their foreheads, implored me to pardon the two offenders from further punishment, as they had been already punished by confinement in the gaol for some time, and were no longer in the service; they added, that 'they deemed them as unworthy of further favour, and rather than let them loose here to do possible mischief, or to join bad characters in the district, to solicit as a favour of the magistrate, to cause them to be sent away, under police surveillance, to the limits of the ellaqua.' I also hold a petition from several of the brethren, praying for my good offices with the magistrate, humbly begging compliance, and giving me reasons, which I shall explain, as their respectful appeal seemed to me to demand attention.

"The reasons afforded by the party who prayed for my endeavours to induce the magistrate to listen to their present solicitations, had deep interest as connected with the future peace of their respective families, and that there would be no safety for them hereafter, when they returned to their homes, 'if the offenders had suffered further disgrace for only fighting among themselves,' and at their instigation; family feuds would be the result among the whole clan, which would lead to deplorable results and to bloodshed, as both the men belonged to an influential party, and they had homes beyond the limits of British jurisdiction.

"When I reflected over all these circumstances, as well as the desire I felt at a crisis like the present, to keep all calm and steady for any unexpected call we might be required to assist in, I consented to their entreaty, and at once begged you to meet my views on this point, and to send the two offenders away from Midnapore district, although it might not be the common course in ordinary times.

"You were pleased to comply (after much entreaty) with my request, though the acquiescence was with difficulty obtained. I cannot allow you to bear blame for the act which was urged on you by me on no common grounds; and I am sure when the lieutenant-governor of Bengal is made fully acquainted with the case, he will not view it as an affair to be dealt with as a common police daily transaction. I now deem it my duty to state that, as these two men, Gopal Sing and Dataram, had been given to understand that they were to go free when out of the Midnapore ellaqua, it will undoubtedly cause a serious distrust on the part of their brethren now in the corps, if that is not carried into effect. I am satisfied that the lieutenant-governor of Bengal will see how unadvisable it will be to have them detained in custody elsewhere, after leaving Midnapore under assurance of release. I must earnestly entreat that you will represent this matter to the serious attention of his honour, so that he may be pleased to permit them to depart to their homes, as was told them here.

"Undoubtedly, strict rules of law are not only commendable, but necessary to be upheld on most occasions; but there are times when we may be reminded that 'summum jus, summa injuria;' and there is no time when our active energies and zeal require more earnest support and encouragement than the present, when every officer, both civil and military, placed in prominent positions and authority, can feel but one deep and solemn responsibility, and who are to the utmost of their ability doing their duty, and upholding and supporting the government whom they have the honour to serve.

"This explanation, I earnestly hope, will prove amply satisfactory to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and exculpate you from all blame, especially as there was not time for any reference in a case of emergency.—I have, &c.—HENRY FORSTER,

"Commanding the Shekawattee battalion at Midnapore."

The following is the letter referred to in Mr. Lushington's report of the 24th June, as addressed to the magistrate of Burdwan:—

"Midnapore, June 14th, 1857.

"Sir,—This letter will be brought you by one of four burkandazes who are employed in escorting two discharged sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion. These two men are great scoundrels, and were handed over to me by the colonel of their regiment on a charge of assaulting, with intent to murder, one of their own fellow-sepoys. The case was tried by me, and I should have committed them without fail; but their colonel, finding that great sympathy was experienced for them by many blackguards in his regiment, promised that he would obtain their release; and therefore at his request, in these times amounting to an order, I have consented to simply transferring them homewards. It will be for you to consider whether you will continue the escort, or not; but I beg to warn you that they are considered dangerous characters. A hue-and-cry roll will be carried by the burkandazes to enable you to recapture them in the event of escape. I have also furnished each with a kind of pass, in the event of your not thinking fit to send them on in charge of the police. Bancoorah, of course, would have been the direct route, but I thought it advisable to avoid that place, as they have comrades there.

"I have, &c.—S. LUSHINGTON."

The reply to Mr. Lushington's explanatory letter and enclosures ran thus:—

"Fort William, June 26th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, in reply to mine of the 20th, on the subject of the illegal release of two prisoners charged with assault and attempt to murder. The lieutenant-governor regrets that you should have been so ill-advised as to defend your hasty, illegal, and injudicious act regarding these men: when you have greater experience you will be less ready to defend what has been unqualifiedly condemned by your superiors.

"The plain fact is, that 'many blackguards in Colonel Forster's regiment' (these are your own words) have, in this instance, been allowed to dictate the law; and two men clearly guilty of assault with attempt to murder, and men of notoriously bad character otherwise, have been illegally set at liberty by you, merely because it would have offended other bad men in the regiment to have punished them. And such haste was evinced to succumb to the dictates of these men, 'blackguards' as you describe them, that although you have no power to liberate them, and a reference to the government which had the power would only have occupied two days, it was thought proper to avoid even that delay, and liberate them (practically) at once: thus clearly showing that it was done to prevent offence to the bad characters of the regiment, and allowing such men, with arms in their hands, to dictate to the civil power. If the reasons assigned were of the smallest force, it is obvious that you cannot in future proceed to punish any men of the Shekawattee battalion regarding whom a sufficient number of bad soldiers can be found to express, or to hint, a decided opinion against their punishment.

"Such an abandonment of his functions at the dictation of others can never be permitted to a magistrate, and you must be most careful to avoid it in future. Regarding the men themselves, since Colonel Forster has now treated it as a military question, the lieutenant-governor will solicit the orders of the governor-general in council, and these will hereafter be communicated to you.—I have, &c.—A. R. YOUNG."

By order of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, the foregoing correspondence and enclosures were accordingly transmitted, on the 26th of June, for the consideration of the governor-general in council; at the same time expressing his own opinion, that "the men should be, at any risk, tried and punished." On the same day, the papers were returned by the secretary to the government of India; who says—"I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, that it appears to the governor-general in council, that the word of government is pledged, practically, to the release of these men; and that to act contrary to that pledge, might lead to serious results. The course, therefore, to be pursued is, that the magistrate of Burdwan should be instructe

immediately, by telegraph, to release the men from gaol, and to pass them on, under surveillance of the police, towards their homes in the North-Western Provinces, as originally intended."

With such repressive influences at work over the proceedings of the civil and military authorities, exercising functions at a distance from the seat of government, much of the indecision and inactivity that was so lamentably conspicuous in both branches of the public service at the first outburst of the revolt, may perhaps be accounted for. Fortunately for the European community at and near Midnapore, their exemption from the horrors of a massacre that would in all probability have been the result of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal's intermeddling policy, was secured by the sound discretion of the governor-general and his council. The wonder is, that men of honour and spirit should have been found willing to undertake responsible duties requiring instant decision and prompt action, while subject to a distant control that, in many instances during the course of this extraordinary struggle, could only be exercised too late, or in perfect ignorance of the grounds upon which it was enforced.

TIRHOOT.—The alarm that agitated the greater part of the vast area of the Bengal presidency, did not pass over this district without leaving upon the European residents a painful impression of the dangers that were encircling them. Being one of the principal districts in India for the production of indigo, fertile and richly wooded, it was thickly studded with valuable factories and plantations, and the native inhabitants generally were of an affluent class, compared with those of many other parts of the presidency: its principal town is Moozufferpore, situate about thirty-five miles N.N.E. of Patna; and, during the occurrences of June, it became a city of refuge for the European residents of the district. From certain indications of approaching danger that had attracted the attention of the authorities, in the early part of the month circulars were addressed to the indigo planters, and others in the vicinity, suggesting the necessity for their resorting to the station. At first the parties summoned were not disposed to leave their homes and property to the guardianship of native servants; and no immediate necessity for removal being apparent, they hesitated to comply with the requisition of the magistrate. A second notice, explanatory of the urgent reasons that existed for combination without further delay, brought the affair to a crisis; and the rush to the appointed rendezvous was now as impetuous, as obedience in the first instance had been tardy and reluctant. A letter from Tirhoot, of the 26th of June, says, in reference to this gathering:—"The regiments above Dinapore, at every station but Ghazeepore, have mutinied or been disarmed, and a row at the former place has been expected every day, so that our station authorities got frightened; and on the 14th of this month we were all summoned into the station for mutual protection. Every planter was in, and we mustered eighty strong, besides the ladies. The latter were all put up in Mrs. Simpson's house, and we slept in tents in the compound. Mr. MacDonnell, of Poosa, and a few others, stayed at the assistant-judge's. What alarmed the station folk was, that they had seven lacs of treasure there, and the Nujeebs had been heard to declare treason openly, and only waited for an outbreak at Dinapore. Davies, disguised as a native, went at night to their quarters, and overheard them say they would make a clean sweep of the Europeans, loot the treasure, and let loose the gaol prisoners in a very few days. This put the station people in great terror. The Dinapore regiments are kept in awe by the Europeans, there being some 1,200 there, including artillerymen: but for this force we should certainly have had a row, and then Tirhoot would have been in a blaze, and our factories burnt, as the Benares factories were. We returned from Moozufferpore this morning for good, as it is now supposed all danger is over. I took a run down during the ten days we were at the station, much against the wish and advice of the people there, and found everything quiet. Our leaving the factories had a bad effect; but what could we do when everybody was so peremptorily summoned in, and everybody went? Martial law has been declared throughout the district; and Holmes, at Segowlee, is hanging right and left—mostly sepoys, returned from the scene of action laden with booty. A few arrests have been made in Moozufferpore among the Mussulmans; and one fat Thanadar, with a lot of mutinous correspondence, has been seized and sent into Segowlee; he is probably hanged by this time. Arrests

have also been made in the Dehaut, principally about Lollgunge Singhia, of return sepoys. Those that belong to the insurgent regiments will be hanged, unless they are away on leave. This has had a very salutary effect, and the niggers are in great consternation about it."

Another account of the proceedings at this place, consequent upon the rumoured intention of the Nujeebs to massacre the whole European population, says—"We seized a Thanadar brute a few days ago, who was in league with the conspirators; he was finishing a letter to a Patna chief, and would have decamped in another hour; he was sent to Holmes at Segowlee, who has proclaimed martial law, and is stringing the fellows up like a 'brick.'"

In consequence of the before-mentioned requisition, most, if not all the Europeans in the lower part of the district were assembled together at the station. "We went up," writes one gentleman, "in a body, all armed to the teeth (sixteen of us, and two ladies), having been written to that the Nujeebs, of whom there are 120, were ready to plunder the treasury and murder all hands. We found all quiet, went to the judge, and requested that he would empower us to disarm the Nujeebs; but he would not take the responsibility: —— then told him how wrong he was in alarming the district if he did not intend to act. I believe it is lucky we did go to the station, for by all accounts the treasury would have been looted but for the presence of so many Europeans; and in such case the effect upon the Dehaut might have led to serious consequences. There were some eighty-five men and thirty ladies, with thirty or forty children, assembled, all of whom, with the exception of six or eight, quartered in Dr. Simpson's and Weston's houses; the ladies being all shut up in the former at night, and the gentlemen living in the verandahs, one or two tents, and patrolling all night. You may imagine how they must have suffered, the heat being something frightful the whole time. All the planters have gone home, but the ladies are at the station or its vicinity; though I think and hope that the danger has passe'. The plot was a deep one, and must have been going on for years; all the Mohammedans had a hand in it, the men in government employ taking the lead. The China troops have reached the Sandheads, and others are not far off, so that quiet must soon be restored over the country; but we have had a *butch* (escape) of it; and I am of opinion that the cartridges hurried the outbreak before all was matured, and have saved us all; for had things been so concerted as for all the native regiments to have risen at once, there were no means at hand to check them. All were in the plot, and not one regiment would have remained faithful; as it is, one-half of the army is gone—all communication from above Allahabad is closed; and even this far has only been reopened the last few days. It is extraordinary how they have been kept down at Dinapore, where they have been disaffected for some time; but the old general is a good man, and was prepared to make good account of them had they mutinied. I don't believe any of the Meerut mutineers would have reached Delhi had there been an active man in command, for the European troops outnumbered the natives. Venables (a planter), at Azimgurh, is at the head of 150 soldiers (natives), and doing good service in the disturbed villages. He has hung a lot of rebels, and had sent an indent for twenty new ropes a few days ago."

By these accounts, the immediate danger at this station (Tirhoot) had passed over, and for a short time the district resumed its accustomed quiet.

SARUN.—As an example of the independent course of action men of energy and talent occasionally felt themselves constrained by circumstances to adopt at this juncture, the following incident may be appropriately referred to in closing this chapter. Major Holmes, of the 13th irregular cavalry, was in command of some troops at Segowlee, a station some few miles distant from the cantonments at Tirhoot and Dinapore; and about the middle of June, he deemed it requisite, for the preservation of the district around his station, to adopt, upon his own responsibility, one of the most important and hazardous steps pertaining to the functions of the provincial government, by declaring a wide extent of thickly populated country under martial law. The announcement of his assumption of authority to take this step, was made to the magistrate of Sarun by the following highly characteristic specimen of military dictatorship:—

"Segowlee, June 19th, 1857.

"My dear MacDonnell,—As a single clear head is better than a dozen confused

ones in these times, and as military law is better than civil in a turbulent country, I have assumed absolute military control from Goruckpore to Patna, and have placed under absolute military rule all that country, including the districts of Sarun, Chumparun, and Tirhoot.* The governor-general having requested me to write to him direct, I do so daily, and have informed his lordship on this head. I now look to all the magistrates of these districts to aid me effectually in preserving order, and to carry out with strictness the following instructions:—1. Let all the chief ghats on the rivers be strictly guarded, removing, for the present, the small zemindaree ghats. Let any suspicious characters be seized, and let all such be placed in detention for the present. 2. Proclaim a reward of fifty rupees for the seizure of each rebel sepoy; and should you catch any such, send them in irons to the military authority nearest the spot of their capture, either Segowlee or Dinapore (not Ghazeepore); also send witnesses. 3. Proclaim a similar reward for information which may lead to the conviction of those speaking seditious words against the government. Seize all such, and send them to me. 4. Send an order to all the petty rajahs in your district to keep their followers on the alert to aid the police. Warn them, that for concealing any sedition or any rebels, they will be punished as principals. I shall send a copy of these instructions to the governor-general; and if you can make your police carry them out sharp, you will deserve well of the country. Similar instructions have gone to Tirhoot, Allygunge, and Goruckpore.—Yours, &c.,

"E. S. HOLMES."

On the same day, Major Holmes wrote to the deputy magistrate of Sarun thus:—

"My dear Lynch,—I am delighted to hear that your police have been so vigilant, and have done such good service. Be so good to give the captors a reward of fifty rupees for each rebel sepoy seized and convicted; and this note shall be your authority for so doing.

"I have taken absolute military command, and placed the whole country, from Goruckpore to Patna, under military law. You will therefore express from me to your police my high sense of their exertions, and that I shall take good care that their services are well rewarded. You will issue very stringent instructions for the close watching the ghats on the Gogra, and every suspicious character must be seized and sent to you for examination. In case any one cannot give a clear and satisfactory account of himself, he is to be placed under restraint in your gaol, until I give an order for his release.—E. S. HOLMES."

This assumption of arbitrary power, by which the functions and authority of the civil magistrate were to be entirely superseded, was not patiently acquiesced in by the officials to whom the notifications and instructions had been addressed by Major Holmes; and the magistrate of Sarun lost no time in representing the circumstances to the government of Bengal, through the proper channel; at the same time stating, that the major, not having obtained the sanction of the governor-general for his conduct, he (the magistrate) did not think it incumbent upon himself to acknowledge his authority. This view of the affair was at once sanctioned by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and his decision was communicated to Mr. MacDonnell in the following letter from the secretary to the government:—

"Fort William, June 27th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed by the lieutenant-governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., with inclosure, announcing that Major Holmes has placed your district and the districts of Chumparun and Tirhoot under martial law. You have judged rightly that this proceeding is wholly illegal and unauthorised; and you will not obey it, or act upon it. You will communicate a copy of these orders to Mr. Lynch, and to any other public officer whom it may concern. To Major Holmes himself a communication will be made from the government of India.

"It is not desired that you should so repudiate Major Holmes' unlawful act, as to place him in any kind of slight or contempt,

* Sarun, with Chumparun, forms a district in the presidency of Bengal; bounded on the north side by Nepaul, on the west by the district of Goruckpore, on the east by Tirhoot, and on the south by the Gogra, which separates it from Ghazeepore, Shahabad, and Patna: the river Gunduck traverses the centre of the district, which has an area of 5,116 square miles and a population of about one million. The northern portion is chiefly occupied by marshy jungles, and not more than a third of the area of Chumparun is under any kind of cultivation; but Sarun, south of the Gunduck, is one of the most fertile and prosperous districts in India. The principal towns of the united district are Chupra, Bettiah, and Maissy. The former place has a population estimated at 50,000 souls.

but merely take no notice of what he has done, further than stating that you have been apprised, that his order is of no force, and you are unable to act upon it; sending him, at the same time, a copy of this letter. Major Holmes' intentions are doubtless good; but he would seem to have allowed his zeal to carry him too far in this resistance.—I have, &c.—A. R. YOUNG."

Of the view taken of Major Holmes' energetic conduct at the seat of the supreme government, the parliamentary returns afford no information; but it is certain that officer remained at Segowlee, in command of his irregular corps, until the time of his murder, in August, by a body of mutineers, who attacked the station, and massacred such of the Europeans as were not able to escape before they had taken possession of the place.

It is extraordinary, that at the juncture to which several of the preceding pages refer, the government of Bengal was daily in collision, upon some point or other, with almost all the principal officers subordinate to its authority: commissioners of districts, magistrates, postmasters, &c., alike fell under the ban of official displeasure and reproof. In some instances the offenders were not sufficiently active and attentive to their duties; in others, they were too energetic and assuming. Irregularities had crept into the postal department; and the secret despatches of the provincial government were sometimes known to the native inhabitants of a disaffected town before the authority to whom they were addressed was aware of their existence. This overzealous officiousness in some quarters, and culpable supineness, or treachery, in others, tended of course to add to the perplexity of the local government, and to embarrass the arrangements of the governor-general and his council; but the inconvenience thereby occasioned was looked upon as a natural consequence of the system that had long prevailed in every department, from the *bureau* of the governor-general in council to that of the lowest official in the employ of the state. The system had worked well for years, because its abuses gave no trouble; and a state of internal repose did not appear to call for exertions that were necessary to reform them. But when the outbreak of a stupendous plot which in its details was intended to sap, and, by a sudden explosion, overthrow the foundations of government, became an established fact, the inefficiency of some whose services were unexpectedly called for, and the hot-headed impetuosity and reckless zeal of others, who could not be restrained within the bounds of moderation, were of course additions to the embarrassments of government, that a just sense of its own position, and its responsibilities to the people under its rule, would have taken care to effectually prevent the possibility of. It may have been, that the distant channels through which the ordinances of the supreme ruling power had to percolate, before they reached the individuals whose delegated authority they were intended to guide and influence, were too complex and remote from the seat of government to be benefited by its direct supervision and control; and thus, when its interference could only be evoked, or its instructions obtained, after tedious and hazardous delay, and much intermediate interference by graduated authorities, it was not surprising that men of vivacious temperament and energetic action, like the civil commissioner at Patna and the military commandant at Sarun, should, to arrest the progress of the difficulties spreading around them, overstep the exact limits of their authority, and in some degree grasp at powers that became dangerous in their hands. At any rate, the entire machinery of the Anglo-Indian government, in its distant spheres of operation, had become out of order; and while the higher authorities were engaged in calling the superior agents to a proper sense of their duties, the *employés* of inferior grade were occupied, in all directions, in shifting the blame of their inefficiency or wilfulness upon their superiors or upon each other. Meanwhile, the personal interests of the people of India were treated with indifference, if not with contempt; and it is more than probable that the popularisation of the revolt was based upon the mere military outbreak of the 10th of May, by the awakened indignation of a people that felt themselves undervalued and neglected by their alien rulers, and oppressed and insulted by those who, in the name of the government, exercised and abused its delegated authority.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPREAD OF THE REVOLT; THE TITULAR KINGS OF DELHI; DEFENCES OF THE CITY OF DELHI; INTERIOR OF THE PALACE AND CITY; RESOURCES OF THE INHABITANTS IN CASE OF SIEGE; THE CUTTUB MINAR; MAHOMED SURAJ-OO-DEEN SHAH GHAZEE PROCLAIMED KING OF DELHI; ROYAL PROCESSION THROUGH THE CITY; ADDRESS OF THE REBEL OFFICERS; POSITION OF THE BRITISH ARMY BEFORE DELHI; FIRST ATTACK BY THE REBELS; ADVENTURE OF LIEUTENANT HILLS; THE GUIDES; ATTACK OF THE 11TH OF JUNE; GENERAL BARNARD'S DESPATCH; INCIDENTS OF THE FIGHT; ATTACK OF THE 15TH; DESULTORY OPERATIONS OF THE ENEMY; DESTRUCTION OF THE KED GHAT BATTERY; HINDOO RAO'S HOUSE; DARING ATTACK ON THE ENGLISH LINES; DEATH OF COLONEL YULE; DESPATCHES OF GENERAL BARNARD AND BRIGADIER GRANT; INCIDENTS OF THE 19TH OF JUNE; A PANIC; THE CENTENARY OF PLASSY; DEATH OF GENERAL BARNARD; MAJOR-GENERAL WILSON TAKES THE COMMAND; CONTINUOUS SORTIES AND REPULSES; THE BATTLE OF NUJUFGHUR; COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE; THE ASSAULT; CAPTURE OF THE CITY AND PALACE; FLIGHT OF THE KING; HIS SURRENDER; DEATH OF HIS SONS; CAPTIVITY OF THE KING, AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

THE bi-monthly mail, which left Bombay for Europe on the 1st of July, brought with it the unsatisfactory intelligence that a mutinous spirit still continued to influence and destroy the *morale* of the Bengal army; and although every day brought some accession to the numerical strength of the European force at the disposal of the British commander-in-chief, the melancholy fact still remained, that upon some as yet undiscovered ground of impulse the army of a whole presidency had revolted, and that the capital city of Hindostan was still in the possession of armed rebels, who had been instructed by English officers in the strategies of military science, and were burning with desire to exhibit their acquired skill for the discomfiture of their teachers. It was not concealed either that, from the spirit which appeared generally to prevail at that time, it was more than possible the next despatches for England might announce that its imperial rule had been subverted by the native powers, and that its whole possessions on the soil of India were limited to the spots covered by its European forces, and to a few isolated forts or towns on the sea-board of the peninsula. Not only throughout Bengal (where it had been demonstrated that every native soldier was a mutineer at heart), but in the Bombay and Madras presidencies also, symptoms of wavering fidelity had become apparent, and the resuscitation of the empire of the Moguls was thought of by the millions of India as merely a question of time, not of fact. A century of rule, fastidiously delicate in regard to the habits, prejudices, and even abuses of the native races, had not yet impressed them with a just conception of the indomitable spirit and tenacious grasp of their European rulers.

The arrival before Delhi of the British troops under Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, on the 8th of June, 1857, has already been noticed;* and the geographical position of the city and suburbs, with their principal architectural features, have also been briefly described:† but it will be necessary, on resuming the narrative of events connected with the operations before the Mogul capital, that we should refer to the position of its nominal sovereign, and the general state of its defences, at the period of its investment by the avenging army of England.

The battle of Delhi, fought on the 11th of September, 1803, by the Anglo-Indian army, under Lord Lake, against the confederated troops of the Mahratta and Rohilla chiefs, opened the gates of the city to the British protectors of the blind and feeble shadow of royalty, who, as the descendant of a once mighty dynasty, still possessed some remnant of the attributes of sovereignty, and was looked up to, even in his weakness and decay, as the representative of the imperial house of Timour; the centre of power, as his residence was also considered the centre of nationality. A second battle, under the walls of the city, on the 16th of the following month (in which Colonels Burns and Ochterlony, with 800 men and 11 guns, successfully repelled the repeated attacks of a force of 20,000 infantry and 100 guns, under the command of Holkar, the Mahratta chief, and ultimately compelled the latter to retire from the neighbourhood of the city), completed the victory of September, and left British power and influence in undisturbed possession of the capital and of its ruler. From the 16th of October, 1803, until the 11th of

* See *ante*, p 196. † *Ante*, pp. 69—71.

May, 1857 (a space of half a century), a day had not passed, during which the city had been other than the capital of a territory governed nominally by a Mogul king, but in reality by a British resident appointed by the governor-general in council. Shah Alum, the potentate thus received under British protection, dying in 1806, was succeeded by his son Shah Akbar, who became at once a pensioner of the East India Company, retaining the kingly title, and some remains of its state: but he was, in fact, merely the ruler of the inmates of his palace, consisting of relations and retainers, to the number of 12,000 persons, whom he maintained, or appeared to do so, from a pension of £100,000 per annum, granted to him by the Company, in exchange for his independence. Notwithstanding his degraded position, both Hindoo and Mussulman, throughout the vast empire that had owned the uncontrolled sway of his predecessors, still looked up to him as the only representative of the ancient glories of India. Princes still received from his hands solemn and legal investiture of their states; he bestowed dresses of honour on the native princes, at their accession to the musnud, as a token of his suzerainty; and occasionally attempted the same assumption of superior power upon the appointment of the governor-general. Until 1827, it is alleged that the Company acquired no new province, without formally applying to the king of Delhi for his nominal sanction and official firman.* At length, during the rule of Lord Amherst in 1827, this false position was corrected, by taking from the nominal potentate the last vestige he possessed of independent sovereignty, in exchange for an increased pension of £150,000. The implied vassalage of the East India Company to the mighty padishah, or Mohammedan ruler of India, was thrown aside as a troublesome fiction, and Shah Akbar became from that date powerless beyond the walls of his palace, except in regard to the traditional and historic influences of a race of which he was still the symbol and living representative, and, as such, continued to be venerated by the descendants of the millions that had owned their sway.

Shah Akbar reigned within his circumscribed territory until the year 1837; and for some time previous to his death, had expressed a desire that he should be succeeded on his titular throne by a younger son, to the exclusion of the eldest: this, however, was not permitted by the Company's government; and, consequently, on the death of the shah, his eldest son, Meerza Aboo Zuffur, became emperor, assuming the title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. This individual must have been between sixty and seventy years of age upon his accession to the throne, which he occupied until it was shattered in fragments by his complicity with the revolt of 1857.

Of the defences of the city, it will be necessary to observe, that it was enclosed on the land sides by a moat and embattled wall, with bastions and strongly fortified gates. On the water side a small portion of the city abutted upon a branch of the Jumna, over which a short bridge connected it with an old fort called Selimgurh, forming the ancient river defence of the royal residence. The city has eleven gates, seven of which are on the land side, and named the Cashmere, Moree, Cabul, Lahore, Feruk Khan, Ajmeer, Turcoman, and Delhi gates. The four opening towards the Jumna are designated, the Raj Ghat, Negumbod, Lall, and Kaila gates. The Cashmere gate was always held as a military post, and occupied by the city guard. The wall was also strengthened by bastions, named on the plan of Colonel Baird Smith, chief engineer of the army of Delhi, as follows: viz., the Water bastion, nearest the Cashmere gate; and the Shah, Buron, Garstin, Wellesley, and Nawab bastions, all of which of course became available for the defence of the rebel troops within the walls. The bridge of boats, mentioned in a preceding chapter,† crosses the Jumna in the immediate vicinity of the Selimgurh fort, connecting Delhi with the road from Meerut. The palace of the king, between the Raj Ghat and the Negumbod gates, opening upon the causeway leading to the bridge, was surrounded by a broad moat connected with the river, and enclosed by a wall of red granite, sixty feet in height, forming an irregular oblong, nearly three-quarters of a mile in circumference, flanked with towers, and entered by two magnificent gates with barbicans.‡ Such was

* Chambers' *India*, p. 67. † See *ante*, p. 75.

‡ The interior of the palace was approached through a series of richly decorated gateways of red granite, elaborately sculptured with foliage, and illuminated passages from the Koran. Of its numberless apartments, the chief was the Dewani-aum, or Chamber of Audience, magnificently adorned with coloured marbles, enriched with sculpture and with

the external appearance of Delhi in the early summer of 1857.

As regards the former condition of its defences, we learn that when, in 1803, General Lake obtained possession of the city by defeating the troops of Scindia, under the command of the French general, M. Bourquin, the outer wall was in a most dilapidated state, and without any flanking protection beyond some small ill-constructed bastions, placed at irregular distances on one side of the city only. The ditch was shallow and imperfect; there was no glacis; and the ground up to the very walls was covered with the ruins of houses, tombs, and mosques; it was also intersected and cut in ravines in all directions. It is true, that even with this miserable show of defence, a valiant resistance was made by a few English soldiers under Colonels Ochterlony and Burns, who, within a few days of their possession of the city, were attacked, as before stated,* by the Mahratta chief Holkar, at the head of 20,000 troops and 100 guns, and who were compelled to retire from before the scarcely tenable walls of the place; but the latter were certainly not in a condition that could be tolerated by those who had bravely won the city, and who intended to keep possession of their conquest. A scheme for the improvement of the fortifications of Delhi was consequently entrusted to Captain Hutchinson, of the Bengal engineers, assisted by Captain Smith, of the same corps; and under the scientific labours of those experienced officers, the defensive works of the capital of the Moguls were placed in the condition they were preserved in up to the time of the revolt. Among other necessary improvements, Captain Hutchinson constructed a series of bastions along the whole of the *enceinte*, capable of being mounted with heavy artillery. The walls were effectually repaired and strengthened; and for the purpose of preventing an escalade by surprise, he protected them on the river face by heavy, pointed beams, the sharp ends of which were ranged at an acute angle downwards, towards the moat, which was widened, and made considerably deeper than it had originally been cut; a glacis was formed, to cover in some degree the scarp of the wall; the ground outside was cleared of houses and ruins, and all the ravines were filled in; so that the works were rendered proof against the attacks of

inscriptions in letters of gold and mosaic work. In this hall, at the time of, or immediately previous to, the revolt of 1857, was yet the *dais* on which stood the celebrated peacock throne of Shah Jehan; and in this chamber, also, the victorious Nadir Shah, by artfully exchanging turbans as a pledge of friendship with his captive, Mahomed Shah, whom he had just defeated, obtained possession of the world-renowned treasure that, known as the Koh-i-noor, or "Mountain of Light," now graces the diadem of the queen of England. The Dawani Khas, or private council-chamber, was an exquisite pavilion of white marble, supporting four cupolas of the same material, with pillars and arches elaborately inlaid with gilt arabesques, flowers, and inscriptions. The garden by which it was surrounded contained numerous marble fountains, and a small octagonal pavilion with bath-rooms; and the Moti Musjeed, or private mosque, for the devotions of the king, was, like the rest of the chief features of the royal residence, ornate in marble, in sculpture, and in golden decorations; but, like the rest also, it was disfigured with the filth of birds, and had become dirty, dilapidated, and uncared-for. Of Delhi *as it was*, we have the following picture in an article of the *New Monthly Magazine* for October:—"Whoever has seen Grand Cairo, may gain some idea of Delhi, if he will but add to the picture, gardens full of shading trees, brilliant flowers, lovely fountains of white marble, which cast up their bright waters amongst shining palaces, 'with sculptured mosques and minarets,' like obelisks of pearl, shooting into a sky whose colour would shame the brightest turquoise that ever graced a sultan's finger. Again, instead of camels, and horses, and mules, alone blocking up the narrow shady ways of the native city, as at El Misr, the reader must imagine strings of elephants, their large ears painted, their trunks decorated with gold rings, anklets of silver round their legs, and bearing large, square, curtained howdahs, in which recline possibly the favourites of the harem. Luxury, even now, can go no further in the East than it is to be found in Delhi. Even now all the best dancing-women, the bird-tamers, the snake-charmers, the Persian musicians, the jugglers, congregate from every part, not only of India, but of Asia, at Delhi. Hundreds of romances might be written of the lives of men and women who, from this degraded class, became court favourites, and by ready wit, personal beauty, and dark intrigue, ruled where they were wont to serve; and even now, under absolute English rule, dissipation ever holds wildest revelry at Delhi. Young men, both in the civil and military services, were too soon influenced by the contagious and enervating influences of Delhi and its Oriental pleasures. Many a noble fortune, a fine intellect, and the material for high moral character, have yielded before the Circe-like temptations of this great Moslem capital; and the song and the dance have followed too quickly the decisions of courts and the cries of those demanding justice at our hands." It must be remembered, that the writer of the above passages had in his memory the Delhi that *was*: the city that *is*, may present far less attractive features; and the fascinating influences which once pervaded society within its walls, have probably lost their enervating power before the desolating realities of its recent severe and richly-deserved punishment.

* See *ante*, p. 453.

any force unassisted by heavy artillery. At the same time that these precautions were taken against danger from without, the possibility of an attack by the inhabitants within the walls was not overlooked; and to meet this contingency, he erected along the whole line of wall a series of detached martello towers, only accessible from the former by drawbridges. Each tower was mounted with a pivot gun; so that, in the event of a popular insurrection, the European artillerymen, having possession of the towers, could raise the bridges and bombard the city from the whole circle of the *enceinte*. The *Medressa*, or Mohammedan college, near the Ajmeer gate, was also protected by an outwork, and the whole of the gateways of the city were strengthened and fortified. The Cashmere gate, on the north-eastern side, from which proceeded the direct road to the British cantonments, was then formed into a place of arms, and became the quarters for the main-guard of the city. It will be remembered, that it was near the enclosure of this gate, that the officers of the 54th native regiment were treacherously murdered in the outbreak of the 11th of May.* In 1838, Lord Auckland, then governor-general, visited Delhi, and having remarked the hostile feeling of the people toward European society, recommended additional works of defence and repairs, and improvements were consequently effected, rendering the city impregnable to a force unprovided with a siege-train. The eastern, or river face, then the most open to assault, was much strengthened; the Wellesley bastion, near the Delhi gate, being entirely rebuilt; the glacis raised; the ditch, twenty feet wide, thoroughly cleared; more martello towers erected; and each of the bastions, now increased in number to eleven, was mounted with nine guns. The defences of Delhi were therefore no longer contemptible; and the reluctance of General Anson to advance without heavy artillery is accounted for.

According to a writer in the *Lahore Gazette*, the defensive capabilities of the city, at the period of its investment in June, 1857, were as follows. He says—"The city is surrounded by a high crenelated wall, in a deep ditch and glacis. At the Cashmere gate only is there anything of modern fortification; here there is a simple bastion with properly cut embrasures. It is enclosed, and forms the main-guard. The city measures about two miles across, and is some seven or eight miles in circumference; on the east side the walls are washed by the Jumna. The palace is in a commanding position, and though the walls are not calculated to resist heavy artillery, yet the place could scarcely be taken without a breach being made in them, that is, if the garrison showed any skill in its defence.

"The capture of such a place is a simple matter of time, and its fall might be calculated to an hour; but everything of course depends upon the plan of defence adopted by the garrison. If our force was large we might afford to make a dash at the place; and it is just possible that events may even justify such a measure; but writing as I am at a distance, and only reckoning upon what might occur if the garrison were ably commanded, and were themselves resolved to fight to the last, I look upon it that a regular siege, which cannot well fail, would be preferable.

"The whole of the western side of the city is one mass of native houses. To scale the walls would be easy, but no object would be gained by pouring our handful of troops into a sea of houses, with streets barricaded; heavy loss would unquestionably follow. This mode of attack would be absurd, and would certainly end in discomfiture. There are two modes of attack, however, which could not well fail, and I fancy that one or the other must be adopted. The first is to attack the palace at once from the river side; for the water, until the end of the month, is so very low, and is little more than a stream which is fordable, that it would create no obstacle worth mentioning. The batteries could be erected on the sand, and the camp being across the river would be safe. By shelling the palace and breaking its new wall, an assault could be made, and the fire of our guns would continue till our troops had fairly got in. The shelling would have destroyed all cover, and probably would have driven out the defendants, so that there is little doubt but that the assault would be successful. Having got possession of the palace, the city falls at once. There is, however, a chance of the river rising suddenly, when the batteries would be destroyed; so that this attack entirely depends upon the river and the probability of its rise. The next and safest mode of attack, and that which

* See *ante*, p. 73.

in all likelihood will be the one adopted, is to attack near the Cashmere gate. Our advance will then be made in the open, and with little risk of loss from the fire of musketry from houses. As the garrison have so few artillerymen, it does not seem likely that their defence is to rest in their guns."

So much for anticipations in June, that were partially realised in September. The Cashmere gate *was* the point selected for attack, as we shall presently see.

Looking to the contingency of a protracted siege, the resources of the inhabitants, as regarded supplies of provisions and water, became of course a subject of serious consideration. Shortly previous to the mutinous outbreak of May, 1857, the population of Delhi was estimated at about 200,000 persons,* and the continual influx of mutinous regiments and of people driven in from the adjacent villages, most probably would balance any diminution in numbers that might arise from the flight of such portion of the inhabitants as availed themselves of opportunities to withdraw from the city. The supply of grain for ordinary consumption had always been largely kept up by the grain merchants; and the stores at this juncture, and, indeed, at all times, were adequate to meet an extraordinary demand, although not equal to the requirements of a lengthened siege: but for some time the sources of supply from the villages on the opposite side of the river, and on its right bank by the Eastern Jumna and Delhi canals, were kept open to the inhabitants. The Eastern Jumna canal opens into the river, nearly opposite the city; and passing through a well-cultivated tract, which it fertilises through its entire course of 155 miles, the supply of corn and grain furnished by its means was considerable, until further transport was arrested by the Meerut division of the Delhi army, under Brigadier-general Wilson; while General Barnard, on his side, cut off all possibility of supply by the Delhi canal, which had previously been the means of transmission of large quantities of provisions into the city, from the districts in its course of 425 miles. Still, after these obstructions, facilities remained open for obtaining food, and the rebel garrison was at no time without a sufficient supply of it; nor does it appear that the inhabitants were seriously inconvenienced by any actual scarcity. Of water, the supply was at no time abundant; the wells within the city walls being comparatively few, although generally yielding a fair supply of the necessary element. The paucity of their number is accounted for by the preference given by the inhabitants to the water brought by the Delhi canal, which, however, is apt to fail them in dry seasons, when every drop of it being required for the purpose of irrigation, the city is frequently left without any supply from the canal for three weeks or a month at a time. In these emergencies the people are compelled to seek the aid of their wells, and the branch of the Jumna that flows past a portion of the walls, access to which is rendered secure by the position of the fort of Selimgurh, and of the bridge connecting it with the palace, both of which afford effectual cover for parties seeking the water.

Such, then, was the condition of Delhi at the period to which this portion of its history belongs. The king, whom it has been endeavoured to represent as a mere passive instrument in the hands of a rebellious army, resided in Oriental seclusion and barbaric pomp, within the walls of his palace: the heir-apparent, his grandson, occupying the palace of Cuttub Minar, about nine miles from the city;† and the traditions of empire, and a desire to resus-

* In 1846, the imperial city contained 25,618 houses, 9,945 shops, 261 mosques, 181 temples, and one protestant church, situated a short distance from the Cashmere gate. The population then amounted to 137,977 souls, of which 66,120 were Mohammedans, 71,530 Hindoos, and 327 were Europeans and native Christians. Of the mixed races altogether, the suburbs also contained about 22,302 persons, among whom were few, if any, resident Europeans. These numbers are exclusive of those of the English cantonments.

† This country residence of the king is situated in the immediate vicinity of an extraordinary pillar, called Cuttub Minar, from which the palace derives its name. The latter is a large but mean-looking building, in an inferior style of Indian architecture, with the public road running through the very courtyard of the palace. The place was fixed upon as the permanent residence of the grandson of the late king, and heir-apparent to the titular sovereignty of Delhi, upon his recognition in 1849, when his father, the eldest son of the king and the last of the race born in independent sovereignty, died. At this time the court of directors was urged to refuse any further recognition of successors to the musnud, and to permit the kingly title to fall into desuetude on the death of the present titular sovereign, then nearly eighty years of age. The proposition was favourably received, and authority was given to the Indian government, to terminate the dynasty of Timour whenever the reigning king should die. For some sufficient reason, however, the Marquis of Dalhousie,

citate the ancient glories of the mighty race from which he had descended, doubtless, in some degree, assisted the rebel sepoys and sowars of the native army in their purpose of coercing the aged prince into acquiescence with their designs. Be that as it may, it is manifest that he eventually threw himself into their hands, and sanctioned by his own acts the wildest excesses of their ferocious vengeance; while his sons and grandson yet more distinctly marked their sympathy with the rebel cause, by an active participation in the atrocities perpetrated by its cowardly and brutal supporters. The more lenient view of the conduct of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, is in some degree countenanced by a telegram forwarded to the governor-general by Mr. Colvin, on the 14th of May, three days after the arrival of the Meerut rebels at Delhi; in which the lieutenant-governor says—"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." Here he is clearly represented as in the hands of the rebels; and such, until his formal adhesion to their cause, may have been the fact. But the necessity for personal restraint must have been of exceedingly short duration; since, on Monday, the 11th of May, the very day of the outbreak, and while the swords of the mutinous troopers were yet wet with the blood of Europeans murdered in the courts and apartments of his palace, the infatuated representative of a worn-out dynasty suffered himself to be proclaimed ruler of India; and a throne of silver, which had lain-by since the year 1843, having been placed in the "Hall of Special Audience," on the following day, Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee took his seat upon it as king of Delhi, to receive the homage of his court and people. This ceremony over, the pretender, surrounded by the paraphernalia of Oriental pomp, amidst the salutes of artillery, the clangour of martial music, and the frantic exultations of a tumultuous multitude, issued from the gates of his palace in royal procession through the streets of Delhi, to proclaim by his presence the assumption of kingly power, and the restoration of the Monghol empire. The cavalcade upon this important occasion was headed by the Prince Mirza Moghul, one of his sons, whom he had appointed to the chief command of the royal army. Another of his sons, the Prince Abu-Beker, rode at the head of the body-guard of the aged simulator of imperial dignity, who presented himself to the gaze of the excited populace in an open chariot, his advanced years incapacitating him from any other mode of exhibiting himself. Thus attended, the king slowly proceeded through the principal streets to the Jumma Musjeed, where the standard of the prophet was unfurled, and the empire of Hindostan was proclaimed amidst the acclamations of the soldiers and the people. His majesty's commands were thereupon promulgated, that the shopkeepers and inhabitants should resume their business and ordinary avocations; and the phantom king returned in state to his palace, which he never again was to enter but as a prisoner, or to leave but as a detected traitor and felon, whose life depended upon the mercy of his insulted and outraged protectors.

Upon the assumption of actual sovereignty by Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, he immediately began to exercise the functions of his royal position. His first act was to appoint the necessary authorities for the government of the city: military guards were posted within the latter, and at the palace gates a number of additional guns were brought from the arsenal, and placed upon the ramparts; and native golundauzes were appointed to the park of artillery kept in the fort of Selimgurh. At the same time a camp force, consisting of 7,000 men, with a host of followers, was formed immediately without the Ajmeer gate, for the protection of the royal residence. The pay of the troops was augmented from eight to fourteen annas per diem (*i.e.*, from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 9*d.*), and rewards were offered for all Europeans and natives connected with them, that they might be put to death. The treasury belonging to the Company, which was considered at the time as the largest in India, was re-

then governor-general, declined to exercise the authority so delegated, and the grandson of the king was recognised as heir-apparent; but, as stated by the marquis, "only on condition that he should quit the palace in Delhi, and reside in the palace at the Cuttub Minar, where, as king, he should, when the title descended to him, receive the governor-general of India at all times on terms of perfect equality." This concession, however, neither ensured his gratitude or restrained his ambition.

moved to the palace by the rebel troops, who, contrary to general practice, did not appropriate it among themselves as spoil, but rigidly guarded it from loss to supply the necessary expenses of their king.

Among other public acts for reassuring the people at this critical juncture, the subjoined proclamation was issued at Delhi by the royal permission.

"*To all Hindoos and Mussulmans, Citizens and Servants of Hindostan, the Officers of the Army now at Delhi and Meerut send greeting:—*

"It is well known that in these days all the English have entertained these evil designs—first, to destroy the religion of the whole Hindostani army, and then to make the people by compulsion Christians. Therefore we, solely on account of our religion, have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel, and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms. Hundreds of guns and a large amount of treasure have fallen into our hands; therefore it is fitting that whoever of the soldiers and people dislike turning Christians should unite with one heart, and, acting courageously, not leave the seed of these infidels remaining. For any quantity of supplies delivered to the army the owners are to take the receipt of the officers; and they will receive double payment from the imperial government. Whoever shall, in these times, exhibit cowardice, or credulously believe the promises of those impostors the English, shall very shortly be put to shame for such a deed; and, rubbing the hands of sorrow, shall receive for their fidelity the reward the ruler of Lucknow got. It is further necessary that all Hindoos and Mussulmans unite in this struggle, and, following the instructions of some respectable people, keep themselves secure, so that good order may be maintained, the poorer classes kept contented, and they themselves be exalted to rank and dignity; also, that all, so far as it is possible, copy this proclamation, and dispatch it everywhere, and fix it in some conspicuous place (but prudently to avoid detection), that all true Hindoos and Mussulmans may be alive and watchful, and strike a blow with a sword before giving circulation to it. The first pay of the soldiers at Delhi will be thirty rupees per month for a trooper, and ten rupees for a foot man. Nearly 100,000 men are ready, and there are thirteen flags of the English regiments, and about fourteen standards from different parts, now raised aloft for our religion, for God, and the conqueror, and it is the intention of Cawnpore to root out this seed of the devil. This is what the army here wish."

The allusion to an "*intended* rooting out" of the Europeans at Cawnpore, certainly is suggestive of an idea of some preconcerted scheme of massacre, of which the troops were cognizant, whatever may have been the king's ignorance of their purpose in the first instance. It will be remembered that, on Monday, the 8th of June, 1857, the English force, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry W. Barnard, numbering altogether about 3,000 men, had, after a sharp conflict with the mutinous army, taken a position before Delhi on an elevated ridge commanding the city, and separating the latter from the former cantonments, on the parade-ground of which the camp was formed, having its face to the lines on the ridge, and its rear being protected by the canal cut from Nujufghur Jheel, which could only be crossed by bridges at distant points. A mound on the right of the camp offered an advantageous post for a picket on that flank, which was much exposed to attacks from the Subzee Mundee* suburb. Cavalry pickets, on the left flank, patrolled to the river; while the ridge on the front of the camp was held by the Sirmoor battalion and two companies of the 60th rifles at Hindoo Rao's house,† on the right; a picket of infantry at the Flagstaff tower, in front of the left of the camp, and an infantry picket at a mosque midway between Hindoo Rao's house and the Flagstaff. The heavy guns were brought up to Hindoo Rao's, preparatory to being placed in battery; and light guns were stationed with the pickets at the Flagstaff, the mosque, and Hindoo Rao's. From the latter position, the ground stretching to the right was rocky and broken, but covered at intervals with thick wood, and having at the base of the elevated ridge a great number of enclosures and gardens, amongst which, for the greater portion of the time between the beginning of June and the assault on the city in September, the chief struggles of the contending forces are to be traced.

The troops, almost exhausted by their previous fatigues, and by the conflict which had lasted from daybreak until 9 A.M., had been withdrawn to the camping-ground; but the tents were not yet up, and the heat was excessive; when, about two in the afternoon, the insurgents opened a heavy and well-directed fire from the city walls, their shot flying far over the ridge towards the proposed camp. A body of troops also came out of the city, and menaced Hindoo Rao's, or the main picket. Upon this demonstration being observed, the whole of our wearied troops had again to move up to the ridge, and, after a short time, the attack was repulsed; but the cannonade did not cease; and it became evident that, as long as the ridge continued to be occupied by the English troops, all the pickets on it would be exposed to the fire of the heavy guns and mortars from the north and north-western batteries on the city walls.

* Vegetable market. † See *ante*, p. 196.

Of the insurgent force within the city, and encamped by the Ajmeer gate, it is not possible to give a positive estimate as to numbers at this time; but it was known that the following corps of detachments were at Delhi; and although some of them had probably arrived there without arms, there could have been no difficulty in supplying their wants in that respect from the armoury in the Delhi magazine:—3rd company, 7th native battalion artillery, with No. 5 horse field-battery; 38th light infantry; 54th and 74th regiments of native infantry (of Delhi); 3rd light cavalry; 11th and 20th regiments of native infantry from Meerut; head-quarters 9th native infantry, from Allygurh, and detachment from Bolundshuhur; Hurreana light infantry battalion, and a large portion of the 4th irregular cavalry from Hansi, Hissar, and Sirsa; head-quarters corps of sappers and miners from Meerut and Roorkee; detachments of 44th and 67th regiments of native infantry from Muttra; a large portion of 45th native infantry from Ferozepore; and many deserters from the 5th native infantry from Umballah. In addition to the above, there were known to be many native soldiers on furlough, particularly of irregular cavalry; also a miscellaneous collection of customs' chuprassies who had deserted their posts, police, sowars, and gaol guards.

The arrival of Major-general Reed, the provincial commander-in-chief, at Allipore, on the morning of the 8th of June, has already been mentioned.* It may be sufficient here to state, that being in ill health, and greatly fatigued by a rapid journey during intense heat, the major-general took no part in the action of the day, and did not assume personal command of the troops until after the death of Sir H. Barnard on the 5th of July. Early in the morning of the 9th of June, the guides corps, consisting of three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry (rifles), marched into camp under command of Captain Daly. This distinguished body of men had marched, at the hottest season of the year, from Murdan, on the Peshawur frontier, to Delhi—a distance of 580 miles in twenty-two days; and though the infantry portion were occasionally assisted with camels or ponies on the line of road, the march, averaging rather more than twenty-six miles a day, for such a continuance was a surprising feat even for cavalry in India.

The same afternoon the mutineers, who had kept up a brisk cannonade from daybreak, moved out of the city and threatened the position on the ridge, making a sharp attack on its right at Hindoo Rao's house. The guides moved up in support, and after a sharp conflict, the enemy was driven back with considerable loss; the principal mishap on our side being the death of Lieutenant Quentin Battye, of the guides,† who fell in a brilliant charge upon the enemy's cavalry; and the loss of several of his gallant followers, who fell in the *mêlée*.

During the 8th and 9th, exertions were made to put the heavy guns in position on the ridge near Rao's house, to reply to the enemy's fire; but, from the distance (from 1,200 to 1,500 yards), they could do little more than check that fire, and sometimes silence the guns at the Moree bastion; and it soon became evident that the artillery and engineering capabilities of the army were insufficient to make any serious impression upon, much less to take, Delhi, the guns of the rebels being infinitely superior,

* See *ante*, p. 197.

† "Lieutenant Battye," says one of his brother-officers, "was a joyish, boyish, but noble fellow, whose every thought was honour: he was hit in the stomach by a round shot, and only lived a few hours. He smiled at a comrade who came to see him, and quoted the old tag which, when so quoted, ceases to be trite—'Well, old fellow, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, you see its my case.'" The guides corps, to which this young officer belonged, rendered eminent service during the war of the mutiny, and is thus noticed in an Indian journal of acknowledged authority upon military subjects. "This distinguished corps, of whose exploits before Delhi we hear by every mail, was originally raised on the conclusion of the Sutlej campaign, to act either as regular troops or as guides and spies. The men are selected for their sagacity and intelligence as much as for their courage and hardihood. They are taught to rely upon themselves individually, and thus acquire perfect confidence in their mutual co-operation. Though for the most part inhabitants of the Punjab, they belong to no particular race or creed. It is said there is scarcely a wild or warlike tribe in Upper India which has not contributed recruits to this corps. From this diversity of origin, there is no district of Upper India to which they can be sent that is not familiar to some of them, nor is there a dialect anywhere spoken for which they could not furnish an interpreter. The corps was originally raised by order of Lord Hardinge, in 1846, at the suggestion of the late Sir Henry Lawrence; and its numbers were augmented, by Lord Dalhousie, to three troops of horse and six companies of infantry, consisting altogether of 840 men, under the command of four European officers. The colour of their uniform is drab; and on the frontier, it so nearly resembles the aspect of the country, that the men can scarcely be distinguished at 150 yards' distance.

in number and calibre, to those possessed by General Barnard; and they, also, were well served.

An officer of the guides, describing the affair of the 9th, writes thus:—"On the afternoon of the day we arrived, a very large body of the villains came out, and we had some sharp fighting to drive them back. Poor young Battye was, I am sorry to say, mortally wounded through the stomach, the ball coming out at his back. He lived twenty-four hours only, and we buried him yesterday morning. A more gallant soldier never lived. Daly, our commandant, was cut through the boot, and a slight scratch made on his instep. I was slightly wounded in two places—one a sword cut across my chin and lower part of my cheek, and the other across my left hip, a little below the bone. Both cuts are doing famously, and healing up quickly. The way I got them was this:—I was skirmishing along with a number of men, and had helped to pepper the mutineers out of the rocky ground, very nearly down to the city walls, when suddenly a very sharp fire indeed was directed on us from some place in front. I rushed on, calling on the men to follow. After running about fifty yards, I suddenly came up with our commandant and a few men halted in front of a steep ridge of rocks (which formed a splendid breastwork), and over which Daly was unable to scramble, having too few men to force the position; so that my reinforcement was just what was wanted. Even then we had such a sharp fire on us, that it appeared doubtful whether we could scramble up the breastwork in face of it, as the ridge of rocks sloped down towards the enemy, and was a little perpendicular on our side. Up the slope the enemy came running, delivered their fire, and then back again to load. Our poor fellows were not able to deliver a shot, and were getting knocked over most cruelly. To stay five minutes in that position was certain death to us all, so Daly and I drew our swords and rushed up the rocks with a hurrah! A yell from behind told us our men were following us as quickly as they could; the brave fellows are no stay-behinds when their officers are in front of them. A few seconds brought a score of them on the field of action. In the meantime our commanding officer (Daly) and myself were over, and rather astonished to find we were quite outnumbered; however, there was no help for it now, except to fight it out. Immediately on jumping over, I had the satisfaction of seeing three fellows coming with a rush at me: the first, a great tall fellow, evidently excited to delirium almost by bhang, opium, and churries, raised his sword and made a slashing back-handed cut, which, had it taken full effect, must have rolled my head off. However, my usual good luck came to my help; and instead of cutting at my friend, I had just time to change the cut into a guard. My good cavalry sword stood well, though a deep cut was made in the steel; however, my guard having been hurriedly made, and my opponent a stronger man than myself, my sword was beaten down and my cheek laid open. After the blow I had my turn, and gave my friend one across the head, which did not cut him down to the shoulder, as I had imagined (the skull being a very tough article); at the same moment one of our men bayoneted this fellow, and Daly cut him down too. As I got my cheek cut, I felt a cut just below my hip. The man who did it was instantly bayoneted, and a moment afterwards a third fellow rushed at me—a rather short little scoundrel; he made a vicious cut at my head too, but, being much taller, I easily guarded it; and as I stepped a little forward after this blow, I had full time to raise myself, arm, and sword to their full stretch. My sword caught him a fearful gash at the back of the neck and down across the shoulder, and he fell on his face to rise no more, for a dozen bayonets were stuck into him in a moment: at this instant a number of her majesty's 60th rifles came up, and after a little more fighting the enemy were all shot down or bayoneted. After this I fainted, from the profuse bleeding of an artery which was cut in my face, and remember no more till I was picked up and carried back to camp. I was at once patched up by the doctors, and was so well next day, that I managed, with a little difficulty, to go out scrimmaging again. On both these days a good number of the enemy were killed; and our loss was somewhat severe too."

On the 10th and 11th of June, attempts similar to that of the 9th were made by the enemy, and were similarly repulsed; but on the morning of the 12th, a serious attack was made upon the left of the English position, which gradually extended along the whole line. A large body of the mutineer infantry having contrived to con-

ceal themselves in the ravines in Sir T. Metcalfe's compound, between the Flagstaff tower and the river, made a sudden and vigorous attack, soon after daylight, on the picket at the tower, consisting of a detachment of the 75th foot and two guns. They gained the summit of the ridge on the left of the tower, and the picket was hard pressed, losing Captain Knox, of the 75th, who, with several of his men, were killed in defending the position. The musketry fire was sharp and heavy, and the bullets fell into the camp. Some of the rebels, in their ardour, even descended to the camp side of the ridge, and three of them were killed in the sepoy lines, within a short distance of the tents. Reinforcements were rapidly moved up in support of the picket, and the insurgents were driven off, and pursued for some distance. To avoid a repetition of this kind of annoyance, a detachment was sent to occupy Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's ruined house, close to the river; thus protecting the left flank of the position, and rendering it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round on that side. The attack at the Flagstaff had scarcely been repulsed, when other bodies of insurgents advanced upon the Hindoo Rao's picket, and through the Subzee Mundee, into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. The first of these attacks was not very serious; but the latter threatened the mound picket, and supports of all arms had to be moved up to encounter the difficulty. The 1st fusiliers, under Major Jacob, then advanced and drove the mutineers out of the gardens, killing a considerable number of them in a hand-to-hand fight. The English loss on this day fell chiefly on the 1st European fusiliers and the 75th regiment.

The subjoined despatch, from Major-general Barnard to the adjutant-general of the army, describes the affair of the 12th with official brevity, as follows:—

"Delhi Cantonment, June 12th.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of General Reed, commanding the forces, that the enemy attacked the position occupied by the troops under my command this morning in force. The troops acted throughout with gallantry and coolness, and the affair ended in the total repulse of the enemy, who have retreated to the city. At about a quarter to 5 A.M. the attack first began. On my ascertaining that both flanks were being attacked, the usual supports were not only sent up to the position on the heights, but the whole of the troops under my command were speedily under arms, and marched up to reinforce the pickets and to drive back the enemy. This was first accomplished on the left, the enemy falling back under the fire of the troops; and, after being beaten back from the right, they came on again for a second attack, under cover of the thickly-wooded gardens near the Subzee Mundee. The 1st Bengal European fusiliers were sent against them, under the command of Major Jacob, and succeeded most gallantly in not only driving the enemy back, but pursued them, skirmishing all through the thickly-wooded gardens of the Subzee Mundee. It was about half-past 7 A.M. when the troops began to be recalled, and the assembly first sounded for the skirmishers.

"In comparison with the strength of the attack, our loss was small; and I trust to be able to send in without delay the official returns of the killed and wounded. I have heard as yet of only one casualty among the officers—Captain Knox, 75th regiment, who was killed when reinforcing the picket at the Flagstaff tower, and while driving back the enemy. The loss on the part of the enemy must have been considerable, and, although difficult to estimate, could not have been less than 250."

Some interesting details of this continuous engagement, are supplied by the following extracts from letters of an officer engaged in the struggle, which commenced about six in the morning, and lasted during two hours and a-half. The writer says—"I was in camp when I heard very heavy firing at the Flagstaff tower, our battery there firing round after round, mixed with a very heavy fire of musketry. Strange to say, not the smallest attention appeared to be paid to the fact in camp. I passed down the lines, and with the exception of a few men in groups, I did not see any symptom of alarm or preparation. Arriving at the road opposite the Flagstaff, and leading up to it, I saw very heavy firing of musketry round the tower. A good number of our men were hurrying down the hill; they appeared to be of all regiments, some without arms. On arriving at the bottom of the hill they re-formed; they stated that the enemy had surrounded the Flagstaff, and had driven away the gunners from the battery, and that they were then in force within a few yards of the guns. The Flagstaff itself was still held by a few men of

the 75th, headed by some officers who chanced to be on the spot. On proceeding nearer, I saw the enemy in great force to my left; some had crossed the road, and were entering the sepoy lines in rear of the Flagstaff. The firing from our men in the Flagstaff still continued, and men were dispatched to my rear to give information; and a short time after I heard a cheer behind me, and saw a few Europeans of the Company's troops coming up at the double, headed by a very young-looking officer; and, some hundred yards behind, I also saw the dark uniform of the 60th rifles advancing rapidly. At this moment the 9-pounder battery, posted several hundred yards on the right of the battery at the Flagstaff (which had ceased to play), opened in capital style, and evidently checked the enemy, who were advancing rapidly across the open space (distant about 200 yards) to our front, and trying to form at the ridge close to the Flagstaff guns, preparatory to a rush across the open space of some thirty yards which still intervened between the ridge and the tower itself. I may here state, that the guns were posted about five or six yards in front of the tower in question. I at this moment heard a very heavy fire of musketry to the right. It was immediately taken up by our light and heavy guns at the extreme right of our position, and, a few minutes after, the fire became general; it was evident the enemy were in force, and attempting to turn both our flanks, and seize the batteries on the heights. Our fire on the left, which had slackened, and, with the exception of a spirited fire from a few men in the Flagstaff, almost ceased, was at this moment renewed. As our supports arrived, some of the 75th, headed by Lieutenant Le Pelley of that corps, went forward at the rush to the assistance of Captain Dunbar, who had resolutely tried to hold his ground against the repeated attempts of the enemy to outflank him and turn his left. I was told, however, that at one time the enemy had actually got into the rear of his position (the extreme left of the line), and had even entered the sepoys' lines in front of our camp, where, I understand, a few were afterwards killed. At this moment the enemy, after a hard fight of upwards of an hour and a-half, gave way, and were pursued down the hill by the rifles and the 2nd Europeans. The flight on the right of our position (Hindoo Rao's house) lasted a short time longer; the enemy had, however, no chance of success in that quarter, and suffered severely. Fifty, I hear, were killed in a garden by the Ghoorkas, 60th rifles, and guides. Their chief attack was undoubtedly made on the left, the Flagstaff battery bearing the brunt; and the attempt to turn our flank and seize the Flagstaff guns would, I am told, have certainly succeeded, but for the determined resistance they met with from the pickets, especially at the tower (Flagstaff) itself, where our guns, though silenced temporarily from the fire, were protected by the steady resistance of about ten or fifteen men of the 75th, headed by an officer (Captain Moller, I believe) of the 11th regiment, who the officers and men of the 75th mentioned to me as having killed five of the enemy with his own hand. I found the Flagstaff full of our wounded men, and numbers lying round the open face in front. I am told, that out of the few who held the position, no less than forty-five men and two officers were killed and wounded—nearly all of the 75th and 2nd Europeans; Captain Knox, of the former corps, having been shot through the head whilst leading his men. The general questions asked are, first, why were no videttes posted? and, secondly, why was the most important position on the heights allowed to stand an attack of nearly two hours without assistance, and with no means of resistance beyond a few weak pickets? I leave others to judge of the effect on the enemy of even a temporary success. The battle on the right was much less fiercely contested, our position there being very strong; and the attack proved far more fatal to the enemy, who, I hear, lost some 300 men, fifty being killed in a garden."

It had by this time become clearly understood at head-quarters, that the means in possession of Sir Henry Barnard were utterly insufficient for a regular siege; and a proposal made to the general, to take the city by a *coup-de-main*, was assented to by him. It was not denied that the risk in the attempt would be very great, as not more than 1,700 or 1,800 infantry were available for the assault; and there was every reason to anticipate a prolonged and desperate struggle in the streets of the city, and in the capture of the palace; during which time the camp, with all its sick and wounded, its stores, followers, &c., would necessarily be very weakly guarded. More-

over, it was admitted, that to fail would not only be disastrous to the troops employed, but, in all probability, to the whole British population in Upper India and the Punjab. Notwithstanding all this, the urgency with which General Barnard was required to "take Delhi," by those who neither sufficiently comprehended his weakness or *its* strength, induced him reluctantly to acquiesce in the hazardous experiment.

So early as the 31st of May, the governor-general had sent the following message to the commander-in-chief of the army of Delhi, who was then on his way from Kurnaul towards the capital:—

"I have heard to-day that you do not expect to be before Delhi until the 9th; in the meantime, Cawnpore and Lucknow are severely pressed; and the country between Delhi and Cawnpore is passing into the hands of rebels. It is of the utmost importance to prevent this. Your force of artillery will enable you to dispose of Delhi with certainty."

Again, on the 1st of June, the governor-general says—"I am sure that you will not delay unnecessarily; but the urgency of disposing of Delhi increases with every hour. You cannot exaggerate to yourself the importance of this. I expect two more regiments this week; but the capture of Delhi is of more value than these at present."

The lieutenant-governor of Bombay (Lord Elphinstone) also added to the impatience of government at the delay in recovering the city, by messages to the governor-general, in one of which (of the 10th of June) he says—"We must, through some channel or other, have very early and decisive news from Delhi." And again, on the same day, his lordship telegraphs—"We expect decisive news from Delhi every hour. Perhaps we may have to wait till to-morrow."

Importuned on all sides to make an attempt upon the city, it was at length determined that two of the gates should be blown in by powder-bags, by which columns of attack were to effect an entrance, and make themselves masters of the Mogul capital. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 13th of June, corps were actually formed to move down to the assault, when the mistake of a superior officer in delaying the withdrawal of the pickets (without which the infantry regiments were mere skeletons), forced the plan to be abandoned, as daylight was coming on; and it was certain that ultimate success would be impossible, if the gates were not forced by a surprise. Upon reflection, it was considered by all, that the accident which prevented the attempt was a most fortunate interposition. Defeat, or even partial success, would have been ruin; and complete success would not, at the time, have produced the results subsequently obtained.

From this period almost daily attacks took place for some time; and though the losses to the army were not heavy, the troops were much harassed: the cannonading on both sides was kept up at intervals by day and night; and the batteries mounted with the guns of the enemy taken at Badulee Ke-Serai on the 8th instant, having no ammunition for the captured 24-pounders, the shot of that calibre fired by the rebels were picked up and politely returned.

On the 15th of June, a very sharp attack was made on the Metcalfe picket; and the enemy, taking advantage of the lowness of the river, tried to turn the position by the sands below the river-bank. They were, however, repulsed and driven back by the 75th; but the attack was so well sustained, that for a time our outnumbered and wearied men were sorely tried. And thus, day by day, "at early dawn or evening's close," bands of the rebel troops would cautiously advance from their sheltered position, and skirmish with our outposts from behind the ruins of old buildings and tombs, that are scattered in all directions around Delhi; but they, as yet, seldom ventured to try close quarters with the Europeans. Occasionally their mode of offensive operation was peculiar, and occasioned a great deal of annoyance to the troops, who found it difficult to get a fair aim at their opponents. After firing a shot, the mutineers would drop down behind a piece of rock or ruin, where they would sit, and leisurely reload their pieces, smoking all the while; and then, when the humour seized them, they would rouse themselves and fire another shot, with very little aim, and seldom with any effect. Still, their desultory method of warfare rendered it necessary to exercise unremitting vigilance on the part of our troops, and the duty of the pickets became unusually heavy and tiresome.

On the 17th of June, the proceedings

were somewhat diversified by the English troops becoming the assailants. It had been observed that, during the previous day and night, the enemy were busily engaged in constructing a battery for heavy guns, near a building named on the map Eed-Ghah (having a large walled enclosure), nearly opposite the Garstin bastion, and in the vicinity of a large serai, outside the Lahore gate. The elevated position of this battery, if allowed to be completed, would have enabled it to enfilade the English camp, and to render Hindoo Rao's house utterly untenable. It became necessary, therefore, to interfere with the further progress of the rebel engineers, and to destroy the post. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the evening of the 17th, a force, consisting of Major Tombs' troop of horse artillery, some cavalry, with a party of the 60th rifles, and a detachment of Ghoorkas, proceeded by different routes in two columns, to attack and dislodge the enemy; and they performed their task admirably. The subjoined details of this spirited affair are so characteristic and descriptive, that it would be improper to pass them by in a record of the service to which they refer. The first communication is from an officer; and as it describes very clearly the relative positions of the intended battery at the Eed-Ghah, and the Hindoo Rao's house, it is entitled to precedence. The writer says—"Since my last, we have had various scrimmages with the mutineers. In fact, from the 9th to the 13th we were out every day once or twice, the enemy coming out about 3,000 strong, each time with infantry, cavalry, and two or three light field guns. They joined themselves into two parties, and came up on both sides of Hindoo Rao's house. Our movements were to send infantry, composed of the guides, Sirmoor battalion, and a few of the 80th rifles, down the hill towards the city, over the rocky ground, and our cavalry and artillery down the two roads on the right and left of the broken ground. We always drove the enemy back. I don't believe many of them were killed till the 13th. On that day an immense number met with the fate they so richly deserve. We were on the right of Hindoo Rao's that day, and, after skirmishing down the rocky ground, got into the Subramundi and a serai and village on the right. In the serai (caravansary) we came across about a hundred of the mutineers, who had got themselves into a nice scrape; for, having got into the halls of the serai, they found they could not scale the walls and run for it, so were shot down and bayoneted, every one of them. The rifles got into the village and garden, and did their work too. We learnt from our city spies next day, that of 4,000 who came out, 500 were left dead, and 500 were carried back so badly wounded, that they died by twenties and thirties, having no doctors. This day's work so disgusted them, that I don't think they could have bothered us again; but that evening they were joined by our 60th native infantry, a native troop of horse artillery, and one more native corps; the two native corps arrived unarmed, and encamped outside the city walls. The gentlemen from inside, therefore, promised to feed and arm them, on condition that they would come out and fight us next day; this they accordingly did, and got such a lesson that they retired in disgust, and have since left us alone. On the 16th and 17th they determined to bother us with their big guns, and so commenced building a battery on the right of the city, about three-quarters of a mile beyond the walls (when I say the right and left of the city, I mean our right and left looking from Hindoo Rao's house.) As this battery would have sent shot and shell flying into every part of our camp, and would have made this house perfectly untenable for us, we quietly waited until the afternoon of the 17th, when, the battery being just finished, and one gun already brought down to it, we sallied out, knocked the whole thing about their ears, bayoneted and shot down a number of those who positively tried to hold their ground, captured their gun, and burnt two or three villages in the vicinity. The loss on our side was miraculously small; for had they fired their gun, and had the large force they had with them concealed in the villages fired well on us, we should have suffered fearfully. This bold sally of ours has so astonished them, that they have not come out of their walls since. At present they confine themselves to their guns. They have a large battery on the left of the Cashmere gate, one at the gate itself, one at the Moree gate, one at the Ajmeer gate, and one at a place name unknown, but in the city walls, and in a direct line between Hindo Rao's house and the Jumma Musjeed. Three of these play on the house, one on the high observatory close to us, and one on the Musjeed to the

left of the observatory. On our side we have three batteries—one at the house, one at the observatory, and one at the Musjeed; so that whichever battery of ours they fire at, they get an answer in return. This house is fearfully shattered; our engineer and artillery officers say they work their guns beautifully, and fully equal us in good shots. We who are on outpost duty here (some twenty of us, officers and men), all live in the gateway of this house. The day before yesterday (the 17th), while quietly sitting and chatting together, a round shot came humming and whisking right into the mouth of the gateway, struck the wall when it had gone about three yards, and burst into a thousand pieces. Poor young Wheatley, of the late 54th (one of the few who had escaped the massacre), was taken from the middle of us, a large piece of the shell striking him in the shoulder, and nearly cutting him in two. He dropped down dead, poor young fellow! Five of us who were sitting within a circle of ten yards of him were more or less struck, but none seriously. I got an admonitory thump on the shoulder from a large piece of a stone that was sent whizzing by my ear; thank God, a stiff shoulder is the only damage done. Two more were cut about the face. The splinters then left us alone in a most curious way, and went about six yards, I expect with a large piece of the round shot, which must have struck the wall at the other end of the gateway, and burst again, for it killed two men of the 6th carabiniers who were sitting at the mouth of the gateway, smashing their massive brass helmets and thick turban covers as if they had been made of thin glass; and, at the same time, five or six Ghoorkas of the Simoor battalion were killed dead on the spot; also a poor syce. It was a most wonderful thing we were not all killed; but a merciful Providence was watching over us. We have now some sand-bags as a wall in front of the gateway, and are pretty safe from shot and shell."

One of the men belonging to the rifles, engaged in this affair, says—"Our companies arrived first at the place, and knocking down the first gate, rushed in, in front of a heavy fire from behind walls; then, having forced two other barricaded gates, ten of our men were ordered in, the rest being posted outside the inner walls, to shoot all that attempted to escape. We drove the rebels into a corner, and shot forty-one out of hand; unfortunately, those were all we could get at. The Ghoorkas polished off a few more, and the rest made their escape through a gate we were not at the time aware of."

The last communication to which we shall refer, in connection with the attack of the 17th, is as follows:—

"June 18th (Waterloo Day), 1857.

"Rather a brisk affair occurred here yesterday. During the day, and particularly in the afternoon, the enemy were observed outside the Lahore gate in large numbers, evidently planning and carrying out some special project. At half-past 4 o'clock P.M., our troops were turned out to ascertain, if possible, what it might be, and in a very short time were busily engaged in most laudable musketry practice. Tombs (Major), with his troop of horse artillery, was, as usual, on the ground. The rifles (her majesty's 60th) and the Ghoorkas being the other principal *dramatis personæ*. After a time, it was observed that a large serai, called 'Eed-Ghah,' opposite the Ajmeer gate, was being occupied by the enemy, and that it had been strengthened from without by the defences which had been constructed during the day.

"It was resolved that the said serai should be ours; though I must tell you that it was an exceedingly strong position, which a few hundred stout-hearted men might hold in the face of thousands. It was attacked accordingly, and taken in glorious style. The enemy stood for a time; but their show of resistance was, on the whole, brief. The gates of the place were smashed, the enemy's ammunition (two hackery-loads) blown up, and the only gun (a 9-pounder) which they had time to bring to the scene of action, spiked, taken, and walked off with *tout de suite*. Their loss was probably considerable—I should think at least a hundred killed; whilst, I rejoice to say, we only lost three or four men in all, exclusive of a small number on the list of wounded.

"In the evening, whilst we were sitting at mess in the open air, General Barnard rode up and asked if Major Tombs was present. On being informed that he was not, the general, without dismounting from his horse, said that he had come to the artillery mess publicly to express his opinion of Major Tombs' gallantry in the affair which had just terminated. He said, considering the strong nature of the enemy's

position, the resolute manner in which it was attacked, the masterly way in which our troops were handled, and the happy result of the whole engagement, he had never, in the course of his military experience, seen more remarkable bravery, or cooler, better judgment displayed by any officer in the field than by Major Tombs, of the artillery. The word by which the general characterised it was 'glorious.' Tombs was slightly wounded in the arm by a musket-bullet, and had two horses shot under him; having already, since we left Meerut, lost three chargers in the same way. With such facts, such results, and such praise as I have mentioned, surely the Victoria cross would be but a well-merited reward to such an officer, who has already his share of medals and ordinary honours. The rifles, Ghoorkas, and fusiliers, behaved splendidly yesterday. Jack Sepoy's courage was of Dutch character, probably springing from *bang cherus*, and like combustibles.

"Our camp keeps healthy, whilst rumour says, that in Delhi, hundreds of wounded are screaming all day long for the sons of Æsculapius. The order of the day here, as regards the siege, seems to be 'delay' till reinforcements arrive. Shortly (within a week I believe), 1,500 European bayonets, two troops of horse artillery, and two Sikh regiments, may be expected in this camp. Then for a tragedy, such as the Chandney Chowk has certainly not witnessed since the days of Nadir Shah. If anything escapes destruction, may it be the palace gardens, with the mango topes, cascades, and fountains, and the ice-pits. *Du reste*, let archæologists and antiquarians write and fight.—Ever yours, &c."

The result of this attack upon the works of the Eed-Ghah battery, was the total abandonment of the position by the rebel troops, who also left in the possession of the victors the only heavy gun they had got in the battery, and all their ammunition for serving it. The loss in men, on their part, amounted to upwards of a hundred.

Two days after this occurrence (namely, on the 19th of June), a strong body of revolted troops that had recently joined the mutinous forces in Delhi, from Nusseerabad and other places, supported by the 15th regiment of native infantry and a battery of artillery, made an audacious attempt upon the rear of the British lines, and were severely punished for their temerity. Information having reached the general that the enemy was manœuvring to get to the rear of the camp, a squadron of her majesty's 9th lancers, under Brigadier Grant, with six guns, was sent to arrest his approach. When this little force reached the right of the Ochterlony gardens, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon it, to which a suitable reply was speedily made. Reinforcements then came up from camp, and the action became general. Towards dusk, the rebels very nearly succeeded in turning the British flank, and for some time two guns were seriously imperilled. A vigorous charge, however, drove them back, and the guns were saved, but an ammunition waggon blew up. On the left flank, two squadrons of lancers, a troop of carabiniers, and a strong detachment of the guide corps, rendered effectual support to the two batteries in charge of Major Tombs and Major Turner. Considerable confusion appears to have been caused by the skirmishing nature of the fight, and the frequent charges of small isolated detachments. In the *mêlée*, Colonel Yule was shot through the leg, and brought to the ground. His body was not found till next morning. The guides, under Captain Daly, also made two gallant charges, and drove the enemy before them. On the following morning the wounded were brought in, and likewise a gun and two waggons, abandoned by the rebels on the previous night. The loss to the enemy in this engagement amounted to about 200 killed: that sustained by the English troops was also comparatively severe, and, as regarded officers, was specially so.

The report of Brigadier Grant was as follows:—

"Camp before Delhi, June 22nd, 1857.

"Sir,—On the afternoon of the 19th instant, information was brought in that the camp was to be attacked in the rear. The safety of the camp being under my direction, I immediately proceeded, with a squadron of her majesty's 9th lancers, two guns of Major Scott's, two of Captain Money's, and two of Major Turner's, under command of Lieutenant Bishop, to prevent the near approach of the enemy to our camp. When this force got to the right of the Ochterlony gardens, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon it, to which our guns replied. The troops from camp now began to arrive, and the action became

general. The enemy had taken up a position about half a mile in rear of the Ochterlony gardens, and from thence opened a very severe fire of round shot, grape, and canister. I advanced our guns right up to them, and our artillery replied to their fire with the greatest spirit. As long as it was light we succeeded in driving the rebels back; but, in the dusk of the evening, the enemy, who were in great numbers, very nearly succeeded in turning our flank, and, for some time, two guns were in great jeopardy. It now became very dark; but I succeeded, with Lieutenant Martin, of the 9th lancers, in getting a few men together, and we charged into the enemy. The guns, I am happy to say, were saved, but a waggon of Major Scott's battery was blown up. I must not fail to mention the excellent conduct of a sowar of the 4th irregular cavalry, and two men of the 9th lancers, privates Thomas Hancock and John Purcell, who, when my horse was shot down, remained by me throughout. One of these men, and the sowar, offered me their horses, and I was dragged out by the sowar's horse. Private Hancock was severely wounded, and private Purcell's horse was killed under him. The sowar's name is Roopur Khan.

"Our fire reopened, and the enemy were driven back to the town. On the left flank, two squadrons of the 9th lancers, under Colonel Yule, one troop of the carabiniers, under Lieutenant Ellis, and the guide corps, under Captain Daly, proceeded in support of Major Tombs' and Major Turner's guns. The former proceeded with the guide corps, the latter with the 9th lancers, in support, to the left of the Ochterlony gardens, and both opened fire. A squadron of the 9th lancers, under Captain Anson, then charged down the road; and the 3rd squadron, under Lieutenant Jones, with Colonel Yule, followed in support. Colonel Yule, I regret to say, fell at this time, having received a shot in his leg, and was killed by the enemy. He is a severe loss to the 9th lancers.* The guide corps, under Captain Daly, gallantly charged twice, and I regret to say this excellent officer was severely wounded in the shoulder; but the enemy was beaten, and retired to the town. The following morning I was ordered by the major-general commanding to take a force out on the same ground, and drive the enemy away, if any were still left. I proceeded, but found only a strong picket of the enemy, which was easily driven back, and we captured a gun and two waggons, which they had left the night previous.

"I beg to bring to the immediate notice of Major-general Sir H. Barnard, the names of officers who had command of guns and squadrons:—Major Scott, Captain Money, and Lieutenant Bishop, commanded the guns on the right; and nothing could be better than the way in which they brought their guns forward, and opened them on the enemy, fearless of danger. Also Captain Head, who was on the right, and Captain Anson and Lieutenant Jones, who commanded squadrons on the left. The conduct of all has been reported most favourably to me. Major Turner's and Major Tombs' names, I presume, will be mentioned by Brigadier Wilson, and it would be needless my saying anything in their favour. I beg also to bring the name of Captain Daly before Sir Henry—a most gallant and excellent officer. I regret to say the loss in the 9th lancers was severe—five men killed and eight wounded, and thirty-one horses killed, wounded, and missing."

The following is the despatch of Major-general Sir H. Barnard in reference to this affair:—

"Camp before Delhi, June 23rd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to submit, for the information of the commander-in-chief, the report of Brigadier Grant, C.B., of the affair of the 19th instant. These repeated attacks upon our position, with the small force we have to repel them, are rendered most harassing by the uncertainty of the point on which it is to be threatened, it

* A gentleman attached to the civil service acting with the force under Sir H. Barnard, has furnished the subjoined notice of the fate of this gallant officer. "Poor Yule's body was not found till next morning. He had both thighs broken by musket-balls, a ball through the head just over the eye, his throat cut, and his hands much gashed, besides other cuts on the head; so it is supposed, that when knocked off his horse, he had put up his hands to save himself. Four of his men were lying dead beside him. Poor fellow! I was in hopes he would have been very shortly a C.B.; he well deserved some mark of distinction, for no officer ever took more trouble, or was at more expense, to join his regiment than Yule, whenever there was a likelihood of anything to do. Even at this time he was on leave in Cashmere, but travelled dâk all the way to be in time to take the command of the 9th till Colonel Grant came up. His poor wife and young family are at home."

being always doubtful whether it is to be confined to one, and can only be successfully repulsed by the untiring and unflinching gallantry of the small bodies who alone can be directed against the enemy; and I can assure you that under no circumstances did officers and men merit greater praise.

"I have to deplore the loss of Lieutenant-colonel Yule, 9th lancers, an officer of great merit, and Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3rd native infantry, a young officer of much promise. Also that Colonel Becher, quartermaster-general, and Captain Daly, of the guides, were wounded; and that I shall be deprived for some time of the services of these officers—an irreparable loss at this moment. The native irregular cavalry man mentioned by Brigadier Grant, C.B., has been rewarded by the order of merit, which carries the highest pension; and I would venture to recommend privates Hancock and Purcell, 9th lancers, for the Victoria cross. My thanks are due to Brigadier Grant, C.B., who on this, as on all occasions, evinces the highest qualifications for a cavalry officer. Our loss, I regret to say, was severe; but taking the great superiority of the enemy in number into consideration, I am only thankful it should not have been greater.—I have, &c.—H. W. BARNARD."

An officer in the force before Delhi, from whose diary we have obtained much interesting information, says of this affair, under date of the 24th of June:—"Still before the walls of this horrible city. We have had no reinforcements yet, beyond a few Sikhs belonging to the 4th Sikh regiment; consequently we have been able to do nothing except hold our own. On the 19th they came out again, having received reinforcements, which they immediately sent out to fight us. At the same time a very large force went out a long way, and tried to get round into the rear of our camp. A large force of ours consequently went out to meet these gentlemen, and a tremendous fight was the consequence. Our arrangements were very bad in this fight—the cavalry, infantry, and artillery all mixed up together in sad confusion; many of our men, I fear, killed by our side. The mutineers held a capital position, and their big guns did terrible execution, loaded as they were with grapeshot; unfortunately, too, evening closed in on the fight, and, instead of quietly retiring, so as to protect our camp, we were ordered to fight on, and the confusion became terrible; at last, however, the order came to retire; many of our guns were left on the ground till morning, as also our killed and wounded, but were luckily all safely brought back into camp next day. I fear our loss was nearly equal to the enemy's that day: several officers were killed and wounded; among the latter our commandant, Daly, shot through the shoulder. He is doing well, however. Kennedy, of our cavalry, too, has since been shot through the leg and stomach; he is also doing well, but he had a narrow escape. On the morning after the last fight, the mutineers again came out to try the same plan as the evening before, but the lesson we had had made us wiser, and we marched out in capital order. The enemy, seeing this, immediately began to retire, and tried to draw us on into some broken ground. This, however, they did not succeed in; and, as they kept retiring from place to place, our horse artillery punished them a good deal. Finding they could do no good that day, they wisely retired, and we returned to camp. No loss on our side. Since then (the 20th), beyond a few skirmishes, nothing was attempted on either side, except our blowing up two bridges, which prevents the enemy's artillery from coming out, except by a long round of some three miles to the left and right."

An amusing incident, somewhat after the fashion of a panic, occurred in the evening of the 22nd, among a covering party of the guides and Sikhs, which had been dispatched for the protection of a body of sappers, while engaged in destroying a bridge over the West Jumna canal at Bhagput, a short distance from the Crows'-nest battery, at the right extremity of the British position. The narrator of this unusual affair has described it thus:—"On Monday last a party of sappers, under Lieutenant Maunsell and myself, went out to demolish a couple of bridges over the canal, about three miles from this, over which the enemy were in the habit of taking their artillery and forces when they wished to attack us in the rear: we were accompanied by a party of a hundred infantry and fifty cavalry of the guides (a fine set of fellows, most of them Sikhs from the Punjab, and capital fellows to fight.) We left camp about 6 P.M., and got to the bridges about dusk, without meeting any adventures except the capture of a few villagers. By half-past nine we had got the mines in the nearest bridge ready for firing, and were

hard at work on the further one, when the sentries came in to report, that a large body of men were advancing on us from Delhi, and distant about 200 yards. We had almost got the mines ready; and I was just lowering the last powder-barrel into its place, when a panic seemed to strike the whole of the sentries; and horse and foot, about twenty in number, came pouring across the bridge and almost knocking the working party over, at the same time firing hard at the supposed enemy. As soon as possible (after dragging Maunsell out of the canal into which he had been knocked by the rush of our men), we got our men together, and led them across the bridge, when we found that our foes were nothing more than a party of fifty villagers removing their goods from the village in front. Two of them were killed by our fire; the rest had bolted, leaving several ponies behind, which the guides brought in in triumph. After this gallant exploit, we blew up the two bridges, completely demolishing them, and got back to the camp at about 12 P.M. One of our men who had been left behind in the dark, reported that, after our departure, the enemy came down to the canal, and began blazing away from the opposite side with horse artillery; but fortunately the birds had flown. It was lucky that we demolished these bridges when we did, as next day the enemy attacked us in force, but were prevented from getting to our rear as usual."

On the morning of the 23rd of June, the rebels again made a desperate attack upon the right flank of the English position, and maintained it with great obstinacy throughout the day. Several circumstances were supposed to have led to the determination they exhibited upon this occasion: it happened to be the first day of the new moon, and was therefore auspicious for the Mohammedans; it was also the day of the Ruth Juttra, or festival of Juggernauth, and consequently favourable for the Hindoos. Moreover, it was the centenary of Clive's victory at Plassy—a time which had been predicted for the termination of the English rule; and the insurgent troops, stimulated by their favourite *bhang*, and by the assurances of the Moulvies, that no European would survive the attack made upon them on that important day, fought with untiring obstinacy, and were with great difficulty repulsed. It seems, that by a well-concerted plan, they contrived to attack, in considerable force, the rear of the British right flank from the Subzee Mundee to the ridge, by taking advantage of the garden-walls, enclosures, and houses which abounded there; and, at the same time, made a demonstration upon the left flank, near the Metcalfe-house battery; their object being to destroy that work, as it occasioned them continual annoyance. Many of the mutineers upon this day fought in their English uniforms; and one recreant corps among them had the audacity to trail the English colours they had carried off with them about the field. It very soon became evident to the assailants, that their efforts to get possession of the Metcalfe battery would result in failure, and they consequently abandoned this part of their plan, and concentrated their forces on the Subzee Mundee, where they resolutely fought hand-to-hand with the European troops for several hours. The 1st and 2nd European fusiliers, the 60th rifles, and the Ghoorkas, sustained the first shock of the engagement; and such was the vigour of the rebel troops, and the numerical weakness of the force opposed to them, that it became necessary to send to the aid of the Europeans a strong reinforcement of Sikhs which had only arrived in camp the same morning, after a night march of twenty-four miles. The rebels then changed their plan of operation, and clung to cover with the tenacity of bears; while our men were mad to get fairly at them, but were unable to do so. The walls and houses behind which they skulked had been loop-holed; and Major Tombs, who commanded the artillery, and fought with the greatest daring, was materially impeded in his movements by the obstacles thus put in his way. In one instance, the anxiety of the sepoys to keep under shelter, proved the cause of their destruction. Some of the Europeans burst into an enclosure in which were 150 of the enemy. The men did not fire a shot, but rushed at them with the bayonet, and slaughtered every one. A desperately-wounded sepoy, who had received seven bayonet wounds, was dispatched, exclaiming as he fell, "*Feringhee soor*" (the infidels are pigs.) At length, shortly after sunset, the British troops overcame all resistance; and such of the enemy as could make their escape, retired with all speed into Delhi. Their retreat was, however, as disastrous to them as had been the struggle through the day; for, as they retired by the road to the

Lahore gate, a new battery of three 18-pounders, which had been erected to check sallies from that quarter, came into play, and were so effectually handled, that they committed great havoc amongst the flying ranks, which were completely ploughed through by well-directed shots. The operations of the day terminated by the European sappers blowing up a number of the houses which had afforded protection to the rebels, scores of whose carcasses were buried among the falling ruins. The loss, on the part of the European force upon this occasion, amounted to 160; the only officer killed being Lieutenant Jackson, of the 2nd fusiliers: that of the enemy was estimated at something above 1,000; their dead being counted, at the close of the day, in groups of hundreds. This terrible and unexpected defeat had the effect of cooling the ardour of the rebels for a time, and during the three following days they did not leave the city.

Major-general Barnard announced the affair in the following despatch to the adjutant-general:—

"Camp above Delhi, June 28th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the commander-in-chief, that, on the 23rd instant, the insurgents renewed their attack upon us; and, owing to some religious feeling, kept it up during the whole day. Knowing they had come out of the town the day before, and had not been seen returning at night, I became anxious for the safety of a valuable convoy, which was to march into camp on the morning of the 23rd, and sent a strong escort out to meet it. This was successful; but the convoy had scarcely arrived in camp, ere my attention was called to the right or Hindoo Rao position, where, during the whole of the rest of the day, the combat was maintained. The enemy having lodged themselves in some loopholed houses, and a serai and mosque, occasioned some loss; and I regret to say, Colonel Welchman, of the 1st Bengal European fusiliers, was severely wounded. The loss on the part of the rebels was very serious.—I have, &c.,

"H. W. BARNARD, Major-general."

The subjoined details, by an officer holding a command upon this occasion, afford ample proof that the valour of the British soldier was as enduring, and as conspicuous, under the heat of an Indian sun, as when shivering in the biting cold of the Crimean trenches. The action described was not an exceptional one, as scarcely a day was allowed to pass from June to September, in which the troops of the rebel garrison did not pour out in swarms to harass our overworked soldiers. The extract is as follows:—

"The day commenced with firing on the Ghoorka posts. Jackson, of the 2nd fusiliers, with No. 1 company, very weak, attacked and drove back the mutineers from Subzee Mundee; but, not being reinforced, he was obliged to retire, and in retiring the gallant fellow was killed. Skirmishing went on on the hill to the right of Hindoo Rao's house the whole day. The Ghoorkas and rifles were engaged, and drove back the mutineers four times. After each attack our men fell back into their positions. When the mutineers, relieved by their numbers, again came on, our men became exhausted by heat and exertion, and supports after each attack were necessary, until at last all the available force was engaged. Welchman, with the left wing of the 1st fusiliers, after Jackson's death, had advanced and taken possession of Subzee Mundee again, when he was severely wounded, and had to leave the field. The wing cleared the streets, but the enemy renewed their attack four times, and were successfully repulsed. Young Owen, of the 1st, highly distinguished himself, charging four times down the street with his company; his gallantry was very conspicuous. The right wing in the meantime continued their advance under Dennis, and, after driving away the mutineers and killing a large number in a serai, they retired exhausted to Hindoo Rao's house. The big guns on the right flank fired occasionally, but owing to the nature of the ground, the enemy could avoid them. All our troops had now been engaged, and the greater part had fallen back exhausted.

"The general then directed me to the Mosque battery, where applications were being constantly sent for reinforcements. I sent every available man. I was then directed to assume command at Hindoo Rao's. When I arrived there I found every one exhausted and anxious. There were the 1st fusiliers and some rifles all done up. I went on to the new advanced battery; it was crowded with worn-out men; the artillerymen, likewise wearied, had ceased firing; another party of rifles in a similar state in another position; 120 men of the 2nd fusiliers, who had marched twenty-three miles that morning, and had had no

breakfast, were lying down exhausted; three weak companies of Ghoorkas were out as skirmishers, but were faint; and the remainder were resting under a rock. The heat was terrific, and the thermometer must have been at least 140 degrees, with a hot wind blowing, and a frightful glare.

"Well, the mutineers, all this time, from behind walls and rocks, were keeping up a brisk fire all along our front—*i.e.*, to the right of Hindoo Rao's house, as far as Subzee Mundee; and a battery of two guns from Kissengunge was firing upon us without having it returned. I ordered up, when at Hindoo Rao's, a hundred of the 1st fusiliers: after serving out grog to them, I threw them forward to the left front of the new battery. I got a reinforcement of 200 of Rothney's Sikhs, who also had marched twenty-three miles, and had had nothing to eat; and shortly afterwards, a small party of thirty of the 2nd fusiliers, under Harris, a very gallant and determined fellow; and another under the sergeant-major. The latter were sent with the 1st fusiliers. They beat back the mutineers at once, and took possession of a temple on the left front of the battery, and which commanded it. I directed this to be held, as it moreover gave us the command of the skirmishing ground, hitherto infested by the mutineers. On the right, I threw forward Rothney's Sikhs, some guides, and a few of the 2nd fusiliers. They advanced, and again took possession of Subzee Mundee. Between this and the batteries our skirmishers now had command of the whole ground. I ordered the position I held to be kept till sunset, and then they were to retire to their camp.

"We were now masters of the field. The mutineers were completely beaten; and when they found I intended to hold my position, they fell back upon the town. Our loss was considerable; but that of the enemy was very severe. We suffered greatly from the sun; the 1st fusiliers alone had five officers out of ten struck down by *coups de soleil*. The work for the troops is very hard, never getting a whole night's rest; but the wing of the 61st and one of the 8th, besides some Sikhs, are expected, when they will be relieved somewhat; but it is very up-hill work against such fearful odds, and at this time of the year; but the men are game, and will never give in."

The serai before mentioned was a halting-place for travellers and merchants, whose cattle and merchandise were there secure from plunderers and marauders, in consequence of the high walls of the enclosure. In the attack upon the sepoys in one of these sheltered places, the rage of the European soldiers is represented to have been so great, that they actually bent and twisted their bayonets by the fury of their thrusts, when pinning the shrieking wretches against the walls.

The critical position of the guides corps, on this occasion, is described in the following passages from the diary to which reference has already been made in connection with the proceedings before Delhi:—

"Yesterday (the 23rd), we heard that every man in the city capable of bearing arms was coming out to make an end of us, or die in the attempt. Our information was correct; at sunrise yesterday morning, the whole city apparently turned out and attacked us on all sides. I was with the guides on the right; and from sunrise to past sunset, we fought altogether fifteen hours, without anything to eat, and only water to drink. We managed to hold our own well, nevertheless, till about one o'clock, and killed an immense number of the mutineers; but at one o'clock, an immense reinforcement came to the assistance of the opposite party, and we had enough to do to hold our own. I twice fired away every shot we had (nearly a hundred rounds per man), and had sent back for more ammunition. The men I sent came back with the fearful news that there was no more. To leave the position was contrary to all orders; so we had to do our best by pretending to fire, and keeping the post with the bayonet. All this time we were under a perfect hailstorm of bullets, round shot, and shell; for the enemy had brought some of their light field guns round, and were playing with great effect on our reduced numbers. I certainly thought we should all be done for, when, by the greatest good luck, a part of the regiment of Sikhs that had that very morning marched into the camp, came up with a yell to our assistance: they were fresh men, and had lots of ammunition; so we rushed on and drove the enemy back. At the same time, we were ordered to advance as far as we could: this we did, and drove the enemy back into the city; after which, as they did not seem inclined to come out

again, we retired, it being past sunset. Just at this time, my legs, stout as they are, fairly, and for the first time, refused to carry me: after a little coaxing and rest, however, they condescended to carry me on a little further, and I reached our picket dead beat. I certainly never was so fearfully and painfully tired in my life. A man named Shebbeare, who is doing the second in command's work in poor Battye's place, a great, big, and very powerfully-built giant, was also so fearfully knocked up, that he was obliged to be carried off; two of our poor men, also, were so fatigued, that they died from exhaustion. Luckily, on arrival at picket, we found something to eat and drink. After a few mouthfuls I fell back on my bed fast asleep. Luckily, too, there was no alarm or attack in the night; for I feel perfectly certain, that had my commission depended on it, I could not have got up. A good night's sleep has set me up wonderfully, and I feel quite jolly. The mutineers have been quiet to-day also; they lost fearfully yesterday."

Colonel Keith Young, in command of a regiment before Delhi, writes thus on the 24th of June:—

"We could now take the city in a few hours if we liked. Our batteries are all erected; but it is thought prudent to wait for reinforcements. Spies have been sent in, and have returned, stating that the besieged are beginning to suffer from hunger, and the respectable natives are longing for British rule again. There are believed to be about 23,000 men (mutineers and deserters) inside the walls, and sorties are made almost every day, although invariably repulsed with loss. Sickness is great amongst the population, and the cholera reduces them in frightful numbers. It is also stated, that the king of Delhi has sent off his son to Agra as a *ruse;* but this, I should think, would not save his neck or pension. The mutineers certainly do give us a great deal of trouble, and fight like demons."

On the 24th and 25th of June, everything remained quiet on the part of the rebels, and only one incident worth notice was observable on the 26th. A large number of soldiers were observed to leave the city in confusion, under a vigorous discharge of grape from the walls. The fugitives were pursued by some of the rebel troopers, but succeeded in getting sufficiently near to our outposts to ensure protection. Upon being challenged, they were discovered to be some men of the 9th regiment, which had mutinied at Allygurh and Etawah on the 21st of May, and who, from some cause of offence or jealousy on the part of their co-mutineers in the city, had been refused subsistence or pay amongst the rebel troops of the king of Delhi. Being thus destitute, and between two fires, the unfortunate wretches at last had determined upon giving themselves up to the English general, depending for their future destiny upon his favourable appreciation of their humane conduct towards their officers when the latter were in their power at Allygurh.*

Early in the day of June 27th, a strong party of mutineers again advanced on the Metcalfe picket; but being quickly repulsed in that direction, an attack was made on the bridge batteries and the pickets at the Subzee Mundee, which resulted in a similar failure. On the two following days, the offensive operations of the rebels were suspended; but on the 30th, the Subzee Mundee picket, and the position at Hindoo Rao's, were simultaneously attacked; and although, as usual, the attempt was futile, the loss on the European side was severe.

At this period reinforcements began to arrive;† and by the 3rd of July, the effective British force before Delhi amounted, in round numbers, to 6,600 men of all arms. Thus strengthened for an assault, it was again proposed that the place should be taken by a *coup-de-main;* and a project was drawn out, by which one column was to effect an entrance by blowing-in the iron grating of the canal near the Cabul gate; another column to enter the Cashmere gate after it had been blown-in; a third column to escalade the Cashmere bastion; and a detachment creeping round by the river side, was to endeavour to effect an entrance in that direction. It seemed pretty clear that success would be doubtful in these attacks, unless the surprise was complete; and as there was no reason to reckon upon any lack of vigilance on the part of the insurgents, after maturely con-

* See *ante*, p. 132.

† A letter from the camp, dated July 1st, says—"The 61st has just come in with band playing 'Britons, strike home!' It is, I believe, the only regiment in camp that has a band; but we have little ear now for music."

sidering the plan, with the limited force available for carrying it into effect, the hazardous project was again abandoned for the present.

On the part of the insurgents, the reinforcements were continuous; some arriving in brigades, some in single regiments, some in detachments; and it was not possible for the English commander to prevent their ingress into the city, since his force was insufficient to invest even a third of the land side of it; and access to the left bank of the Jumna was at all times perfectly secure by the bridge of boats, which was under the close fire of the guns in Selimgurh, and at least 2,500 yards distant from our nearest battery. It was therefore impossible to prevent a constant stream of reinforcements and supplies from pouring into Delhi, which, by the middle of August, contained within and under its walls a force of more than 30,000 men.

On the 3rd of July, the same offensive operations were continued by the rebel forces, whose policy seemed to be directed to the wearing-out of the European soldiers by incessant fatigue in repelling attacks, which, from their daily-increasing strength, the rebels were enabled to make without serious inconvenience. On the evening of the 3rd, the Bareilly mutineers, 3,000 strong, with eight guns, crossed the bridge of boats, and entered the city. Their arrival appeared to be the occasion of much revelry throughout the night, in the midst of which a large body of the enemy outside the city, moved rapidly upon Allipore, one march in rear of the English lines, and compelled the cavalry post there, under Lieutenant Younghusband, to fall back upon Rhye. The fire of their guns was heard in camp; and shortly after 2 A.M. of the 4th, a force of 1,100 men, and twelve guns, under Major Coke,* marched to overtake or intercept the mutineers. At first, it was uncertain whether the enemy, after plundering Allipore, had gone straight on towards Rhye and Sursowlie, or were returning to Delhi; and great apprehensions were entertained lest they should be pushing on for Kurnaul, or to intercept a treasure coming from that place to the camp, and which was known to be on its way, under a native escort. About sunrise, it became known that the enemy had recrossed the canal near Allipore, and were returning to Delhi along the high ground running nearly parallel with the canal. In this direction Major Coke immediately proceeded, intending to take them in flank; but his approach had been observed, and the rebels were prepared for the encounter, which, however, as usual, terminated disastrously for them—being driven from the position they had taken on learning our approach, with a loss of eighty men, a quantity of ammunition, and the whole of the treasure, &c., plundered from Allipore. The European loss amounted to twenty-six killed and wounded; and the men returned to camp thoroughly exhausted by the intense heat to which they had been exposed.

On the following morning (July 5th) Sir Henry Barnard was attacked with cholera, and expired early in the afternoon, greatly regretted by the whole force, and most so by those who knew him best. Brave, kindhearted, and hospitable, it is doubtful if he had a personal enemy. Cholera then, as ever, was present in the camp, and the death of any one excited no surprise; but, no doubt, Sir Henry Barnard's attack was due, in a great degree, to his unsparing exposure of himself to the sun at all hours of the day, and to intense mental anxiety. Major-general Sir Henry William Barnard, K.C.B., was a son of the late Rev. William Barnard, L.L.D., of Water Stratford, Bucks., by the daughter of Moon Disney, Esq., of Church Town, county of Waterford, Ireland. He was born at Wedbury, Oxon., in 1799, and received his early education at Westminster school, and subsequently at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. He entered the army in 1814 as ensign, and served for many years in the grenadier guards. In 1815 he became attached to the staff of his uncle, the late Sir Andrew Barnard, while he held the command of the British forces in Paris; and in 1819-'20, we find him

* A letter from the camp, of July 3rd, says—"All quiet yesterday. There are in Coke's corps a great many 'Poorbeas' or Hindostanis: one of these brutes, a subahdar, tried hard to persuade the whole regiment to murder their officers and go over to Delhi, saying it was God's will the Feringhee 'Raj' should cease. The Pathan instantly reported the conspiracy to Coke. The subahdar and duffadar, and one other man, were hanged last evening. The Poorbeas in the regiment were disarmed, and are, I believe, to be paid up to-day, and kicked out of the camp. There was heavy rain last night. Everything arranged to storm Delhi, only we did not storm it! All countermanded again!"

acting as aide-de-camp to Sir John (afterwards Lord) Keane, during his command in the West Indies. From 1847 to 1852 he was employed as assistant adjutant-general in the northern district, and commanded in the South Wales district from 1852 to 1854. In the latter year he was sent out to the Crimea as major-general commanding one of the brigades. He subsequently became chief of the staff in the Crimea, under General Simpson, and held that post up to the date of the appointment of General Windham. He also commanded a brigade for a short time before the close of the late war. In 1856 he was made a Knight Commander of the Bath, and was appointed to the command successively of the troops at Corfu, and of a division at Shorncliffe and Dover: he was finally placed as major-general on the staff of the Bengal army in November, 1856, when he proceeded to India. He succeeded to the command of the troops before Delhi in June, 1857, on the sudden death of General Anson; and was himself carried to the grave after an interval of scarcely four weeks' duration. General Barnard married, in 1828, a daughter of the late Brigadier James C. Craufurd.

The following interesting memoir of the services and death of the general, was furnished for publication by a near connection of his family:—

"General Barnard arrived at Umballah to command at the station towards the end of April, 1857, when symptoms of disaffection were already frequent among the native troops there. Upon the 10th of May the first outbreak took place at that quarter, which was temporarily repressed by the exertions of the general and his staff; and upon the 11th, intelligence arrived there of the revolt and insurrection at Meerut and Delhi. General Barnard instantly dispatched his aide-de-camp to Simla, to inform General Anson, the commander-in-chief in India, of these events, and request his immediate presence.

"In the interim, Sir H. Barnard found himself with the arduous task on his hands of preparing a force which might be in forwardness to take the field so soon as General Anson should arrive at Umballah to assume the command. The magazines at the station were empty of stores and ammunition; even the reserve artillery waggons were in depôt at Phillour. There were no European regiments of infantry at hand, and the Bengal troops of that arm were utterly disaffected. Added to this, the medical and commissariat officers declared it impossible to move at that season of the year—the first, from the danger to the health of the troops, and the want of conveyance for wounded and sick; the second, from the total want of everything necessary to supply a movable column in the field.

"Notwithstanding these very heavy difficulties, by exertions which few men are capable of, Sir H. Barnard assembled troops, artillery, and the means of transport, making the necessary arrangements also for the force being followed by a siege-train. Upon the 14th of May, General Anson arrived at Umballah from Simla; and upon the 21st of May, the first division of a small but well-composed force marched from Umballah on the route to Delhi. General Anson left Umballah on the 25th of May; on the 26th he was seized by fatal illness at Kurnaul, and Sir H. Barnard, summoned from a sick bed by telegraph, arrived only in time to hear the last words and wishes of the commander-in-chief, and to receive from him the guidance of the Delhi force.

"On the 31st of May the force resumed its march towards Delhi, arriving at Alliporc on the 5th of June. On the 6th the troops under General Wilson came up; and on the 8th, the troops advanced against the enemy, whom they found intrenched in a strong position at Badulee Ke-Serai.* On the same morning, upon his own judgment, and contrary to the opinion of General Wilson and of his own staff, he again advanced; and by a bold and skilful movement of one column, under his own guidance, he gained the heights of the cantonment above Delhi, defeating the rebels, capturing their guns, and driving them in disorder within the walls. From this first successful day up to the close of his life, General Barnard's energy and activity were most conspicuous. In seventeen days, the force under his command fought nine successful actions, and some of them of a very obstinate character. The general himself was, as described in a letter written by Colonel Chamberlaine about that time, 'always in the saddle,' exposed to the heat of the sun at all times, and never sparing, when the service of the country required him, that life and health so valuable to his family and his numerous friends. At length nature seems to have failed under such

* The result of the action has already been stated. See *ante*, p. 196.

unsparing calls upon her resources. The 4th of July had been an unusually trying day. From the very earliest hour Sir H. Barnard had been on horseback, present everywhere, and undergoing every hardship of fatigue and exposure. Still his unflinching courage and endurance, his high and enthusiastic sense of duty, sustained him; and on that very evening he dined at table with his staff, conversed with his usual cheerfulness, and no one perceived how fatally his existence was already undermined. At 7 A.M. on the 5th of July, Sir H. Barnard sent for Colonel Baird Smith, the commanding engineer, and in a private conference with him, explained and justified all that he thought might hereafter be called in question. When Colonel Baird Smith quitted him, at nine o'clock, he sent for medical advice; and when it arrived, his illness was soon pronounced to be mortal. He died about 3 P.M. the same day. Sir H. Barnard was a man of extraordinary activity, endurance, and hardihood; and his sudden death was the more melancholy, because it was entirely unexpected—his surprising activity and nerve having sustained him in excellent health, until an attack of the unsparing malady by which the little army under his command was daily thinned, prostrated his energies, and in a few hours consigned him to a soldier's grave."

Upon the death of Major-general Barnard, the active duties of his command were assumed for a brief period by Major-general Thomas Reed, C.B., acting as provincial commander-in-chief of the army in Bengal, until the arrival at Calcutta of Lieutenant-general Sir Patrick Grant, of the Hon. Company's service, as mentioned in a preceding page.* The health of General Reed had been much impaired by arduous duties in the field, and by the trying vicissitudes of Indian campaigning, after many years of severe and meritorious service in Europe. He had entered the army in 1813, and was present at, and shared in, the perils and the honours of the field of Waterloo; and had, since his appointment to the Indian army, participated in many important engagements. In December, 1845, he commanded a brigade of the army under Sir Hugh Gough at the Sutlej, and was wounded, and had a horse killed under him, at the battle of Ferozepore on the 18th of the same month; and for his conspicuous merit on this occasion, was honoured by the distinction of Commander of the Bath, and the decoration of a medal.

From the time that he joined the army of Delhi at Allipore, on the 8th of June, the state of his health had been such as to incapacitate him from performing the functions pertaining to his high command, and he had in no way interfered in the arrangements of the army, beyond the assistance rendered by advice or suggestions. Now that by the unexpected and sudden death of his more active colleague, the positive labours of his position could no longer be avoided, the pressure speedily became too heavy for him to sustain; and on the 17th of the month, twelve days from the decease of General Barnard, the major-general, whose health had by that time entirely failed him, proceeded on sick leave to Simla, first making over the command of the force before Delhi to Brigadier A. Wilson, of the artillery, upon whom, in anticipation of the sanction of government, he conferred the rank of brigadier-general, to prevent any difficulty on the score of seniority; Colonel Wilson not being the senior of his rank with the army he was thus selected to command.

The following letter of a lieutenant of engineers, dated from the camp on the 7th of July, will suggest an idea of the feeling that prevailed at the time amongst the gallant band before the beleaguered city:—

"You will see that we are still before Delhi; that we are not in it, is not our fault. I will not say that we shall not be in Delhi before long; but as there is no saying into whose hands letters may fall, it is well to be silent on these points. Our present occupation seems to be driving the enemy back whenever he shows himself; which, to do him justice, is not seldom, though not so frequently as when we first came here. The Bareilly rascals had the impudence to come round to our rear a few days ago, and our only regret is, that one of them ever got back. I was out with the force sent against them, and cannot say that I felt much pity for the red-coated villains with '68,' '18,' and '28' on their buttons. Mercy seems to have fled from us; and if ever there was such a thing as war to the knife, we certainly have it here. The sepoys stand well to their guns, and work them fully as well as ourselves, which is little to be wondered at, when you think of the pains we have taken to teach them gunnery. The astonishing

* See *ante*, p. 192.

thing is, to see how different the story becomes when Pandy (camp name for the enemy—after 'Mungul Pandy,' the first mutineer hanged) sees a bayonet pointed at him. We have all read and heard much of 'the British cheer,' but its effect must be seen to be appreciated. I never saw it better than at Badulee Ke-Serai.* Pandy's guns were all in position, and a beautiful position it was; every gun was in full play; and our advance column, under Brigadier Grant, with which I was, had got round Pandy's flank to his rear. Nothing was to be heard but heavy guns and the rattle of musketry, in the very teeth of which her majesty's 75th and 1st Europeans were marching up as if on parade, when that British cheer saluted our ears. It was like magic. Every gun except our own was silent immediately, though certainly not for very long. Even musketry seemed almost to have ceased, and we knew that the bayonet was doing its work on all who waited for it. It was some little time before the enemy's guns opened again; and when they did, I can assure you they did not forgive the advance column for outmanœuvring them. I had not, up to this time, paid much heed to the shot flying around me; for, galloping along at full speed, with horse artillery and cavalry thundering after you, is some small excitement to a 'griff;' and as I was the guide to the column, I felt somewhat interested in taking up our position quickly. But it is a very different story standing quietly under heavy fire for the first time, with nothing to do but to look on. I quite envied the gunners who were so hard at work, for it is no small satisfaction working to such good purpose; and I cannot say that I felt my heart breaking at the sight of these rascals getting their deserts. This is war in its very worst phase; for generosity towards an enemy seems to enter into no one's mind. If anyone owes these sepoys a grudge, I think I have some claim to one; but I must say that I cannot bring myself to put my sword through a wounded sepoy. I cannot say that I grieve much when I see it done, as it invariably is; but grieve or not, as you please, he is a clever man who can keep back a European from driving his bayonet through a sepoy, even if in the agonies of death. The hardest fighting goes on at the right of our position. Our batteries are at this point, and Pandy's whole efforts seem concentrated on it. He has good cover from the Lahore gate of Delhi up to the very foot of the hills on which our batteries are. This cover consists of houses, walled gardens, and large enclosures, with high walls loopholed at the top. They have made a good many attempts to erect counter-batteries in these enclosures, and generally pay the penalty. They were hard at work at one of these batteries the other day, and, like idiots, had blocked up every entrance but one. Twenty of our riflemen rushed in at this door, whereupon Pandy fled like a flock of sheep into a corner, and commenced firing indiscriminately at the riflemen, but being too much flurried, did little damage. On the approach of the bayonet, they had the barefacedness to beg for mercy. They might as well have begged for mercy of a Shylock, for in another moment forty of them were lying pierced with bayonets. We have sepoys hanged in our camp every evening, which I have no doubt will astonish some of the people at home I think I hear a faint wail from Exeter Hall, and the usual talk of European brutality and torture on the mild Hindoo sepoy. If you hear any such sentiments, by all means ship off their propounder to this country at once. Let him see one-half of what we have seen, and compare our brutality with theirs then send him home again, and I think you will find him pretty quiet on the subject for the rest of his life. Thank goodness they seldom get hold of any of our wounded, but woe betide the unfortunate when they do. I myself had a narrow escape a few mornings ago. I had received orders to prepare a survey of the ground as close up to the walls as possible; and for this purpose had crept up not very far from them to 'Ludlow Castle,' where poor Mr. Simon Fraser lived. I had finished my pacing and taken my angles, and was looking round me at the desolation, when I heard an explosion behind me, and instantly saw the ground ploughed up either with canister-shot or shrapnel. I took the hint, and walked off leisurely, little dreaming of the truth. I even repaced a distance I was not sure of. I was just outside the gate of Sir T. Metcalf's grounds, when I heard a horseman galloping about inside them. As I was a good deal in advance of our pickets, and not very sure of my friend on horseback, I crept behind a bush, and never felt more thankful for a revolver I had borrowed for

* See *ante*, p. 198.

the occasion. The horseman, after prancing backwards and forwards for some time out of my sight, moved off; and on my return to camp, to the astonishment of everybody, I learned what an escape I had had.

"Pandy had seen me from the walls, and had taken the trouble to send out fifty horsemen (rather hard, fifty to one!) to catch me. The horsemen had been seen from our right battery, who knew of my whereabouts, and immediately sent word to our centre battery, which opened fire on the cavalry and saved me, only one of the ruffians having had the pluck to continue the search."

Resuming the narrative of actual operations, it appears, that some time previous to the death of Major-general Barnard, arrangements were in progress for the destruction of all the canal bridges (except one, to be reserved for the use of the English forces), for a distance of several miles from the cantonment, and parallel with the Trunk-road, that, if possible, any further attempts upon the rear of the English position might be prevented. The Bussye bridge over the Nujufghur-Jheel, cut about eight miles from the camp, was also destroyed; and the Goolchudder aqueduct, a work of great solidity, which brought the canal water into the city across the above-mentioned cut, and by which horsemen could easily pass to the rear of the camp, was also blown up. By this latter operation no water could reach the city by the canal; an evil in some measure rendered endurable in consequence of the number of wells sunk within the city, as previously mentioned.

On the 9th of July, the enemy debouched from the Cabul and Lahore gates in great numbers. The main picket was reinforced, and the troops remained accoutred in their tents, ready to turn out; while an unceasing cannonade was kept up from the walls and from the field artillery outside. About 10 A.M., the insurgents appeared to be fast increasing in numbers in the suburbs on the right of the camp, when suddenly a body of cavalry emerged from cover on the extreme right of the right flank, and charged directly into the camp. It has been mentioned, in describing the English position before Delhi, that upon a mound on the right of it, and facing the Subzee Mundee suburb, a battery of three 18-pounders had been constructed, kept by an infantry picket. To the right of this mound, on the low ground, was a picket of two horse artillery guns and a troop of carabiniers; the guns at this time being furnished by Major Tombs' troop, and commanded by Lieutenant Hills; the cavalry from the carabiniers under the command of Lieutenant Stillman. Still further to the right, at a fakir's enclosure, was a native officer's picket of the 9th irregulars, from which two videttes were thrown forward some 200 yards on the Trunk-road. These videttes could see down the road towards Delhi as far as our picket at the serai, about seven or eight hundred yards, and down the road to the canal cut, about 200 yards. Across the road were a dense cluster of gardens. The places at which the videttes were posted were not visible from camp, and the advance of some horsemen in white attracted but little notice, their dress being the same as that of the 9th irregulars, from which corps the fakir's picket was taken. Some alarm, however, at length arose; and the men of the horse artillery began to prepare their guns for service, when the leading insurgents, beckoning to men in their rear, dashed on at speed towards the battery; and the troop of carabiniers, all very young, most of them untrained soldiers, and only thirty-two in number of all ranks, turned and broke, with the exception of the officer and two or three men, who nobly stood. Lieutenant Hills, commanding the guns, seeing the enemy's cavalry come on unopposed, charged singly at the head of their column, to give his gunners time to unlimber, and cut down two or three of the sowars; while the main body of the rebel horsemen, riding over and past the guns, followed closely the panic-stricken carabiniers, and a confused mass of horsemen came streaming on at the right of the camp. Major Tombs, whose tent was on the right, had heard the first alarm, and, calling for his horse to be brought after him, walked towards the picket as the cavalry came on. He was just in time to see his gallant subaltern down on the ground, with one of the enemy's sowars about to kill him. From a distance of thirty yards he fired with his revolver, and Hills' opponent fell. Lieutenant Hills got up, and engaged a man on foot, who was cut down by Tombs after Hills had received a severe cut on the head.

Meanwhile great confusion had been caused by the inroad of the sowars, most of whom made for the guns of the native troop

of horse artillery, which was on the right of the camp, calling on the gunners to join them. The latter, however, behaved well, and shouted for Major Olphert's European troop, which was unlimbered in their rear, to fire through them at the mutineers, who managed, nevertheless, to secure and carry off some horses, and to cut down several of the camp-followers. In the midst of the *mêlée*, Captain Fagan, of the artillery, rushed out of his tent, and, collecting a few men, followed the sowars, who were then in rapid retreat, and killed fifteen of them; more of the intruders were similarly disposed of by some men of the 1st brigade, and eventually all were driven out of camp. It was not supposed that more than 100 sowars were engaged on this occasion, and of them about thirty-five were killed, including a native officer.

All the time this affair was taking place, the cannonade from the city and from many field guns outside, raged fast and furious, and a heavy musketry fire was kept up from the enclosures and gardens of the suburbs upon the English batteries, and on the Subzee Mundee pickets. A column was therefore dispatched to put an end to the annoyance; and, as it swept through the Subzee Mundee, the insurgents fled before it. At some of the serais, however, very obstinate resistance was attempted; and the insurgents were not dislodged without considerable loss. By sunset the engagement was over, and the troops returned to camp drenched through with rain, which, for several hours, had fallen with great violence. The British loss, on this day, was one officer (Ensign Mountsteven,* her majesty's 8th regiment), and forty men killed; eight officers, and 163 men wounded, and eleven men missing, or, in other words, prisoners. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 500 men, most of whom were killed in the camp. The exact circumstances of this inroad of cavalry were never satisfactorily ascertained; but it was not doubted that there was treachery on the part of the picket of the 9th irregulars; and that the insurgents had reckoned upon being joined by the native troop of horse artillery, which, on the contrary, had behaved nobly.

Lieutenant Hills, whose chivalrous daring in the endeavour to arrest the advance of the enemy's cavalry, forms one of the most romantic incidents of the war, was, at the time, a mere youth, and had but recently joined the corps to which he belonged, from Addiscombe; and from his pen—which, like that of the Napiers, seems to be as powerfully descriptive as his sword is painfully sharp—gives, in a letter to his brother in England, the subjoined narrative of this brilliant affair. Writing home on the 19th of July, Lieutenant Hills says—"You must have seen accounts of their rush into our camp on the 9th; it was a very bold thing; so much so, that when they were in they were taken quite aback at their audacity.

* The gallant conduct and early death of this young officer, received honourable mention in the following regimental order and letter of his commanding officer:—

"Camp before Delhi, July 10th.

"The regiment will learn with the greatest regret that Ensign Mountsteven has died of the wounds received by him in the affair of the 9th of July, in this his first and last engagement. This admirable young officer, though only eighteen years of age, displayed a coolness and a brilliant bravery which, had he been spared, must have led to future distinction; and it is with the most heartfelt sorrow that Lieutenant-colonel Greathed announces the untimely close of his career. He is buried in the cemetery, and the officers and men will erect a monument to his memory."

To the father of the unfortunate youth, the following letter of condolence was addressed from the camp on the 13th of July, by Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, commanding the 8th regiment:—

"My dear Sir,—The very painful duty has fallen upon me of acquainting you with the loss you have sustained by the death of your most gallant son, from a mortal wound received in action before Delhi on the 9th instant. I cannot express to you the sorrow this has caused to me and to every one in the regiment. None have felt more than I, for I had formed great hopes of him; he had every quality to make a good soldier—bravery, coolness, ready will, and ready obedience; and never were those qualities more conspicuous than in the engagement which was his first and last. We went into action about 11 A.M., and the duty which we had to perform was to clear the mutineers out of an intricate labyrinth of gardens and houses. This was done with great rapidity, but not without considerable loss, as the mutineers took advantage of every wall and building, and we lost thirty men killed and wounded, out of 160 we had in action. I saw your brave boy head the men of his company in a dozen charges, and his light foot let no man head him, and throughout he was unhurt. We had driven the mutineers out of the garden across the road, which we crossed, and, going up the bank of a canal, we entered an enclosure, round which the mutineers had mustered in force, and a shot from the loophole struck him in the abdomen, passing out just above the groin. He is buried in the cemetery. When this business is over we shall erect a tomb to his memory. He was sensible to the last, and died like a true Christian, without repining. It is for us to regret him who are left, for a finer young officer never entered her majesty's service."

My guns were ridden over before I could get them into action, and I was very nearly polished off—Tombs saving my life by potting a Pandy (sepoy) who was in the act of splitting my skull. I was down on the ground, regularly done up, without a single thing to defend myself with. I have got great '*kudos*' (praise) for my conduct. This is it. The alarm went, and off I started with my two guns to a position laid down for them, when, to my astonishment, through an opening on my right, only fifty yards off, dashed a body of cavalry. Now I tried to get my guns into action; but only got one unlimbered when they were upon me. I thought that by charging them I might make a commotion, and give the gun time to load; so in I went at the front rank, cut down the first fellow, slashed the next across the face as hard as I could lick, when two sowars charged me. Both their horses crashed into mine at the same moment, and, of course, both horse and myself were sent flying. We went down at such a pace that I escaped the cuts made at me, one of them giving my jacket an awful slice just below the left arm; it only, however, cut the jacket. Well, I lay quite snug until all the beggars had passed over me, and then got up and looked about for my sword. I found it full ten yards off. I had hardly got hold of it when three fellows returned —two on horseback. The first I wounded, and dropped him from his horse; the second charged me with a lance; I put it aside, and caught him an awful gash on the head and face. I thought I had killed him; apparently he must have clung to his horse, for he disappeared. The wounded man then came up, but got his skull split. Then came on the third man—a young, active fellow. I found myself getting very weak from want of breath, the fall from my horse having pumped me considerably, and my cloak somehow or other had got tightly fixed round my throat, and was kindly choking me. I went, however, at the fellow, and cut him on the shoulder; but some '*krapra*' (cloth) on it apparently turned the blow. He managed to seize the hilt of my sword, and twisted it out of my hand; and then we had a hand-to-hand fight, I punching his head with my fists, and he trying to cut me; but I was too close to him. Somehow or other I fell, and then was the time, fortunately for me, that Tombs came up and shot the fellow. I was so choked by my cloak, that move I could not until I got it loosened. By-the-bye, I forgot to say I fired at this chap twice, but the pistol snapped, and I was so enraged I drove it at the fellow's head, missing him, however. Then, when I got up, Tombs was so eager to get up to a mound near us, that I only picked up my sword and followed him.

"After being there some time, we came down again to look after the unlimbered gun which was left behind. When we got down, I saw the very man Tombs had saved me from, moving off with my pistol (the brute had only been wounded, and shammed dead). I told Tombs, and we went at him. After a little slashing and guarding on both sides, I rushed in at him and thrust; he cleverly jumped aside and cut me on the head, knocking me down, not, however, stunning me, for I warded his next cut when down. Tombs, following him up, made him a pass, and up I jumped and had a slash at him, cutting him on the left wrist, nearly severing it. This made him turn round, and then Tombs ran him through. He very nearly knocked over Tombs, for he cut through his cap and pagrie, but fortunately did not even cut the skin. I fancy I am indebted again to Tombs for my life, for, although I might have got up again and fought, still I was bleeding like a pig, and, of course, would have had a bad chance. One thing, however, if Tombs had not been there the second time I should have fought more carefully. It was the wish to polish off the fellow before Tombs could get up to him that made me rush at him in the way I did. I wanted awfully to pick up the swords of the men I killed as trophies, but I was getting very faint, and had to come into my tent as fast as I could; but before I got the wound bound up, the swords had been looted off. I lost an awful lot of blood, as two veins were cut through; but I fancy it did me good, keeping off inflammation. The wound was a beautiful one, just as if it had been done with a razor. It was four inches long, and down to the skull, a line being left on it; so I had a narrow escape.

"However, if I live to see the end of these mutinies, I shall have good reason to thank the 'sowars' for their charge—Tombs' name and mine having been sent up to the governor-general by the commander-in-chief, the latter recommending us 'worthy of the highest honour for distinguished bravery and gallantry.' Isn't this nice, old boy?—worth a cut on the head, I think, especially as it is healed up, and now I only

require to recruit my strength to be fit for duty. This I hope to be in a week or two. Wounds on the head, they say, tell on one some time after they are healed, and, as the sun is not to be resisted at any time, I am afraid I shall not be allowed to try the effects of it for some time yet. If these horrid carabiniers had only charged, the 'sowars' would have caught it in style. Our cavalry, I am sorry to say, have not distinguished themselves, though they have had some good opportunities, but never one like that morning. They would have got these fellows in flank, and sent them to awful grief, instead of which they bolted (cowardly hounds), leaving not only me and my guns to look after ourselves, but their officers also, who shouted to them to charge. Your affectionate brother—J. HILLS."

The following correspondence refers to the principal incidents of the 9th of July, and may be deemed valuable as well as interesting, for the corroborative testimony thereby afforded to the preceding facts.

A letter from the camp on the 11th of July, says—"A court of inquiry is sitting on the 9th irregular cavalry business. It appears that the enemy deceived everybody, by advancing as friends, and pretending they were the 9th. In fact, on the road, close to my tent, a large force formed up quietly; and when Hodgson, of the guide corps, rode up and asked who they were, the men, finding our whole camp under arms, quietly said, 'We are the 9th irregulars; go and bring up the rest of your regiment; the enemy is in front;' and thus walked slowly to the bridge leading out of our camp, then made a rush, and bolted. It was a bold thing to do, but resulted in nothing. Young Hills, of the artillery, a sub in Harry Tombs' troop, had received a sabre wound, and was just being cut down when Harry shot the trooper with his revolver, and then ran another man through with his sword. The Subzee Mundee was then swept through by our troops, and some 200 of the enemy killed, and many wounded; and, though a day of most hard fighting, resulted, as usual, in our complete success. We have now beaten them in the morning, daytime, in the evening, in the heat of the sun, and the wet, which Blackey notes; and they have never yet gained anything by any of their encounters. They must begin to feel that our raj is not yet over."—Another, from an officer of the engineers, written on the 12th, speaks of the affair thus:—"Cholera, I am sorry to say, is in the camp; and I write this by the side of what I fear may be the deathbed of an excellent fellow of my regiment. I have been with him all night, and he appears better now, so he may survive it; but cholera just now is very deadly. * * * I must tell you of a noble action of Hills, of the artillery. He was in my term at Addiscombe, and one of my greatest friends. Three days ago he was on picket with his two horse artillery guns, when the alarm was sounded, and an order sent him to advance, given under the impression that the enemy were at some distance. He was supported by a body of carabiniers, eighty, I believe, in number. He advanced about a hundred yards, while his guns were being limbered up to follow, and suddenly came on about 120 of the enemy's cavalry close on him. Disgraceful to say, the carabiniers turned and bolted. His guns being limbered up, he could do nothing; but, rather than fly, he charged them by himself. He fired four barrels of his revolver, and killed two men, throwing the empty pistol into the face of another, and knocking him off his horse. Two horsemen then charged full tilt at him, and rolled him and his horse over. He got up with no weapons; and, seeing a man on foot coming at him to cut him down, rushed at him, got inside his sword, and hit him full in the face with his fist. At that moment he was cut down from behind, and a second blow would have done for him, had not Tombs, his captain, the finest fellow in the service (who had been in his tent when the row began), arrived at the critical moment and shot his assailant. Hills was able to walk home, though his wound was severe; and on the road, Tombs saved his life once more, by sticking another man who attacked him. If they don't both get the Victoria cross, it won't be worth having. * * * You will be glad to hear I have been thanked by the commander-in-chief in brigade orders, about a battery which is now named after me."

The following passages from an officer's letter, give an excellent idea of the ground at this time covered by the English forces before Delhi:—

"We lie about two miles from Delhi, separated by a long ridge of hill, that rises in broken ground on the banks of the Jumna to our left, and, smoothing down at its highest point, extends to our extreme

right, where our batteries are placed. It is crossed towards the left by the Grand Trunk-road from the north-west, marked here and there by the telegraph-posts, from which still hang broken pieces of wire. A little further to the right, on the ridge of the hill, stands the tower called the Flag-staff; and still further along, an old mosque —both occupied by pickets of our men. To the extreme right is the hill on which are placed our heavy batteries. Its top is crowned by a building called Hindoo Rao's house, from an old Mahratta chieftain, who lived there. All these points are connected by a road which runs along the summit of the hill. Its sides are covered by out-cropping strata of sandstone, which rise tier above tier. Part of the slope towards our camp is occupied by the ruined huts of the mutinous regiments, and the houses of their unfortunate officers. Behind the camp is a small river, which separates us from the plain, commanded by three of our heavy guns. It flows into the Jumna on the north side of Delhi, and is of great advantage to us, as its banks, which are faced with stone, are too steep to allow the enemy to bring their horse artillery over to attack our rear, as they did on the 19th of June. Profiting by the severe lesson of that night, we have blown up all the bridges, save the two in the rear of our camps. Our left flank is covered by the Jumna, which is now much swollen by the rains. To our right is a mound, on which are placed three heavy guns; and about three-quarters of a mile beyond this is the suburb called the Subzee Mundee, full of country houses, enclosures, and gardens, in which a number of desperate fights have taken place between our men and the enemy. We are encamped on the old parade-ground of the native regiments, and are perfectly safe from everything but their shells, which fall into our camp almost every evening without doing any great harm. We are lying on the defensive till we receive reinforcements, only firing from our batteries when the enemy provoke us by opening theirs, or coming out at the gates. They are continually getting in reinforcements."

On the 14th of July, the mutineers again came out in great force; and as it was calculated from nine to ten thousand men attacked the English position on the right flank, a smart skirmishing was kept up among the enclosures for about three hours; when, as the fire from the ridge failed to drive them off, a column, under Brigadier Showers, was dispatched to the Subzee Mundee about 3 P.M., and, after a sharp struggle, forced them to withdraw their field artillery and retire into the city, which they did in a hasty and disorganised flight. Up to this time, it is stated that our people had only about six men wounded; but in their eagerness to punish the fugitive rebels, they followed so closely and so far, as to get within range of grape from the city walls, and suffered accordingly, to the extent of fifteen killed, sixteen officers and 177 men wounded, and two missing. Among the officers hit by the rebels upon this occasion, was Brigadier Chamberlaine, the acting adjutant-general.

At the close of the day, the enemy were lying thick in many places over the area of the contest: their loss was estimated at 1,000 men, and carts were employed for several hours during the night, conveying the bodies into the city. A short way down the south-eastern slope of the ridge, and within 900 yards of the Moree bastion, an old temple, designated by the soldiers "the Sammy House," which had been for some time occupied as an outpost, was upon this occasion a scene of desperate conflict. A party of the guides corps, who held possession of it on that day, bravely repulsed every effort of the mutineers to take it from them; and on the following morning, eighty dead bodies of the attacking force were counted laying round it.

The subjoined despatch from Major-general Reed, contains his official report of the engagement of the 14th of July.

"Camp before Delhi, July 16th, 1857.

"Sir,—On the morning of the 14th, the mutineers moved out of the city, and attacked our batteries at Hindoo Rao's house, and picket in the Subzee Mundee suburb, all under the command of Major Reid, of the Sirmoor battalion. Our troops remained on the defensive until 3 P.M., maintaining their position against a force believed to consist of twenty regiments of infantry, a large body of cavalry, and several field-pieces, and supported by a fire of heavy artillery from the walls. At three o'clock a column was formed, as per margin,* under command of Brigadier Showers, to drive the enemy out of the suburbs; Major Reid,

* Six horse artillery guns of Major Turner's and Captain Money's troops, with both these officers; 1st fusiliers, under Major Jacob; 1st Punjab infantry under Major Coke.

with the troops from Hindoo Rao's picket, co-operating on the left.

"This service was effectually and gallantly performed, and the enemy driven in confusion and with much loss, under the cover of a very heavy fire of grape and musketry from the walls of Delhi, and very nearly losing some of the field guns they had brought outside. Our own loss, I am sorry to say, was severe, as will be seen by the accompanying return; and I extremely regret to report that Brigadier-general Chamberlaine, the acting adjutant-general of the army, who accompanied Brigadier Showers' column, was severely wounded. The duties of the adjutant-general's department have, therefore, again devolved on Captain Norman. Yesterday and to-day the enemy have remained perfectly quiet, with the exception of a fire of artillery at intervals from the walls, to which our heavy batteries have replied.—I have, &c.—T. REED,

"Major-general, commanding Field Force, and Provincial Commander-in-chief."

A letter, in form of a diary, from the 14th to the 24th of July, from an officer stationed at the Hindoo Rao's house, gives the following interesting *resumé* of the action of the former date. The writer says—"At eight o'clock, the Pandies came out in great force, and made the same attack as on the 9th—namely, all along our front. Until about two o'clock, the fight went all along the line, sometimes fiercely, and at other times very slackly: on the left, however, just below Hindoo Rao's, in a little fakir's temple, the firing was tremendous, as, the whole day, the mutineers came up in great numbers to this place and tried to force it, in order to get at one of our batteries close by; they brought up light field guns, too, which they placed within 150 yards of the temple, and fired round shot and grape into it incessantly. I firmly believe they knew perfectly well that an order had been given to our troops not to move a single inch from their posts, and this is why they brought their guns so close. At about ten o'clock I had to go down with two of our companies and reinforce the temple, there being in it then some of the Ghoorkas of the Sirmoor battalion, and some of her majesty's 61st. Shortly after I reached the place, the enemy came up in such force that we were completely surrounded, there being infantry on three sides, and cavalry and guns on the fourth. I was unable to send for more men, as not a soul could have gone ten yards from the temple without being killed; so to stay and fight was our only chance. Their cavalry I knew could not do much, and their infantry I did not care for; but their guns advanced to within a hundred yards of us, and fairly knocked the temple, outhouses, and the front wall, which had been strengthened with sandbags, about our ears: every ball that struck the walls wounded three or four men, and we were in such a cloud of dust and splinters of stones that we could hardly see to fire. Had the enemy had one particle of pluck, and rushed in at us, not one of us would have lived to tell the tale; as it was, they came so close that they pelted us with stones. By keeping up a very sharp fire, and owing to the admirable coolness of the men, we at last drove the mutineers back to 200 yards. Had I been allowed to act, I would have charged and sent these gentlemen back. Knowing them so well now, I know they would have run at the first scream and charge; but I was fettered with a strict order, so I had to stay and see my poor fellows knocked over like so many rabbits. I could easily have taken the troublesome guns also, but that vile order was in the way. During the time I had two very narrow escapes; the first, whilst speaking to one of my men next to me, and telling him where to fire, a round shot came and took his head right off, covering me with the poor fellow's blood and brains; I never saw such a horrible sight. The next minute, whilst standing up to see what was going on, and giving directions as to where to fire, an 8-ounce grapeshot struck me on the shoulder, sent me round like a teetotum, and then knocked me flat down. I don't know how my shoulder escaped being smashed to pieces; perhaps the fact of my being at the time on tiptoe on a pointed stone, and the shot hitting me in a slanting direction, may account for it. My shoulder is a good deal cut, the muscles much bruised and very painful, and the whole of a beautiful rainbow appearance. My arm was perfectly numbed for half-an-hour, and lay useless by my side. I picked up my sword with my left hand, but, in the excitement, did not feel the pain. The doctor says, had the shot struck an inch nearer the neck, my collar-bone would have been smashed; so I think I may consider I have had a most providential escape. Till about half-past one o'clock the fighting

went on thus. Just then I got a small reinforcement; and whether it was this, or knowing that we were going to advance at two o'clock, I don't know, but the light guns that had been battering us to pieces quietly retired; and at two o'clock we had a general advance, and drove the enemy like so many sheep into the city. We all got up within 200 yards of the walls, and were much punished by the grapeshot again. Brigadier Chamberlaine, I believe, planned the advance—why or wherefore no one knows, as the enemy were only in front of us this time, so that we had not the satisfaction of catching them coming round the corner from our rear; the consequence was, as we advanced, they retired; and though we killed a number of them as they ran, still the loss was almost counterbalanced by ours, which was very great, owing to the heavy showers of grape and canister-shot. Our musketry (I don't know why) was most ineffectual during the advance. I suppose it was owing to the heavy fire on us during this time. Well, we drove the enemy into the city; then, instead of holding our position for a time, or retiring quietly—owing to some stupid fellow saying the *retire* had been ordered, and also owing to two of our light field guns galloping off as hard as they could—instead of retiring quietly, all our infantry and cavalry got panic-stricken, and a force of about 400 Europeans and 500 natives were to be seen in all the delights of a runaway. I do not know what possessed the men; but they would hear nothing and mind nothing; the officers did all they could to stop them. 'Too-too, too-too,' went the bugles for the halt; but halt they would not; the consequence was, the mutineers again rushed out and peppered us well for about 300 yards. Our guns were stopped, and then the infantry; and at last order was restored to a tolerable extent. The enemy still advanced, and we retired, but in order: when we were about half a mile from the city, we made a stand, and as the mutineers came up, our guns opened and we drove them back. This brought us to sunset; and as the city folk appeared to have had enough of it, we came back to our pickets, all of us having had quite enough of it too. It is madness taking our troops down to the very walls in this way: had we a fight like this daily, our whole camp would be cut up in three weeks; and the enemy are in such force that they can give ten for one. The officers of all the regiments out were much punished; the Sirmoor battalion had three wounded, not severely; we had three, including myself, not severely; the Europeans had two or three, and Major Cohen's regiment one, rather badly. Brigadier Chamberlaine's arm was smashed by a bullet: he is much condemned for his advance. An old officer, and one who has seen much service, said to me this morning, when I was telling him about the panic, 'You can't expect men, my young fellow, to walk up to the muzzles of guns every day, and get grape hailed into them; no mortal can stand that sort of thing.' Perhaps he is right; I hope so; for I feel very vexed, though I will say the guides and 60th rifles were last in the retreat. We have been attacked twenty-five times; twenty-three of which attacks have been directed against this picket, and in twenty-one of which the guides have been engaged. The attacks on the 18th and 23rd lasted from sunrise to sunset. My wound has healed wonderfully, and I am very well, though we all are on commissariat beef and rum; a blanket and ammunition boots form our dress in wet weather, and other clothes in fine.

"On the 18th the enemy came out again on our right—the old place, where they have splendid cover from thick gardens and old buildings. We drove them out, and only lost a few men, as we did not follow them like idiots to the very walls. We had another brush with the enemy on the 20th. I was out with my corps, and we swept the enemy from the Subzee Mundee in no time. We returned to camp, thank God! as I never was in such a hole in my life. The stench was really sickening; the sight, too, was disgusting;—dead horses, camels, &c., and heaps of dead sepoys lying about, some half eaten by the dogs, vultures, &c., who were gorging on the decayed flesh and entrails. On the 23rd, the enemy came out in great force on our left, when we were under arms again, and off we went with the 61st, 8th Company's rifles, 4th Sikhs, and some guns: down we went on them, and off they went for the right, and we kept up a sharp fire on them. We had gone as far as we were allowed, and had the order to retire. We did not lose many men; but the brutes picked out some officers. Captain L—— was killed; he had just time to say, 'Take my body off the field; don't let the Pandies get hold of

it.' The enemy have not been out since, so I fancy we gave them enough of it. I hear large reinforcements are coming here, and I shall be glad when they come, when we hope to get a little rest. Fancy, besides picket work, our force here have had twenty-four hard fights with the enemy, and already taken about twenty guns. Old officers here say there never was such hard fighting as this in the Crimea. I doubt if a British force ever had such hard work before. One-half of some of the regiments here have fallen one way or another. It was a fine sight on the 23rd. My regiment was the reserve. We went down the road in column till near the enemy, when the 61st and 8th spread out in one grand skirmishing line to the right, the Sikhs and Coke's to the left, our guns in the centre, and my regiment in a perfect line 300 yards behind. As we neared the enemy our guns opened on theirs and the infantry and cavalry: the latter bolted off well to the rear with the guns, and the infantry got under cover and commenced a sharp fire on our advancing line; the guns also halted and poured in grape, &c. On went the artillery, &c., sweeping the long grass like a broom, and knocking the niggers over like fun. It was for half a mile fine open country, and our men did their work splendidly, going along at a steady pace, loading, firing, and driving the niggers on. The balls were flying all round us; but most were too high, and went a long way over us; however, every now and then you would see a poor dear fellow drop over and carried to the rear on the back of the man on his right, and the expression of the face was a sad sight compared with the same just a moment before, while loading, and firing, and sweeping everything before him. At last we got our men with the long range rifles in good places, and sent the enemy away to Delhi sharp; after which we fell in, like in parade, under our brave major, and retired, having done our work, though fagged and awfully done-up by the heat and excitement. I had a good look at the walls, &c., of Delhi from the top of a house where we were. We were close to the walls, and I noticed the crest of the glacis protects about six feet of the base of the wall, as I could only see half-way down the gateway. I also noticed how well the enemy fight in this way. They get into holes, behind stones, &c., and fire away, and off they go to another place as you make the last hole too hot for them; they skirmish and can do bush-fighting splendidly. I saw some of them quite close, working their firelocks perfectly. Then they were the genuine sepoy brutes who a few months before were licking my feet, and, with the most exquisite acting, expressing all that could be wished in those under one. Before I went to Cashmere last April, my havildar came up and said my company wished to come and salaam to me and wish me a safe journey and return, when they intended to express the delight they would have in seeing me back, &c. I told him to give my salaam, and that I would not trouble them, as it is a bore to them putting on their uniform, &c., but that he was to thank them for me. These very beasts had plotted the mutiny, and intended the murder of all in Ferozepore long before my two months' leave could expire. I fancy you will all blame us fellows for not knowing what was going on with these men; but remember this—they have gone on all right for a hundred years. Head-quarters were informed of the great disaffection among the sepoys six months back, and no European can fathom the dark black villany of the natives. We can't go at Delhi, I regret to say, till reinforced; the place is a maze of narrow lanes—some dark from being so narrow; and thousands of them. We dare not let our brave boys loose on them; in such a place 5,000 men would be lost; and it is no use going in till we can scour it out properly; and at present it is not bad policy keeping the brutes cooped up there by thousands instead of letting them ravage over the whole country. I expect the king finds his palace rather uncomfortable. One of our large mortars is pitching 10-inch shells right into the place. The enemy also fight worse and worse every time they come out; and now that they can't do anything with us, and hear of our strong reinforcements coming north and south, they are losing heart, and think they have made a sad mistake in supposing the Company's reign is over. I expect, however, Delhi will not fall for a month yet: slow and sure; but down it comes for ever this time."

Another officer, a Crimean hero, who had joined the besieging force from Meerut, says, in one of his letters—"Our batteries are playing on the city and palace of Delhi. The sickness inside is awful; they have their dead and wounded all together, and

the stench is frightful, even outside. The other day, two European deserters were cut down at the guns. One had dyed his face; but he called for mercy in English, and was in a thousand pieces in a minute. Our blood is roused. We have seen friends, relations, mothers, wives, children, brutally murdered, and their bodies mutilated frightfully. This alone, without the pluck which made us victorious over the Russians, would enable us, with God's assistance, to be victorious over these enemies. As the riflemen charge (ten to a hundred), the word is passed, 'Remember the ladies—remember the babies!' and everything flies before them. Hundreds are shot down or bayoneted. The sepoys, it is true, fight like demons; but we are English, and they are natives."

Returning from the digression into which these interesting extracts have betrayed us, we find, that on the 17th of July, the assistant adjutant-general of the army announced to the government, that Major-general Reed had relinquished the command of the Delhi field force; and, at the same time, the following order was issued to the troops upon the occasion of his retirement:—

"*General Order by Major-general Reed, Provincial Commander-in-chief.*

"Head-quarters, Camp before Delhi, July 17.

"Lieutenant-general Sir P. Grant, K.C.B., having in a general order dated the 17th of June, at Calcutta, announced his having assumed command of the Bengal army from that date, Major-general Reed has ceased to exercise the duties of provincial commander-in-chief.

"Major-general Reed having been recommended by his medical advisers to avail himself of a sick-certificate to repair to the hills, as the only chance of recovering his shattered health, which has latterly prevented him from taking an active part in the field operations, has made over the command and the charge of this force to Brigadier-general A. Wilson. It is with the greatest reluctance the major-general has come to the determination to take this step; but his duty to his country must be paramount to any selfish consideration; and being incapacitated himself for the post by disease and weakness, he has no alternative than to devolve his arduous duties upon another.

"Of Brigadier-general Wilson's merits, it is unnecessary for Major-general Reed to speak; his judgment, gallantry, and conduct, have been conspicuous since he led his small but victorious band from Meerut, up to this day; and it only remains for the major-general to congratulate the forces before Delhi on being placed under so able a commander as Brigadier-general Wilson."

The order then enumerates the several officers of the staff, &c., to whom the thanks of the major-general are tendered for their able assistance to himself and his predecessor, the late Sir Henry Barnard. A state of the field force before Delhi on the 16th of July, showed the total number of men on duty, and fit for duty, then under the command of Major-general Reed, to be 8,194 of all ranks, with 1,933 cavalry horses. A return of sick and wounded, made up to the same date, gave also the following results:—Sick, 601; wounded, 514. The horses returned under similar heads, amounted to 226.

The enemy—whose force at this time, within and under the walls of the city, amounted to about 19,000 men of all arms, and whose strength was almost daily augmented by new arrivals of mutinous regiments or detached bands of deserters—scarcely allowed a day to pass without an attack or demonstration upon some part of the British position. Thus, from the 17th to the 31st, the troops were kept in a state of incessant activity; and although the advantage in every instance was decidedly on our side, the inconvenience to the harassed soldiers was not the less impatiently submitted to, and all ranks looked forward to the intended assault with desire. A letter of the 27th of July, says—"We have now a large force before Delhi; and although we are worried with harassing sorties day after day, still, on every occasion, the result is in our favour, and the Pandies are dispirited at finding so little advantage follows their efforts against our position. Our troops are as jolly as possible; and each man is mad to have his thrust at these devils—and such thrusts! One man, the other day, bayoneted two men at once against a wall. He sent a foot of the barrel into the first man, and bent it like a corkscrew. The bayonet is here. Various have been the feats of strength and bravery. One man shot four men out of five who were coming to attack him, and who loaded and fired at him as they advanced; but he was a rifleman, and had his Minié. The natives cannot under-

stand how their men drop at such an immense distance."

On the 30th of July, Brigadier-general Wilson, who appears to have fully appreciated the hazardous position of the troops under his command, wrote as follows to Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces:—

"Camp before Delhi, July 30th, 1857.

"My dear Sir,—It is my firm determination to hold my present position, and to resist any attack to the last. The enemy are very numerous, and may possibly break through our intrenchments and overwhelm us; but the force will die at their post. Luckily, the enemy have no head, and no method, and we hear dissensions are breaking out amongst them. Reinforcements are coming up under Nicholson. If we can hold on till they arrive, we shall be secure. I am making every possible arrangement to secure the safe defence of our position.

"A. WILSON, Brigadier-general."

The expected and much-desired reinforcement from the Punjab, under Brigadier-general Nicholson, consisting of her majesty's 52nd light infantry, a wing of the 61st, the 2nd Punjab infantry, and 200 Mooltanee horse, arrived at the camp on the 14th of August; but before attempting further active operations against the city, it was still necessary that the siege-train, with a large quantity of ammunition from Ferozepore, should also arrive. The intermediate time was, however, advantageously occupied by the successful movements of Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson, with his newly-raised corps of horse, consisting of 233 sabres, accompanied by 103 guide cavalry and 25 Jhind horsemen, with six European officers, who attacked a body of the enemy on its way from Delhi to Hansi, or Jhind, and cut them up or dispersed them in every encounter, returning to camp on the 26th of August, with scarcely any casualties, although, in his several conflicts with the enemy, upwards of a hundred of the rebels were put *hors de combat*.

On the 25th, Brigadier-general Wilson informed the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, that "having ascertained he had no chance of assistance from the Cawnpore force, he had determined, on the arrival of the siege-train, to attempt an assault on the city, in making which, the energies of every man in camp would be required; and that, for the present, his attention would be directed to that single object, to which all minor considerations must yield." It was about this time reported by spies, that great disorder existed in the city; the king was represented as without means to sustain and pay the troops, who taunted him with his poverty; while the bankers and respectable inhabitants complained in durbar of the excesses of the soldiers. It was also alleged, that the king had addressed an urgent request to the Indore and Gwalior mutineers, that they would proceed with all possible speed to Delhi with the treasure they had possessed themselves of. A native, who resided in the city from the beginning to the end of July, describes the condition of the government and people during that period, in the following terms:—

"There was no money left in the royal treasury; consequently, the bankers of the city were requested to furnish his majesty with it. They replied as follows:—'We are sorry we have no cash in hand, but government notes and hoondees; your majesty can have them if they are of any use.' His majesty, being angry, set guards at their doors. The Bareilly general advised his majesty to take money from the bankers and citizens by force; but his request was not taken into consideration: he said he could obtain forty lacs of rupees for his majesty from the city by plundering the Mahaguns. It will come to pass some day, as his majesty necessarily requires the money to pay his troops, who have not received their daily pay for twenty days. The Suazadas, and his majesty's private regiment, together with servants, have not been paid for the last two months; they are all bkah mart at present. The sepoys and sowars say—'If we are going on in arrears in this way, we will soon be compelled to pay ourselves by looting the city.' The officers consult very often about military affairs; but one contradicts the other on account of their private feelings, as each of them thinks himself wiser than the other. The rebels sadly complain of their newly-made powder; it is too weak, since it is made of unrefined saltpetre. As I was about to leave Delhi, I heard that the fresh powder was hardly so strong as to expel a ball out of a musket. They have not been able to make gun-caps yet, but are trying to produce them. The horses of the cavalry are getting thin day by day, as the sowars run them in the

streets, night and day, just to enjoy themselves; passengers are often hurt by them on their way; their hoofs are cracked, on account of running fast against the metalled roads. The Bareilly general is frequently insulted by the other troops, who say, they never had been aided by his brigade since their arrival at Delhi. There are no weapons remaining in the magazine. A well-known budmash of Meerut, named Akber Khan, is made the head darogha of the magazine. This man had many times been imprisoned on charges of theft by the English magistrates. I left the Delhi government ten times worse than I had seen it on my arrival there at first. The mutineers are quite tired of fighting; the city is full of wounded men, and there is no regular hospital there. I heard several wounded sepoys talking among themselves in a street, saying, 'We were very well treated by the English government. If we were only to have a slight headache, we were to be attended by a respectable European doctor twice a day, notwithstanding the services of the native doctors were available to us; besides, we used to get medicines at the government expense. Here we die for want of physic.' The loot is still going on; the bazaars are never opened, but a few poor shops: shopkeepers get blows and thumps for the price of their things. A fortnight ago, a poor buneah was killed by a sepoy, for not giving him credit. When the sepoys find out a rich house in the city, they accuse the owner after the following manner, in order to plunder his property. They take a loaf of bread and a bottle of grog with them, and make a noise at the door, and break it to pieces; get into the house, take possession of the furniture, jewels, and cash; lick the poor householder, saying, 'Where is the Englishman you have been keeping in your house?' When he denies having done so, they just show him the bread and the bottle, and say, 'How is it we happened to find this in your house. We are quite sure there was an Englishman accommodated here, whom you quietly sent elsewhere before our arrival.' Soon after the talk is over, the poor man is disgracefully put into custody, and no inquiry is made to prove whether he is innocent or guilty; he cannot get his release unless he bribes the general. The budmashes of Delhi—who were often punished by the English magistrates; and the gaol was filled with them—have at present got their release: they commit all sorts of rascalities in the city, and enjoy the days of their independence."

As time progressed, opportunities occasionally offered for obtaining intelligence from the city; but they were rare, on account of the penalty attending every unsuccessful attempt to desert. However, on the 19th of August, a *half-caste* woman managed to escape to the English camp, and stated that "she had been concealed in Delhi, by an Affghan, since the outbreak. Her two children were killed before her face; and the third, in her arms, was shot by some ruffian. The ball passed through its body into the woman, and she was found insensible, but still living. She said our shells had done great damage, some having gone beyond the palace, and many into it; that their powder was out, and the rebels were obliged to make their own. This she heard during her confinement, as she was of course kept shut up in a house; but as she came out she saw the roads and houses very much broken by the English fire. At one time there were 40,000 men in the city, but the number had been reduced to half. The city was in an awful state, the killed and wounded lying about in heaps, which, added to an epidemic, carried off numbers."

From a narrative of occurrences in Delhi, written by a native who remained in the city during the whole period of its investment by the English troops, we find the following incidents among many others already noticed:—

"July 18th.—About two or three days ago, a 'muhawut,' with an elephant from the British camp, came to the king, saying that he was so much annoyed by the Europeans, that he made his escape. The king ordered the elephant to be kept in the Feelkhana, and took the muhawut into his service. For two or three days the muhawut went about examining the different places in the fort, and then suddenly disappeared. It is supposed that he was a spy from the British camp, as, since the day he left the fort, shells are continually thrown on the palace, part of which is demolished. The shells from the British camp cause great destruction. God knows what will happen the day the English assault Delhi. Everyone is in a state of anxiety, and business is at a stand. God grant that matters may terminate well. There is no likelihood, however, of tran-

quillity being speedily restored. The elephant, which was brought from the British camp, the king has offered at the shrine of Jootub Sha.

"July 22nd.—The other day the king sent for the Subahdar Bahadour, who commands the troops in the fort, and desired him either to remove him out of the fort, or do something to stop the British shelling, which was very destructive. The subahdar begged the king to remain in the fort another day, and that, during that time, he would devise means to put a stop to the shelling. Early the next morning the subahdar, with a party of 1,000 Poorbeas (natives of the Eastern provinces), armed only with swords and muskets, attacked the British troops. They fought desperately, but the European and Sikh troops, who were about 10,000 strong, and were on the alert, opened a fire of grape on the subahdar. With the exception of a few men, the whole of his party was destroyed. After a day or two, the Poorbeas, in a body, waited on the king, and begged that, in consideration of their sacrificing their lives and those of their families in his service, he would prohibit the killing of bullocks and goats in the Eed. The king agreed to do so. A party of Mohammedans, who were in opposition to the Poorbeas, placed a guard at a well in the begum's garden, with orders not to let the Poorbeas draw water. When the Poorbeas heard this, they came to take water by force, which caused a disturbance, and people were killed on both sides. If anything takes place between the Mohammedans and Poorbeas on the Eed day, Delhi will soon fall into the hands of the English. It is reported that the Poorbeas sent a message to the rajah of Putteeala, inquiring why he was assisting the English, and telling him not to do so; otherwise, on the establishment of the king's authority and the extinction of the English, he should be the first person to suffer for it. The rajah sent an answer that it required an age to remove the English, and that it was folly on their part to wait for that event; that whenever they took the trouble to come to his place he would be ready to meet them."

The following letters and extracts, referring to the state of the troops, and the views generally entertained at the camp as to the impending assault and its consequences, are descriptive and interesting. One writer says, in a letter of the 5th of August—"You never saw such a complete wreck as the cantonment is; walls crumbling down, trees cut down, and roads cut up. The cantonment garden is now as clear of trees, shrubs, &c., as any of the parades. The inside of the city will, we imagine, present a more complete scene of devastation. Not a public building is said to be standing. The *Delhi Gazette* office is level with the ground, and, if all reports be true, the type has not been melted down, but fired whole against our brave troops. Pieces of telegraph wire are also said to do duty for bullets. The rebels now keep well out of range, and as our troops are acting entirely on the defensive, the enemy does not reap the punishment he deserves; for which, however, he will not be kept waiting much longer, we fancy. The rebels generally come out by the Subzee Mundee, and are driven back by the same route considerably quicker than they came, availing themselves of any cover they may find; but they are becoming more wary, and keep well out of shot. During one of the recent engagements before Delhi, a female, dressed in green, was seen leading on the rebels! She was at first taken for the Bazee Baie; and a rumour, of course, spread, that she headed the Gwalior troops; they, however, had not left Gwalior at the time, and may still be there. The female in green, or the very green female, was taken prisoner, and conveyed to secure quarters in our camp. She is described as an ugly old woman, short and fat, and is said to be a prophetess of some note in the degraded city. It was first intended to release this woman; but, by the last accounts, she was still kept a prisoner, in the hope, we presume, of eliciting some important information from her."

Another correspondent, in a letter to England of the 15th of the month, says—"As to public affairs, there is our little army before Delhi; its effective strength being 8,791 men, of which only 3,896 are Europeans, the rest being Ghoorkas, Sikhs, Punjabees, and Affghans. Hindostanis there are none; treacherous, faithless, bloodthirsty hounds—worse demons than the Malays, or the scum of Canton. I hope their day is nearly over now. Should I tell you some of their atrocities, this letter would not be fit for you to read. Every day discloses crimes of a more gross, more cruel, and more devilish nature, than the day before. Imagination cannot go further in picturing what the ingenuity of villany could do than these petted soldiers

and citizens of ours have done. But we are awake now. From Delhi to Peshawur the gallows have been made fixtures at every station, and they are constantly at work. Positively, to be a Hindostani is now to deserve hanging, and to be a Hindostani deserter is, when caught, to get that desert. Our time of mild suicidal forbearance with men like these is over now, and we have no formalities, no technical investigations, before the would-be murderer is made safe for ever. In my wreck of a regiment at U——, the other day, four men were overheard reading a letter from their former comrades, now with the rebels in Delhi. They destroyed and ate the letter when surprised, and the same evening they were all hanged together. At Peshawur a non-commissioned officer was found in possession of a letter from a mutineer, advising him when he killed a sahib always to end by killing his wife too. Little question was asked before the wretch was swinging. It is the same everywhere, and in it lies our sole hope of safety. These brutes are all banded together for our destruction, and yet what a miserable attempt they have made. We had ten regiments of Bengal cavalry, eighteen of irregular, several batteries of native artillery, and seventy-four regiments of native infantry; and the whole have mutinied, with a few exceptions. If Delhi had not been a walled town containing an immense arsenal, we might have ridden over the mutineers at a gallop, for, conscious of guilt and deprived of their officers, they have turned out as dastardly cowards as good troops could be degraded by fighting—never in the open air, though numbering five to one against us, often more; always skulking behind walls and rocks, ready for murder and not battle. A European private was the other day bearing a wounded ensign, a mere boy, from the field, or rather the suburb, before Delhi. A mutineer fired from the upper windows of a house. Deliberately the soldier placed his senseless officer under shelter, walked to the house, tramped upstairs, dashed in the door, and shot the man. Two other mutineers were with him, and before they came to their wits two rapid thrusts of the bayonet had finished their course. The soldier then walked coolly back and resumed his burden; 150 mutineers got into a serai (or walled inclosure for travellers) on our flank, and kept up a galling fire upon stragglers; twenty Europeans went at them, but they shut the door: it was blown open; our men rushed in, and shut it behind them. They then slew every traitor inside, actually rushing from one to another, and driving their bayonets through them as if they had been sheep. You'll think, with such difference of material, Delhi could easily be taken; and so it could, but our officers say that once in, the Europeans could not be held together; they'd be all over the city in a minute, and would be surprised at the barricades, or put *hors de combat* at the grog-shops, which are worse than bullets. More troops are wanted, when, out of the lot, enough may be held in hand to clear the streets and take the palace."

The following is from an officer in the engineers:—

"Camp before Delhi, August 18th.

"My dear Father,—I think you yet hardly know our position in the East; and, after all, it is only what might have been expected, considering how the sepoys were treated. Anything that they objected to was given up at once. The greatest care was always to be taken not to offend them. It was against their caste to do this, that, or the other; and unless they chose, they never did do it. They declared it was utterly impossible for them to use the Enfield cartridges, yet they have shot down many a poor fellow of ours with these very cartridges. It does not seem to be against their caste now. We are very anxious to see how people at home take all this. The article in the *Times* about disbanding the 19th regiment was very good. They say we ought to know more of our men, be more with them, &c. With European soldiers an officer always goes into their barracks, looks at their dinners, plays cricket with the men, and of course comes to know them. That is simply a consequence of their both being Europeans. To do the same with sepoys we must turn Hindoos, or something of the sort; for, under existing circumstances, you might be 'court-martialed' for going near a sepoy while he is feeding—as that takes away his caste. Going into his hut is perfect profanation, or perhaps sacrilege; neither may you touch any of his cooking materials or utensils, or even the wood he is going to cook with. They had become so pampered that they would hardly stand being spoken to. If, after all this, we are obliged to have sepoys again, I hope they will be a different lot, and treated in a very different manner.

They have proved themselves thorough curs. They can murder helpless women and children bravely, but a handful of armed Europeans frightens them outright, and they always have avoided places where perhaps thirty or forty armed Europeans have been collected. Look, for instance, at Roorkee. The hundred soldiers (college students) there have kept all that part of the country quiet, and Roorkee itself is untouched. At Delhi they are five or six to one against us, and see the miserable attempts they made to turn us out of our position. They have swarmed up the heights in front of our batteries by thousands. The ground is so broken, and full of ravines and rocks, that they can come up the whole way unseen, or you may depend upon it they would never venture. If they had the pluck of a goose their numbers might terrify us; but they never come near us, and only show themselves off at a distance, firing their muskets into the air, shouting most awfully, but doing nothing more. It is in the 'Subzee Mundee' that all the hard fighting goes on. They get into, and on the tops of houses, and fire into our pickets there. This goes on until we send a force from camp to turn them out, which we invariably do, but not without some loss. We have now cleared the ground all around of the trees, walls, and houses. The consequence is, there is a large clear space around our pickets, and 'Pandy' will not venture out of the cover; so we generally let him pop away from a distance until he is tired. If you hear people talking of our not being able to take Delhi, you must deny it, simply because we have not made any attempt to do so. I have no doubt, too, that it is the best policy; for, while there is a Delhi to slink to, all the rebels will flock there instead of running wild about the country, where they would do much more harm. Besides, we shall have them all in a lump, and be able to polish them off at once.

"The rains have regularly set in now; all the low ground about Metcalfe's house is flooded. A strong stream now runs in the Jumna, and we are going to take advantage of it, and try to destroy the bridge of boats. Several methods have been talked of. Yesterday we started three infernal machines, consisting of a tub containing 50lbs. of gunpowder: a piece of stick was stuck up outside, which, if it came in contact with anything, fired a pistol inside. We made a boat, also, and started them as near as possible in the middle of the stream. One went off on an island in the river, and did nobody any harm; another was stranded, and didn't go off at all; and nobody knows what became of the third. So our first attempt must be considered a failure. I hope we may do better next time.

"Lord Ellenborough was not very far out when he said in the house, that if we didn't mind what we were about, we should have one of the most bloody revolutions in India. We are all very happy here, only a little anxious to get into Delhi, and have a real slap at the 'Pandies.' You may be assured they will catch it when the assault does take place."

Some of the characteristic incidents of camp life are well pourtrayed in the subjoined extract:—

"Camp before Delhi, August 9th.

"Since writing to you last I have been on my back for eight days. I will tell you how it all happened. You must know that for some time past the enemy have been on the look-out to attack our rear; but to do this it was necessary to repair at least one of several bridges over the canal which divides us from them, which said bridges we had blown up. On receiving intelligence of their intention we sent out a cavalry picket to watch the canal, and to give speedy information of any attempt they might make to cross. This picket was given to us as a post of honour, and it required a little gilt to make it a pleasant duty, as the officer on picket had to visit the bridge three times every day, besides riding to certain villages in the vicinity to collect information; and, before night, the officer on duty had ridden his thirty-three miles. I was on this picket on the 31st of July, and had come back from my first patrol, when, on reaching one of my videttes, he told me that he had just passed a European woman with two children, escorted by some natives into my picket. I cantered on, and overtook a country cart, escorted by some villagers, one of whom carried a poor little boy about four years old on his shoulder. In the cart I found a nice-looking young woman, with a little infant. The poor creature seemed overjoyed to see a European face, and, in an answer to my inquiries, told me that she was the wife of a Mr. Nun, son of the riding-master of the 1st cavalry. Her husband was employed in the customs' department, at a place near

Guzgaon. When the outbreak at Delhi took place he was in the district with Ford, of the civil service. Guzgaon fell with other stations; and this unhappy woman was by herself, without a European near her. The instant the people of the village nearest her house heard that parties of sepoys were coming in their direction, they carried off Mrs. Nun, with her children, and concealed them in their village. Parties of horsemen arrived and inquired for her, and on being told that she had gone off, plundered and burnt her house. To make a long story short, these poor fellows, at the risk of their lives, kept this unhappy family for three months, feeding and clothing them, and hurrying them off to other villages whenever they heard of the approach of any parties of the mutineers. I must tell you that the insurgents offered 100 rupees reward for Mrs. Nun, dead or alive; but nothing would tempt these simple ryots to betray their trust; and, finally, having seized an opportunity, they brought her safely into camp. The poor woman spoke most gratefully of their kindness and devotion, and the little boy seemed to have the greatest affection for the grey-headed old man on whose shoulder he was perched. I took them into my picket and gave them a good breakfast, and then passed them into camp as quickly as I could, as I heard an alarm of cavalry in the neighbourhood. They had scarcely left when one of my videttes came galloping up to say that a large force was at both the bridges I had to patrol, and I had just turned out and mounted my picket, when I received a despatch from camp, informing me that a very large force of artillery, cavalry, and infantry had left the city in the direction of the canal, and directing me to watch their movements. A troop of the guides came up at the moment, under a young fellow named Craigie, and, taking them with me, I galloped off to see what was going on. On reaching my advanced picket I left him there with his troop, and went off with twenty-five men to reconnoitre. On nearing the first bridge I found a large body of infantry lining the banks of the canal on our side, and a considerable force established in a walled garden on the road, about 200 yards in front of the bridge. I left my men, and rode on to see if I could make out what the rascals were at, but they opened such a heavy fire of musketry that I gave it up. I remained to watch their movements for some time, and rode on towards the second bridge, about two miles further up the canal. The bank between the two bridges was crowded with infantry, and they had a party of about 100 cavalry in front of the second bridge. During the whole time that this occupied it was raining 'cats and dogs.' I returned to my advanced picket to write a report to the general, and found Hodson with a troop of his irregulars there to reinforce me. I told him all about it, and he rode into camp to give my report, as it was impossible to write one, for the rain came down in torrents. M'Donall, whom you all know, was with his troop; he was doing duty with Hodson's corps, and we looked like a couple of half-drowned rats. We tried to light our pipes under shelter of the peak of our helmets, but we could not manage it. I then started off for the bridge a second time, and at M'Donall's earnest request, allowed him to accompany me. We got up to the serai, and found that the enemy were crossing, and had evidently found the day too juicy. We saw them across, and then went towards bridge No. 2. I saw some infantry in a garden, and cantered on to have a nearer look at them, when, all of a sudden, down comes my horse up to his chest in a buffalo-hole. The whole of the country was a sheet of water, so the poor beast could not see what he was going at. He struggled, and got his fore feet in the sides of the hole; but in making an effort to scramble up, he reared and fell back on me, rolling clean over me. The pommel of the saddle and both of my holster pistols crushed my left side, and completely knocked the wind out of me. However, I got up, and shook myself, and being satisfied that no bones were broken, I felt rejoiced that I should soon be all right.

"I wrote the above yesterday, but felt so tired after it, I was obliged to desist. I almost forget where I was. Well, after my fall, we plodded on towards the second bridge, and found it occupied by a very large force of artillery, cavalry, and infantry. Unfortunately, my glass (the one I brought out, and a capital one it is) had got half-full of water, and was perfectly useless, so I could not reconnoitre them as closely as I wished. We turned homewards, and on reaching the picket I was truly rejoiced to see my relief waiting for me. I was dead-beat, having been in the saddle for fourteen hours, having during that time ridden up-

wards of thirty-six miles, and exposed to drenching rain the greater part of the time, with nothing to eat, and no smoke. I cantered back to camp to the brigadier, and he gave me half a tumbler of cherry brandy, which warmed me considerably. I then rode home, feeling quite comfortable, and beyond a slight aching in my side, I should not have known that I had come to grief. I got dry clothes, and dined with Stewart, the guides' doctor, who was the only one at home. * * * No chance of taking this place for some time to come. Reinforcements march towards us, but they never seem to get nearer. It will, indeed, be glorious when we rout and slay these treacherous, cowardly hounds. They will be hunted down like wild beasts, and it is to be hoped few will escape. You in England can never know or hear one-half of the atrocities committed by these savages, for they are too abominable ever to repeat, much less to publish."

The writer of the above passages happened to be one of the officers at Meerut at the time of the first outbreak, and assisted in the subsequent arrangements for its defence, in case of a visit from any of the armed bands and Goojurs that were straggling over the district. He writes thus of the commendable spirit shown by our countrywomen, while they were yet anticipating danger, and doing their best to lessen its possible horrors:—"I think I never told you how splendidly the ladies behaved at Meerut. You should have seen them to appreciate the whole thing—how cheerfully they took every mishap. Though they were all packed within a smallish square place, surrounded by high brick walls, none of them ever grumbled, or apparently became frightened. On the contrary, they used to be dancing about the place (we were at work fortifying it), offering us tea and all sorts of refreshment."

The tenacity with which the English commander-in-chief held his position before the city, and the invariable discomfiture that followed every attempt of the rebel troops to dislodge his pickets, or interfere with the progress of his arrangements, appears at length to have occasioned some misgivings on the part of the king as to the probable result of the contest with the powerful enemy he had wantonly provoked; and although it was perhaps inconsistent with his assumed dignity to make any direct advance towards accommodation, he did not object to seek terms of conciliation by indirect means. On the 22nd of August, Mr. Greathed, the agent at the camp of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, informed that functionary that, on the previous day, "an emissary came in from the chief lady of the palace, offering her good offices to bring about an accommodation; he was told we were anxious for her personal safety, and for that of all women and children; but that no communication could be received from inmates of the palace." This, however, was not the first or only application of the sort, as rumours had already reached the government, of overtures made on the part of the king at Delhi, to the officer in command of the troops before the city; and positive instructions had been given by the governor-general, that any concession to the king, of which his restoration to his former position should be the basis, would be one to which the government could not for a moment give its consent, and that if any negotiation of the sort should be contemplated, it was directed that a full report of all the circumstances should be submitted to the governor-general in council before the government was committed to anything. This direction, it most unfortunately happened, was either misunderstood or disregarded, when the rebel king, driven from his stronghold, had sought his personal safety in flight to the Durgah Nizam-oo-deen, and conditions were granted by Captain Hodson for his surrender, as hereafter related.

A brilliant operation in the field at Nujufghur, by a detachment under the command of Brigadier-general Nicholson, on the 25th of August, is reported in the following despatch from that officer, addressed to the assistant adjutant-general, as follows:—

"Camp before Delhi, August 28th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Wilson, commanding before Delhi, that agreeably to his orders, I marched from this at daybreak on the 25th, with the troops noted in the margin,* to intercept a force of the

* One squadron of her majesty's 9th lancers; sixteen guns horse artillery; 120 guide cavalry; eighty of 2nd Punjab cavalry; wing of her majesty's 61st regiment, 420 bayonets; 1st European Bengal fusiliers, 380 bayonets; 1st Punjab infantry, 400 bayonets; 2nd Punjab infantry, 400 bayonets; detachment of sappers and miners, 30; 200 Mooltanee horse.

enemy, said to be moving from Delhi towards Bahadoorghur, with the intention of attacking us in rear. On my arrival at the village of Nanglooe, about nine miles from this (and to reach which I had to cross two difficult swamps), I learned that the enemy had been at Talmu the previous day, and would probably reach Nujufghur in the course of the afternoon; I therefore decided on leaving the Bahadoorghur-road, and, if possible, coming up with and routing the enemy at Nujufghur before nightfall.

"I crossed a tolerably deep and broad ford over a branch of the Nujufghur-Jheel, near the village of Bassrowla, at about 4 P.M., and found the enemy in position on my left and front, extending from the bridge over the Nujufghur canal to the town of Nujufghur itself, a distance of a mile and three-quarters or two miles. Their strongest point was an old serai on their left centre, in which they had four guns; nine more guns were between this and the bridge. It was five o'clock before the troops were across the ford and parallel with the position. As the enemy was so far advanced, and I had no guide, I laboured under the disadvantage of being compelled to make a very hasty *reconnaissance*. The plan which I determined on was, to force the left centre (which, as I have said, was the strongest part of the position), and then changing front to the left, to sweep down their line of guns towards the bridge. I accordingly formed up her majesty's 61st regiment, the 1st fusiliers, and the 2nd Punjab infantry (with the exception of 100 men of each corps, whom I had had told-off on the march, as a rear-guard and reserve), with four guns on the right and ten on the left flank, supported by the squadron of 9th lancers and guide cavalry; and, after the artillery had fired a few rounds, I advanced and charged with the infantry.

"The enemy was driven out with scarcely any numerical loss to us (though her majesty's 61st had a most gallant and promising officer, Lieutenant Gabbett, mortally wounded); and I then changed front to the left, and so turned the position in which their guns were. The enemy made little resistance as we advanced, and were soon in full retreat across the bridge, with our guns playing upon them; thirteen of their field-pieces having fallen into our hands. At the same time that I attacked the serai, I directed Lieutenant Lumsden, officiating commandant of Major Coke's corps, the 1st Punjab infantry, to advance and clear the town of Nujufghur, on our right. This service was well performed by Lieutenant Lumsden; who, after passing through the town, brought his right shoulders forward, and followed in rear of the main line.

"The enemy's guns were now all in our possession, and I supposed the conflict at an end, when it was reported to me that a few men had concealed themselves in the little village of Nuglee, which was at this time a few hundred yards in rear of our line. I immediately sent orders to Lieutenant Lumsden, who was then nearly abreast of the village, to drive them out; but, though few in number, they had remained so long that our troops were on all sides of them, and seeing no line of retreat open, they fought with extreme desperation. Lieutenant Lumsden was, I regret to say, killed, with eleven of his men; twenty-six more were wounded; and I was obliged to send back the 61st regiment to reinforce the 1st Punjab infantry: this corps also suffered the loss of another gallant officer, Lieutenant Elkington, dangerously wounded, and five men killed; and several more were wounded before the village was in our possession.

"The enemy's cavalry, apparently not less than 1,000 strong, more than once made a show of charging during the action, but were, on each occasion, driven back by the fire of our artillery. Our own cavalry I regretted much my inability to employ against them; but I had been obliged to lea e the squadron of 2nd Punjab cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicholson, and 120 of the Mooltanees, to look after the baggage; and I had, of lancers, guides, and Mooltanees, not more than 300 left to escort the guns and form a reserve. I passed the night at the bridge with the 1st fusiliers and 2nd Punjab infantry, and a detachment of artillery and lancers. I had the bridge mined and blown up by the sappers; and all the waggons and tumbrils which I had not the means of bringing away were also blown up by Major Tombs. Shortly after daybreak I started on my return to camp; and fearing lest more rain should render the ground (already sufficiently difficult) quite impracticable, I brought the column in the same evening.

"It only now remains for me to fulfil

the pleasing duty of expressing my extreme satisfaction with the conduct of the troops in these operations. No soldiers ever advanced to the attack of a position with greater gallantry and steadiness than her majesty's 61st regiment, the 1st fusiliers, and the 2nd Punjab infantry. No infantry was ever more ably assisted by artillery. Major Coke's regiment, under its gallant and lamented officiating commandant, Lieutenant Lumsden, sustained its high reputation.

"The troops are likewise entitled to great credit for the cheerfulness with which they bore the hardships they were exposed to; they marched at daybreak, and had to cross two difficult swamps before their arrival at Nanglooe; and as it would not have been prudent to take the baggage across the ford at Baprowla, they were obliged, after fourteen hours' marching and fighting, to bivouac on the field without food or covering of any kind.

"The officers to whom I am most indebted for their services on this occasion, and whom I would beg to bring prominently to the favourable notice of the major-general, are Major Tombs, commanding the artillery (this officer's merits are so well known to the major-general, that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon them); Major Jacob, commanding 1st fusiliers; Captain Green, commanding 2nd Punjab infantry; and Captains Remmington and Blunt, and Lieutenants Wilson and Sankey, of the artillery. I also received every assistance from my staff and orderly officers; Captain Blane, her majesty's 52nd, my brigade-major; Captain Shute, deputy assistant-quartermaster-general; Captain Trench, 35th native infantry, and Lieutenant Dixon, late 9th light cavalry, my orderly officers; and Lieutenant R. C. Lowe, on the staff of the major-general commanding. Lieutenant Sarell, her majesty's 9th lancers, to whom I entrusted the command of the cavalry, with the guns during the action, and of the rear-guard on the 26th, performed these duties very much to my satisfaction. The same remarks apply to Captain Gordon, her majesty's 61st, who commanded the reserve during the action and night of the 25th. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was good enough to accompany and give me the benefit of his local knowledge; he was also present, and very forward in the attack on the serai. Lieutenant Geneste, of the engineers, deserves credit for the very complete and successful manner in which he blew up the bridge.—I have, &c.,

"J. NICHOLSON, Brigadier-general,
"Commanding 4th Infantry Brigade."

Upon the receipt of this despatch, the following field-force order was issued:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Delhi, August 30th.

"Major-general Wilson, commanding the force, begs to offer his most hearty thanks and congratulations to Brigadier-general Nicholson, and the force which moved from camp under his command on the morning of the 25th instant, on the very successful issue of the operations they were engaged in. This force made a march of eighteen miles, over a country intersected with swamps; at the end of which they fought an action with the enemy, variously estimated at from 4,000 to 6,000 men; gained a complete victory, capturing all the enemy's guns (thirteen in number), and, owing to the difficulty in getting up the baggage and provisions, had to bivouac on the ground, without food or covering of any kind. The next day the troops marched back, arriving in camp the same evening.

"The major-general considers he is indebted for the glorious result of these operations to the judgment and energy displayed by Brigadier-general Nicholson, the steadiness and gallantry of the troops in action, and the cheerfulness with which they bore the fatigue and hardships they were called upon to undergo.

"The major-general has much pleasure in assuring all mentioned in the despatch of Brigadier-general Nicholson, that he will bring them to favourable notice in his report to the commander of the forces in the upper provinces, for submission to government."

The battle of Nujufghur, referred to in the preceding documents, developes a very remarkable feature in this Indian revolt. The rebels, it is seen, had made a sortie in force from Delhi, with the intention of intercepting the siege-train and convoy of munitions, on the way to the English camp from the Punjab. To counteract this manœuvre, which, if successful, might have been fatal to the projected assault upon the city, General Nicholson was detached with a column of some 2,000 men, of whom not more than a third were Europeans, and sixteen horse-artillery guns. After marching from daybreak till a late hour in the evening, he fell in with the rebel force, drawn up in battle array, and strongly

posted. The time scarcely permitted him to take a sufficient survey of their position; but he nevertheless formed his plans on the instant, gave the order for the attack, and was gratified with the successful execution of his design in every particular: and now followed the most notable incident in the conflict. The battle had been won, and the whole of the enemy's artillery captured by General Nicholson, with a numerical loss on his own part scarcely noticeable, when intelligence reached him that a few of the mutineers had concealed themselves in a village to the rear of the English line. It was not understood as a case of ambuscade, but of mere concealment. The fugitives were simply endeavouring to escape notice and pursuit, and their numbers were comparatively insignificant. Orders were of course given to clear the village; but the sepoys had relied so confidently on their cover, that, before they thought of decamping, their retreat was surrounded; and then was seen the desperation which a defeated enemy can exhibit when escape becomes hopeless. That mere handful of fanatic rebels sold their lives so dearly, that the cost of their destruction was greater to the British force than that of the battle itself! The Punjab infantry were first sent against them; but the regiment lost its commandant and many of its men. The 61st (Queen's regiment) was then dispatched to reinforce the Sikhs; but of that, also, a gallant officer was dangerously wounded; and many brave soldiers met the fate the battle-field had spared them. In the end, the sepoys were destroyed to a man, and the village was cleared; but the casualties on the British side were unexpectedly, and, for the occasion, disproportionately heavy. The whole of the killed and wounded in the field, when opposed to an army of from four to six thousand men, with thirteen pieces of ordnance, amounted to thirty-three only; but in this conflict with a few desperate men, who had nothing left them to struggle for but revenge, the number killed amounted to sixteen, and the wounded to forty-six. The whole affair has been described as one singularly characteristic of the Asiatic spirit. The enemy had fled from before a numerically insignificant band of Europeans jaded with fatigue and want of food, but resolute to conquer, and therefore irresistible; and yet, after the fortune of the day had been decided by the flight of an apparently overwhelming host, and the capture of all its artillery, a score or less of desperate fanatics, with the assurance of inevitable death before them, barricade themselves in a small building, and, with fatal determination, scatter their deadly missiles among the victors of the fight, so long as a single musket could be raised to speak the intensity of their hatred, their desperation, and their defiance of the race from before whom, but an hour or two previously, they had fled in hopeless terror. With men so acted upon by the impulses of fatalism and despair, it is impossible to observe the usages or exercise the humanities of civilised warfare. These desperadoes had already been beaten from the field, and might have avoided further peril had they chosen to do so. To defeat, or even for any time to repulse their pursuers, was not expected by them; but their last hope and exciting desire was to gratify revenge, and to inflict as much wanton and useless suffering as possible upon the race they hated and feared. By such men, an offer of quarter upon surrender would have been rejected with scorn; and it is probable, owing to a conviction that such was the fact, that in this sepoy war, the word "prisoners" appears to have been expunged from the military vocabulary.

Turning from the swampy field of Nujufghur and its sanguinary history, we find that, early in September, the siege-train on its way from Kurnaul, was reported in near proximity to the British camp; and preparations were at once commenced for active operations against Delhi. One of the first objects accomplished was the formation of a trench and battery, to the left of the "Sammy-house," to prevent sorties from the Lahore or Cabul gates passing round the city wall to annoy our breaching batteries, and also to assist in keeping down the fire of the Moree bastion. By the 6th, the whole of the siege-train, and all the reinforcements that were looked for, had arrived at the camp, and it was resolved by the major-general that the siege operations should be at once commenced. The actual force of all arms, under the command of Major-general Wilson at this time, including lascars, drivers, newly-raised Sikh sappers and artillerymen, and the recruits of the Punjab corps, amounted to 8,748 men, of which 2,977 were in hospital. Of this aggregate force, the proportion of British troops was as follows:—artillery, 580; cavalry, 443; infantry, 2,294. The

European corps at this time were mere skeletons; the strongest having only 409 effective rank and file; while the 52nd light infantry, which three weeks previously had arrived at the camp with upwards of 600 rank and file fit for duty, had now only 242 men out of hospital. The Cashmere contingent of 2,200 men and four guns had also arrived before Delhi, and several hundred men of the Jhind rajah's contingent were, at the rajah's earnest solicitation, brought into camp to share the credit of the capture of the Mogul capital; the rajah himself accompanying his troops. The battering train numbered forty pieces of heavy ordnance; and in addition to his park of artillery, almost daily augmented by captured guns, the major-general had also ten heavy, and twenty-two light, mortars.

The insurgent forces within and under the walls of Delhi at this time, consisted of twenty-four regiments of regular infantry, three of regular cavalry, three of irregular infantry, 400 of miscellaneous horse belonging to various regiments and contingents, and an armed rabble of Ghazees, or fanatics. In round numbers, the strength of the mutineers in disciplined troops, at the commencement of the siege operations, consisted of 12,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry; and there were also in the city about 3,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry of non-military combatants, useless perhaps in the field, but well armed, and effective enough as auxiliaries to the regular troops, when stationed behind loopholed walls or the parapets of houses. The relative proportion of the insurgent and European force was, therefore, as six to one.

The absurd and mischievous influence of a system which authorised, or at least tolerated, the interference or supervision of a civil commissioner, or agent of the local government, with or over the details of military operations in the face of an enemy, was operating even at this crisis; and we find Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, in his official communication to the governor-general on the 31st of August, after reporting the latest news from the English force before Delhi, observing, that "it is reasonable to look for an early assault; and in that case, some superior authority at or near the spot, empowered to direct the employment of troops in whatever direction, seems very necessary." Fortunately, the suggestion, which if adopted must inevitably have embarrassed the general in the exercise of his command, does not appear to have been acted upon. In this case, the government at Calcutta was guided by the principle of "letting well alone;" and the incubus that might have paralysed the energies of the army of Delhi was avoided. The unprofessional caution and obtrusive counsels of mere civilians, are dangerous and impertinent at any time when interfering with military judgment and heroic enterprise; and assuredly they are out of all place or time when thrust upon an experienced and victorious general before the walls of a beleaguered city. It does not appear, by any record, that the intervention of "superior authority," recommended by Mr. Colvin, was sanctioned by the government; but, on the contrary, it is fair to infer that Major-general Wilson was left to the unfettered exercise of his own discretion, and the employment of his own resources for the accomplishment of the important object before him.

When making the necessary arrangements for prosecuting the siege operations with vigour, it had to be considered, that the strength of the engineering department of the army was lamentably weak in effective men. Of officers there was no deficiency; but of trained sappers there were only 120 in the camp: and this paucity of numbers in a most important arm of the service, had to be remedied by hastily training some companies of Muzbee Sikhs and Coolies, who, however, worked remarkably well. The park establishment had been busily occupied for some time collecting material; and, by its exertions, 10,000 fascines, 10,000 gabions, and 100,000 sandbags, were now ready for use. A large number of field magazines, scaling-ladders, and spare platforms, had also been duly prepared, and were available at a moment's notice. As the north face of the city was the side to be attacked, it was arranged, in laying down the plan of operations, to hold the right flank in check while pushing the main attack upon the left, partly because the river Jumna would protect the flank of the storming party as it advanced, and partly, also, because, on the north side of the city, there was better cover for the troops: moreover, the latter, on entering the city, would advance for some distance upon open ground instead of through narrow streets.

The point to be attacked embraced

the Moree, Cashmere, and Water bastions, with the curtains connecting them. These bastions presented regular faces and flanks of masonry, with properly-cut embrasures; but the height of the wall was twenty-four feet above the ground level, of which, however, eight feet was a mere parapet, three feet thick, the remainder being about four times that substance: outside the wall was a very wide berm, and then a ditch sixteen feet deep, and twenty wide at the bottom; the escarp and counterscarp were deep—the latter unrevetted, and the former revetted with stone, and eight feet in height; a good sloping glacis covered the lower ten feet of the wall from all attempts of distant batteries.

Shortly after the arrival of the siege-train, the following general order was issued by Major-general Wilson, and read at the head of each division of the army:—

"G. O.—Camp before Delhi, Sept. 6, 1857.

"The force assembled before Delhi has had much hardship and fatigue to undergo since its arrival in this camp, all of which has been most cheerfully borne by officers and men. The time is now drawing near when the major-general commanding the force trusts that their labours will be over, and they will be rewarded by the capture of the city for all their past exertions, and for a cheerful endurance of yet greater fatigue and exposure.

"The troops will now be required to aid and assist the engineers in the erection of the batteries and trenches, and in daily exposure to the sun as covering parties. The artillery will have even harder work than they yet have had, and which they have so well and cheerfully performed hitherto: this, however, will be for a short period only; and when ordered to the assault, the major-general feels assured British pluck and determination will carry everything before them, and that the blood-thirsty and murderous mutineers against whom they are fighting will be driven headlong out of their stronghold, or be exterminated: but to enable them to do this, he warns the troops of the absolute necessity of their keeping together, and not straggling from their columns. By this only can success be secured.

"Major-general Wilson need hardly remind the troops of the cruel murders committed on their officers and comrades, as well as their wives and children, to move them in the deadly struggle. No quarter should be given to the mutineers. At the same time, for the sake of humanity, and the honour of the country they belong to, he calls upon them to spare all women and children that may come in their way. It is so imperative, not only for their safety, but for the success of the assault, that men should not straggle from their columns, that the major-general feels it his duty to direct all commanding officers to impress this strictly upon their men; and he is confident that, after this warning, the men's good sense and discipline will induce them to obey their officers, and keep steady to their duty.

"It is to be explained to every regiment, that indiscriminate plunder will not be allowed; that prize agents have been appointed, by whom all captured property will be collected and sold, to be divided according to the rules and regulations on this head, fairly among all men engaged; and that any man found guilty of having concealed captured property, will be made to restore it, and will forfeit all claims to the general prize; he will also be likely to be made over to the provost-marshal to be summarily dealt with.

"The major-general calls upon the officers of the force to lend their zealous and efficient co-operation in the erection of the works of the siege now about to be commenced. He looks especially to the regimental officers of all grades, to impress upon their men, that to work in the trenches during a siege, is as necessary and honourable as to fight in the ranks during a battle. He will hold all officers responsible for their utmost being done to carry out the directions of the engineers; and he confidently trusts that all will exhibit a healthy and hearty spirit of emulation and zeal, from which he has no doubt that the happiest results will follow, in the brilliant termination of all their labours.

"A. Wilson, Major-general."

After this announcement, the construction of the necessary batteries was vigorously carried on; and at sunrise on the 8th of September, the works in front of the Moree bastion, and from which they were about 700 yards distant, thundered out their first summons to the pent-up enemy. Successive batteries were erected along the face of the city, and mounted with the heavy siege guns that, night and day until the morning of the 14th, poured an incessant fire upon the defences of the

enemy, who, being at last unable to discharge a gun from either of the three bastions under our fire, yet stood to their guns in the open ground which partly enfiladed the English position; they also got a gun to bear from a hole broken in the long curtain wall. They sent rockets from one of their martello towers, and they maintained a perfect shower of musketry from an advanced trench and from the city walls, which trembled beneath the roar of fifty pieces of heavy ordnance, that poured their iron messengers of destruction against and into the walls of the doomed city. Two breaches having been effected in the wall near the Cashmere and Water bastions, on the 11th, four officers of engineers—Lieutenants Medley, Lang, Greathed, and Home—examined them during the night of the 13th, and having reported them practicable, orders were at once issued to take the place at daybreak on the following morning. The arrangements for the attack were as follows:—

1st Column.—Brigadier-general Nicholson. Her majesty's 75th regiment, 300 men, Lieutenant-colonel Herbert; 1st fusiliers, 250 men, Major Jacob; 2nd Punjab infantry, 450 men, Captain Green: total, 1,000 men.—To storm the breach near the Cashmere bastion, and to escalade the face of the bastion.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Medley, Lang, and Bingham.

2nd Column.—Brigadier Jones, C.B. Her majesty's 8th regiment, 250 men, Lieutenant-colonel Greathed; 2nd fusiliers, 250 men, Captain Boyd; 4th Sikh infantry, 350 men, Captain Rothney: total, 850 men.—To storm the breach in the Water bastion.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton.

3rd Column.—Colonel Campbell. Her majesty's 52nd regiment, 200 men, Major Vigors; Kumaon battalion, 250 men, Captain Ramsay; 1st Punjab infantry, 500 men, Lieutenant Nicholson: total, 900 men.—To assault by the Cashmere gate, after it should be blown open.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.

4th Column.—Major Reid. Detachment of European regiments, Sirmoor battalion, guides, and darogahs: total, 860 men.—To attack and carry the suburb Kissengunge, and enter the city by the Lahore gate.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Maunsell and Tennant.

5th Column.—(The reserve), Brigadier Longfield. Her majesty's 61st regiment, 250 men, Lieutenant-colonel Deacon; 4th Punjab infantry, 450 men, Captain Wyld; wing of Belooch battalion, 300 men, Lieutenant-colonel Farquhar; Jhind auxiliary, 300 men, Lieutenant-colonel Dunsford; and her majesty's 60th rifles, 200 men, Lieutenant-colonel Jones, who were to join the reserve after they had covered the advance of the stormers: total, 1,500 men.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Ward and Thackeray.—This column had orders to await the result of the attack by the other divisions of the force, and, upon their entering the place, to follow and take possession of the posts previously assigned to it.

Precisely at four o'clock on the morning of the 14th of September, the different columns fell-in and were marched to their respective places, the heads of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd columns being kept concealed until the moment for the actual assault should arrive. The signal was to be the advance of the rifles to the front, to cover the heads of the columns by skirmishers. Everything being now ready, General Nicholson gave the signal, and the rifles dashed to the front, extending along and skirmishing through the low jungle which extends to within fifty yards of the ditch. At the same moment the leading files of the 1st and 2nd columns emerged from the Koodseebagh, and advanced steadily towards the breach. The English batteries had maintained a tremendous fire upon the walls up to the moment of the advance, which prevented the enemy from bringing a single gun to bear on the storming columns; but no sooner did the latter advance into the open ground than a perfect hailstorm of bullets met them from the front and both flanks, and the officers and men fell fast on the crest of the glacis. For several minutes it was not possible to get the ladders down into the ditch to ascend the escarp; but the determination of the British soldier carried all before it, and the rebel troops declining to meet the thrust of the English bayonet, fled from their defences; while the troops, with a shout and a rush that were resistless, sprang into the breaches, and both positions were won at the same moment.

Simultaneously with these attacks near the Cashmere and Water bastions, the explosion party, consisting of Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, Sergeants Carmichael, Burgess,

and Smith, four sappers, and a bugler of the 52nd regiment, advanced from the head of the 3rd column, which was concealed by a bend in the road, towards the Cashmere gate, which was constructed of massive timbers, and was immensely heavy, and flanked by loopholes and embrasures

In the very face of a terrific fire of musketry from the wall, and the loopholes that flanked the gate, the small but dauntless band steadily advanced without for one instant swerving from their direct path: and the following extract of a report from the chief engineer, Colonel Baird Smith, to Major-general Wilson, furnishes the correct details of the hazardous but successful exploits:—

"The gallantry with which the explosion party, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, performed the desperate duty of blowing up the Cashmere gate, in broad daylight, will, I feel sure, be held to justify me in making special mention of it. The party was composed, in addition to the two officers named, of the following:—Sergeants John Smith and A. B. Carmichael, and Corporal Burgess, sappers and miners; Bugler Hawthorne, her majesty's 52nd; fourteen native sappers and miners; ten Punjab ditto; musters covered by the fire of her majesty's 60th rifles. The party advanced at the double towards the Cashmere gate. Lieutenant Home, with Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, and Havildar Mahor, all the sappers leading and carrying the powder-bags, followed by Lieutenant Salkeld, Corporal Burgess, and a portion of the remainder of the party. The advanced party reached the gateway unhurt, and found that part of the drawbridge had been destroyed; but passing across the precarious footway supplied by the remaining beams, they proceeded to lodge their powder-bags against the gate. The wicket was open, and through it the enemy kept up a heavy fire upon them. Sergeant Carmichael was killed while laying his powder-bag, Havildar Mahor being at the same time wounded. The powder being laid, the advanced party slipped down into the ditch to allow the firing party, under Lieutenant Salkeld, to perform its duty. While endeavouring to fire the charge Lieutenant Salkeld was shot through the arm and leg, and handed over the slow match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had successfully accomplished the onerous duty. Havildar Tilluh Sing, of the Sikhs, was wounded; and Ramloll Sepoy, of the same corps, was killed during this part of the operation. The demolition being most successful, Lieutenant Home, happily not wounded, caused the bugler to sound the regimental call of the 52nd, as the signal for the advancing columns. Fearing that amid the noise of the assault the sounds might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops advanced and carried the gateway with complete success. I feel certain that a simple statement of this devoted and glorious deed will suffice to stamp it as one of the noblest on record in military history. The perfect success contributed most materially to the brilliant result of the day, and Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, with their gallant subordinate Europeans and natives, will, I doubt not, receive the rewards which valour before the enemy so distinguished as theirs has entitled them to."*

* The chivalrous distinction of the Victoria Cross was conferred by General Wilson upon Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, and also upon Sergeant Smith and Bugler Robert Hawthorne, of the 52nd regiment. The latter belonged to the explosion party, and, after Lieutenant Salkeld was thoroughly disabled by the second shot, remained with that officer, bound up his wounds, and protected him until he was removed to the Main-guard.—Lieutenant Philip Salkeld was a son of the Rev. Richard Salkeld, formerly resident at Servan, Ile et Vilaine, and was born October 13th, 1830, and consequently was only twenty-seven years of age. He received his nomination to the Indian service from the late Mr. William Astell, M.P. father of the present director of the East India Company, and was educated at the military college of Addiscombe. There he was selected by competition for the engineers, and obtained the highest prizes for mathematics and French. On quitting Addiscombe he went to the royal engineer establishment at Chatham, where he spent nearly two years in the theoretic and practical study of fortification and other kindred subjects. He quitted that institution in January, 1850, and arrived at Calcutta in the following June, when having acquired a perfect knowledge of the native language, he joined the corps of sappers and miners. In June, 1853, he was appointed to officiate as executive engineer officer at Meerut, from whence in the following year he was transferred to the charge of a division of the Grand Trunk-road, where he was continually employed down to December, 1856, when he succeeded to the office of executive engineer of the Delhi division. In July, 1857, he joined the force before Delhi, and for the perilous duty which devolved upon him, viz., that of blowing open the Cashmere gate, General Wilson promptly expressed his warmest thanks, and his "admiration of all who were engaged in that difficult operation." Unfortunately, the gallant officer died of the wounds received at the Cashmere gate. His remains rest in the cemetery at Delhi.

Thus, as mingling with the crash of the ponderous gates, and the yells and shouts of the panic-stricken and wounded rebels behind them, the clear notes of the English bugle sounded the welcome advance, the 3rd column rushed forward over the charred and shattered fragments and mutilated corpses that laid in its path, and entered Delhi just as the 1st and 2nd columns had gained the breaches, and were sweeping the ramparts from the Water bastion to the Cabul gate, occupying the interior defences, and driving the enemy like frightened sheep before the gleam of their bayonets.

The passage of the Cashmere gate presented a scene of horror as the troops rushed through the blackened and bloody chasm before them. Some thirty or forty of the sepoys, who had been stationed for the defence of the post, lay writhing around in all directions, their mutilated limbs scattered over the place, and their shrieks of agony adding to the wild clamour of the storm, and the shouts of the victors as they trampled over the prostrate rebels, whom they shot down and bayoneted without mercy. The work of vengeance had commenced within the walls of the traitor city: no quarter could be expected—none was given.

General Nicholson having concentrated his three columns upon the open ground within the gateway, formed the troops in front of the Main-guard, and then proceeded to clear the ramparts as far as the Moree bastion, thus leaving the north face of the city entirely in the possession of his troops. Advancing from the Moree towards the Lahore gate, within which he expected to meet the 4th column under Major Reid, the men had to traverse a number of narrow lanes, along which the enemy kept up a heavy shower of grape and musketry from the houses and loopholed walls; and in one of such gorges General Nicholson received the wound of which he died on the 26th of the month.* The fortifications

* Brigadier-general Nicholson was the son of an eminent physician in the county of Dublin, and nephew of Sir James Weir Hogg, formerly chairman of the East India Company, by whom he was presented with a military cadetship in 1839, being then in his 17th year. Upon his arrival in India, John Nicholson was appointed to an ensigncy in the 27th regiment of native infantry. At the very outset of his career, the embryo general gained practical experience in the art of war. The conquest of Cabul was followed by the revolt of the Affghans. At the period of the murder of Sir William Macnaghten and the massacre of the British troops at Jugdulluck, Nicholson was in Ghuznee, under Colonel Palmer, and shared with him the dangers of the siege. The British force found themselves shut up in the citadel, and, having suffered the extremities of hunger, were forced to capitulate, and remained prisoners until rescued by Sir R. Sale and Sir G. Pollock. We next find General Nicholson serving in the Sutlej campaign of 1845-'6. At the time of the outbreak of that war, he rendered important service to Sir Henry Hardinge by watching and reporting the movements of the Sikhs. He was also present on the bloody battle-fields of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, and received a medal for his gallantry in action. He was subsequently employed with the army of the Punjab during 1848-'9, whilst holding the post of assistant to the resident at Lahore, Sir F. Currie, who in his letters and despatches frequently mentions him in terms of the highest praise. He was present at the actions of Sadoolapore, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat. In the second Punjab campaign we find the name of General Nicholson almost inseparable from that of Major Herbert Edwardes, the hero of Mooltan. While the siege of Mooltan was still proceeding, Nicholson was sent to seize the fortress of Attock, which he succeeded in taking. As soon as his services could be spared he accompanied Lord Gough in his advance, and was able to render Sir J. Thackwell material assistance in transporting his forces across the Chenab, just previous to the battle of Ramnuggur. He had the satisfaction of seeing his name mentioned in the despatch of that gallant and distinguished officer, in the following terms:—"To Captain Nicholson, assistant to the resident at Lahore, I beg to offer my best thanks for his endeavours to procure intelligence of the enemy's movements, for his successful efforts to procure supplies for the troops, and for his able assistance on all occasions." After the battle of Chillianwallah, his friends had the additional gratification of seeing his services in that engagement acknowledged in Lord Gough's despatch, side by side with those of the late lamented Sir Henry M. Lawrence. Nor was he less distinguished on the field of Goojerat, where Lord Gough finally routed and crushed the Sikh forces, and after which he particularly recommended, in his despatch addressed to the governor-general of India, "that most energetic political officer, Captain Nicholson," as deserving of reward and promotion. For his services in the Punjab campaign, Captain Nicholson was promoted, by special brevet, to the rank of major in the army, and received the additional honours of a medal and a clasp. On the breaking out of the mutinies he was entrusted with the command of a brigade; and for his victory at Nujufghur, over the rebels sent out to interrupt the siege-train on its way to Delhi, he had been created a Companion of the Bath. He was only in his 35th year at the time of his death.—An interesting story is told relative to this gallant general, which will serve to show how highly his ability as an officer was appreciated by his heroic colleague, Major Herbert Edwardes. Some few years since these two officers were both in England; and as Edwardes was the "lion" of the day, he was called upon to return thanks on behalf of the Indian army, at a grand dinner given at the Fishmongers' Hall, at which the late Duke of Wellington, Lord Gough, the late Lord Hill, and other distinguished officers were

from the Water bastion to the Cabul gate were now securely held by the English troops; and as the resistance afforded by the shelter of the numerous defiles beyond the latter post was uncontrollable by musketry only, the troops fell back, and further attempts to gain the Burn bastion and Lahore gate, were for the moment suspended.

The 3rd column, headed by Colonel Campbell, of the 52nd light infantry, then advanced through the town towards the Jumma Musjeed, guided in its progress by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, of the civil service, who had offered his assistance as guide—an office for which his local knowledge of Delhi eminently qualified him. By taking a circuitous, instead of the direct, route to the temple, little opposition was encountered until the troops reached the Chandnee Chouk, where, after a brief but sharp contest, they obtained possession of the Khotwallee, the enemy retreating amongst the adjacent outlets. Upon attempting to advance beyond this point, the sheltered resistance was so determined and effective, that the men and officers fell fast at every step; and it was deemed expedient to expose them to further sacrifices, until sufficient means were at hand to batter down the hiding-places of the enemy. The intended attack upon the Jumma Musjeed was therefore postponed, and the column fell back upon the reserve, near the church of St. James, which by that time was occupied by General Wilson and his staff.

The reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, had followed the 3rd column into the Cashmere gate, and advanced upon the college, which, with its enclosed gardens, was occupied by a strong body of insurgents, who speedily sought safety by flight: this post was then occupied by the 4th Punjab rifles and a portion of her majesty's 61st regiment. The Water bastion, Cashmere gate, Skinner's house, and a large commanding building, the residence of Achmed Ali Khan, were also held by the column of reserve. Upon the retirement of No. 3 column, the Kumaon battalion was placed on Skinner's house, the 52nd regiment and 60th rifles at the church. The magazine near the Main-guard was held by a part of her majesty's 61st; the Belooch battalion and Jhind auxiliaries occupied the Main-guard; and the 1st Punjab infantry was stationed in houses at the end of the two streets that opened into the space around the church from the interior of the city. Guns were also posted at the head of those streets, and thereby stopped an attempt to follow the 3rd column, when returning from its intended attempt on the Jumma Musjeed.

The 4th column, under Major Reid, whose point of attack was the Lahore gate, as previously mentioned, had advanced from the Subzee Mundee towards Kissengunge, the Cashmere contingent co-operating on its right. The latter, however, was so sharply attacked by the insurgents, who were in great strength in front of it, that after losing a number of men and four guns, the contingent force was completely defeated and forced to retire to the camp. Major Reid's column also met with strenuous resistance, probably increased and encouraged by the defeat of its auxiliaries;

present. When it came to his turn to speak, Major Edwardes rose from his seat, walked down to the spot where Nicholson was sitting, and laying his hand upon him, said—"Here, gentlemen, here sits the real hero of half the noble deeds which the world has been so ready to attribute entirely to me; and his name ought, rather than my own, to have been coupled with your toast." The effect was instantaneous and almost electrical.—The following is an extract from a letter by a young officer who served in General Nicholson's brigade:—"He was a very brave man and a most valuable public officer; very determined, very bold, very clever, and very successful; therefore his loss is most deeply felt, and every one feels that his place will not easily be supplied, nor the empty void filled where before his presence was so much felt and appreciated. He was a man in whom all the troops had the most unbounded confidence, and whom they would have followed anywhere cheerfully; yet he was quite a young man, who advanced himself by his own endeavours and good services. He had a constitution of iron. The day we marched to Murdan he was twenty-six hours in the saddle, following up the mutineers. I never heard so much anxiety expressed for any man's recovery before; and the only term I know that is fully adequate to express the loss which we all felt is, that in each of our hearts the victory that day has been turned into mourning. He was a man whom all would have delighted to honour, and was beloved both for his amiability and kindness of disposition, and his more brilliant qualities as a soldier and a ruler of the people. He was assistant-commissioner here before, and his name was known and dreaded by all the hill tribes around, and by all the inhabitants of the valley of Peshawur. When it was known that he was dangerously wounded, everyone's first inquiry was, 'How is Nicholson—are there any hopes of his recovery?' He is now gone from us, but his memory will be long cherished, and the example of his daring and bravery will stimulate those who knew him to emulate his deeds. His death has caused as much grief as that of that estimable, brave, and heroic good soldier, Sir Henry Lawrence." This event will be referred to hereafter.

and the enemy were so numerous and so strongly posted, that, after sustaining heavy loss in men and officers, including the commandant himself, who was severely wounded, further effort to advance was abandoned; and the senior officer in the field, Captain Muter, of the 60th rifles, judiciously withdrew the troops to their former posts at Hindoo Rao's, and in the Subzee Mundee, both of which were regained with difficulty, although they were aided by a brisk discharge of shrapnel shells from the Crows'-nest battery. In this retrograde movement, a party of guide infantry was surrounded by the insurgents in an enclosure, from which they could not get away until rescued in a spirited manner by a wing of the Belooch battalion, which had been sent from the city to their assistance.

Meanwhile, Brigadier Grant, with his cavalry, consisting of about 600 sabres, and a troop and a-half of horse artillery, had effectually prevented any annoyance to the flanks of the assaulting columns; but his troops had suffered greatly from the fire of the Taleewarra guns, and those of the Burn bastion, three of the former of which were, however, spiked by the troopers; and the duty assigned to the brigadier having been most efficiently discharged, the cavalry was withdrawn to the neighbourhood of Ludlow Castle, having its pickets towards the ridge; and the Belooch wing having rescued the guides as mentioned, returned to the city, and again joined the reserve.

The buildings in the neighbourhood of the Cashmere gate afforded good quarters for the troops, and cover from the enemy's fire, and the post consequently became the basis of future operations. In the course of the day, many of the people of the city stole into the camp, and applied for protection: they all craved forgiveness, and of course disavowed any participation in the rebellion. They protested they had been compelled to remain prisoners in the city, but had never taken part with the insurgents in the outrages perpetrated upon the Europeans. Their asseverations of innocence and loyalty were met by an order that they should give proof of both by removing the bodies of the dead sepoys that lay festering around in every direction, as well as in the buildings contiguous to the walls. Few, if any, of them hesitated to commence the, to them, abhorrent task; and they worked with such apparent good-will, that before night most of the unsightly vestiges of the morning's havoc had been removed from sight. The city, so far as could be seen from the posts occupied by the troops, presented a wretched scene of desolation and smoky ruins, from amongst which, occasionally, women and children would rush with frantic cries while seeking other shelter than that of their ruined homes. Of these helpless creatures, it is not known that one met with molestation or insult from our soldiers;* but with the male inhabitants a far different line of conduct was pursued. The troops were exasperated by the remembrance of atrocities perpetrated upon their betrayed and massa-

* The conduct of the English troops upon this occasion, contrasts most honourably with that of the Mohammedan conquerors of Delhi in 1738, referred to in p. xx. of the Introduction to this history. The sanguinary excesses indulged in by the soldiers of Nadir Shah, are thus more fully related in Montgomery Martin's *India*, p. 165. The shah, exasperated by one of his chiefs being killed while riding by his side, "ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive, wherever they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command, which of course warranted nothing less than a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed; the soldiery entered the houses, and gave free loose to those hateful passions—covetousness, lust, revenge; the true 'dogs of war.' The streets of Delhi streamed with blood: many thoroughfares became blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in various places where the wretched citizens, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the foe, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death; the shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering, at moments, the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffings of their persecutors; and from sunrise to broad noon these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, it is said, after issuing the murderous order, went into the little mosque in the great bazaar near the centre of the city, and there remained in gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of Mahomed Shah, whose deep distress obtained a command for the termination of the massacre. According to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were destroyed in this merciless act of wholesale slaughter." Again—"The wretched survivors seemed to have wanted energy even to perform the funeral obsequies of the dead. In several of the Hindoo houses, where one of the family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty carcasses a-top of one another and burn them; and so they did in the streets; notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time there was no such thing as passing any of those ways. After some days, the stench arising from the multitude of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burned with the rubbish of the ruined houses until all were disposed of; and thus the city was at last cleared of its slaughtered inhabitants."—(Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah.*)

cred officers, and upon the defenceless women and children that had been outraged and murdered within that bloodstained city. The dogged resistance and ferocious cunning by which they were encountered at every step, and from behind every wall, of the narrow thoroughfares and hiding-places through which they had to make their way to the entire occupation of the city, often compelled them to fight from house to house, and from hand to hand; and the protracted struggle embittered still more the desire that raged within them for stern, unsparing vengeance.

In some of the buildings forced open by the troops in their progress, parties of from forty to sixty armed men were occasionally found together; and of such, when discovered, not a single life was spared.

A letter from Delhi, written whilst the fight was going on, says—"Women are flying frantically about in all directions, unmolested by our troops, in awful fright; property of great value lying about the streets everywhere, and the enemy in hundreds hurrying away from the doomed city—some say to Gwalior, *viâ* Muttra, where, I suppose, they will make another stand. The slaughter of the enemy has been very great; and in the smaller thoroughfares, where our troops had to figl t from house to house, the sepoys fell where they were found, entreating the sahib log (as they called our Europeans) not to give them the cold steel, but to shoot them at once. A good deal of skirmishing is going on in the streets, but Pandy don't stand so firmly as people expected; and although the city, which may be supposed was to fall at once into our possession, has taken so long to recover, I think the worst for us is over; and bad enough it is, as far as loss of life is concerned. Many will be glad to learn that women and children are suffered to go unmolested. This is a stretch of mercy I should not have been prepared to make had I a voice in the matter. It ought to be remembered that many of these very women (or fiends in female form) were foremost in inflicting cruelty upon our own women and children; and it must be fresh in your memory, that when the mutineers came out of the city for a grand attack upon our camp, while Nicholson's force was at Nujufghur, they were followed by crowds of these very women, whose sole object on venturing out was to *loot* our camp when the mutineers took possession of it; which they calculated would be an easy affair, as our troops were away! These Coolie women of Delhi were with the men who looted all the European houses in Delhi. However, it is the general's order that they should be spared—and I hope he won't rue it. I wonder if one of these women would have spared one of our women if she had the chance of murdering her?"

In this street warfare, and the arrangement of guns and mortars to shell the palace and Selimgurh, the 15th of September passed over, the rebels still maintaining a heavy cannonade on the English position, from the grand magazine and Selimgurh; while, from the former, the college compound was annoyed by a continued fire of musketry. Skirmishing was also carried on at each of the advanced posts, but with little loss on the part of the English. On the 16th, the grand magazine was stormed and taken by her majesty's 61st regiment, aided by the 4th Punjab rifles, and a wing of the Belooch battalion. This event was announced to the governor-general in the following telegram:—"Delhi 16th. Magazine carried this evening with loss of o ly three wounded. A dash and cheer struck such terror, that the rebels dropped their lighted portfires, leaving their loaded guns an easy prey to us: 125 pieces of ordnance, and vast supplies of shot and shell, found in the magazine alone. Our guns and ten mortars are now bearing on the palace. We hold everything on our side the canal, except the palace. All look to the complete occupation of the city in a couple of days as a certainty."—This acquisition put the attacking force in possession of a vast quantity of stores of every description, except powder: and notwithstanding the enormous quantity of shot expended by the rebels during the three preceding months, huge piles, of every calibre, were yet left untouched by them.

In the course of the morning of the 16th, the rebel positions at Kissengunge and Taleewarra were abandoned, and five heavy guns belonging to the insurgents were taken possession of by a party sent out from Hindoo Rao's house for the purpose. The immense strength of the position occupied by the insurgents in those suburbs was now apparent, and accounted for the check sustained by the 4th column, under Major Reid, on the morning of the assault.

The successes of the troops up to this time, were announced to the government of India

on the 16th of September, in the following despatch of Major-general Wilson:—

"Head-quarters, Delhi, Sept. 16th.

"Sir,—I have the high satisfaction of reporting, for the information of the major-general commanding in the upper provinces, and through him to his excellency the commander-in-chief, and government, that on the morning of the 14th instant, the force under my command successfully assaulted the city of Delhi.

"After six days of open trenches, during which the artillery and engineers under their respective commanding officers, Major Gaitskell and Lieutenant-colonel Baird Smith, vied with each other in pressing forward the work, two excellent and most practicable breaches were formed in the walls of the place—one in the curtain to the right of the Cashmere bastion, the other to the left of the Water bastion; the defences of those bastions, and the parapets giving musketry cover to the enemy commanding the breaches, having also been destroyed by the artillery.

"The assault was delivered on four points. The first column, under Brigadier J. Nicholson, consisting of her majesty's 75th regiment (300 men), the 1st European Bengal fusiliers (200 men), and the 2nd Punjab infantry (450 men), assaulted the main breach, their advance being admirably covered by the 1st battalion of her majesty's 60th rifles, under Colonel J. Jones. The operation was crowned with brilliant success; the enemy, after severe resistance, being driven from the Cashmere bastion, the Main-guard, and its vicinity, in complete rout.—The second column, under Brigadier Jones, of her majesty's 61st regiment, consisting of her majesty's 8th regiment (250 men), the 2nd European Bengal fusiliers (250 men), and the 4th regiment of Sikhs (350 men), similarly covered by the 60th rifles, advanced on the Water bastion, carried the breach, and drove the enemy from his guns and position with a determination and spirit which gave me the highest satisfaction.—The third column, under Colonel Campbell, of her majesty's 52nd light infantry, consisting of 200 of his own regiment, the Kumaon battalion (250 men), and the 1st Punjab infantry (500 men), was directed against the Cashmere gateway. This column was preceded by an explosion party, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, of the engineers, covered by the 60th rifles. The demolition of the gate having been accomplished, the column forced an entrance, overcoming a strenuous opposition from the enemy's infantry and heavy artillery, which had been brought to bear on the position. I cannot express too warmly my admiration of the gallantry of all concerned in this difficult operation. The reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, her majesty's 8th regiment, composed of her majesty's 61st regiment (250 men), the 4th regiment of rifles (450 men), the Belooch battalion (300 men), the Jhind rajah's auxiliaries (300 men), and 200 of her majesty's 60th rifles, who joined after the assault had been made, awaited the result of the attack, and, on the columns entering the place, took possession of the posts I had previously assigned to it. This duty was ultimately performed to my entire satisfaction. The firm establishment of the reserve rendering the assaulting columns free to act in advance, Brigadier-general Nicholson, supported by Brigadier Jones, swept the ramparts of the place from the Cashmere to the Cabul gates, occupying the bastions and defences, capturing the guns, and driving the enemy before him.

"During the advance, Brigadier-general Nicholson was, to the grief of myself and the whole army, dangerously wounded. The command consequently devolved on Brigadier Jones, who finding the enemy in great force, occupying and pouring a destructive fire from the roofs of strong and commanding houses in the city on all sides, the ramparts themselves being enfiladed by guns, prudently resolved on retaining possession of the Cabul gate, which his troops had so gallantly won, in which he firmly established himself, awaiting the result of the operations of the other columns of occupation. Colonel Campbell, with the column under his command, advanced successfully from the Cashmere gate by one of the main streets beyond the 'Chandnee Chouk,' the central and principal street of the city, towards the Jumma Musjeed, with the intention of occupying that important post. The opposition, however, which he met from the great concentration of the enemy at the Jumma Musjeed and the houses in the neighbourhood (he himself, I regret to state, being wounded), satisfied him that his most prudent course was not to maintain so advanced a position with the comparatively limited force at his disposal; and he accordingly withdrew the head of his column and placed himself in communication with the reserve, a measure which had my entire

approval; I having previously determined that, in the event of serious opposition being encountered in the town itself, it would be most inexpedient to commit my small force to a succession of street fights, in which their gallantry, discipline, and organisation could avail them so little. My present position, therefore, is that which, under such a contingency, I had resolved to occupy, and establish myself in firmly, as the base of my systematic operations for the complete possession of the city. This embraces the magazine on one side, and the Cabul gate on the other, with the Moree, Cashmere, and Water bastions, and strong intermediate posts, with secure communication, along the front and to the rear. From this base, I am now cautiously pressing the enemy on all points, with a view to establishing myself in a second advanced position; and I trust before many days to have it in my power to announce to the supreme government that the enemy have been driven from their last stronghold in the palace, fort, and streets of the city of Delhi. Simultaneously with the operations above detailed, an attack was made on the enemy's strong position outside the city, in the suburbs of Kissengunge and Paharipore, with a view of driving in the rebels, and supporting the main attack, by effecting an entrance at the Cabul gate after it should be taken.

"The force employed on this difficult duty, I entrusted to that admirable officer Major C. Reid, commanding the Sirmoor battalion, whose distinguished conduct I have already had occasion to bring prominently to the notice of superior authority, and who was, I much regret, severely wounded on this occasion. His column consisted of his own battalion, the guides, and the men on duty at Hindoo Rao's (the main picket), numbering in all about 1,000; supported by the auxiliary troops of his highness the Maharajah Rumbeer Sing, under Captain R. Lawrence. The strength of the positions, however, and the desperate resistance offered by the enemy, withstood, for a time, the efforts of our troops, gallant though they were, and the combination was unable to be effected. The delay, I am happy to say, has been only temporary, for the enemy have subsequently abandoned their positions, leaving their guns in our hands. In this attack I found it necessary to support Major Reid with cavalry and horse artillery, both of which arms were admirably handled respectively by Brigadier Hope Grant, of her majesty's 9th lancers, commanding the cavalry brigade, and Major H. Tombs of the horse artillery, who inflicted severe punishment on the enemy, though I regret their own loss was very heavy.

"The resistance of the rebels up to this time has been that of desperate men, and to this must be attributed the severe loss we have sustained, amounting proximately, so far as I am able to judge in the absence of casualty returns, to forty-eight officers killed and wounded, and about 800 men. Amongst those of whose services the state has been deprived, are many officers of distinction and merit, holding superior commands, whose places cannot be supplied; and I have specially to lament the loss which has been sustained by that splendid corps the engineers, nine officers of that arm having fallen in the gallant performance of their duty. Until I am in possession of reports from brigadiers and other commanding officers, I shall be unable to enter more fully into the details of these operations; and I trust the circumstances under which I write, will excuse any slight inaccuracies or imperfections which my despatch may exhibit. The absence of such reports also prevents my bringing to notice the names of those officers and men who have specially distinguished themselves. This will be my grateful duty hereafter. But I cannot defer the expression of my admiration for the intrepidity, coolness, and determination of all engaged, Europeans and natives, of all arms of the service.—I have, &c.,

"A. WILSON, Major-general.

"To Captain H. W. Norman, Assistant Adjutant-general of the army."

On the 18th of September, the adjutant-general of the army transmitted the following intelligence to the officer commanding at Cawnpore:—

"City of Delhi, September 18th.

"Sir,—On the afternoon of the 14th, I dispatched a messenger to you, intimating the success of the assault in Delhi, which took place that morning, and that we held from the Cabul gate to the college; since then we have pushed on, and now occupy from the Cabul gate along the line of the canal, with our left holding the bank, which opens on the Chandnee Chouk. The magazine was breached during the 15th, and taken by assault at daybreak on the 16th. You will understand from this that the mutineers occupy the Burn bastion, and all that portion of the city to its south, ex-

cepting the bank; they also still occupy the palace and Selimgurh, and have a camp pitched outside near the Ajmeer gate. The palace wall will be breached as soon as we attain a suitable site for our battery, which we have not yet acquired. Our mortars have been brought into the town, and are shelling the palace. The guns taken on the works have also been turned upon the portions of the town which are in possession of the mutineers, and we are gradually pressing forwards. The usual license, which invariably accompanies an assault of a large city, has somewhat retarded our advance, but order is fast being restored. At first, the mutineers offered obstinate resistance, but they have become less active. The townspeople are flying the city in crowds, and the mutineers themselves are deserting in large bodies; their cavalry, it is reported, having almost entirely disappeared. We can get no good information as to the mutineers' line of retreat, but some say Gwalior. Few pass over the bridge. Their positions at Kissengunge were abandoned on the day after the assault, seven guns being left behind in position. Our casualties on the day of the assault were: Europeans killed, eight officers, 162 rank and file; wounded, fifty-two officers, 510 rank and file. Natives killed, 103; wounded, 310. Missing, ten Europeans: total, Europeans and natives, killed and wounded, 1,145. The following ordnance has been captured: —In position and in the streets, thirty-five pieces of sorts; in the magazine, 171: total, 206. The amount of shot and shell is unlimited. I have communicated the contents of this to government.—I am, &c.,

"NEVILLE CHAMBERLAINE,
"Adjutant-general of the army."

"P.S.—19th. During the night we advanced our left up to Abbott's house, and also Khan Mahomed's house. This gives us a strong position up to within 150 yards of the palace walls. All our mortars are bearing upon the Jumma Musjeed and the southern part of the town, which is being fast evacuated, the resistance becoming much less on our right: we are also progressing by working through the houses. The king and royal family are said to have evacuated the palace, and gone to the old fort outside the city to the south. Our very small number makes it necessary to be cautious in taking possession of so large a city; for the great number we have of sick and wounded, and our losses on the day of the assault, have reduced us very much. This was too late to be sent yesterday."

The despatch was transmitted to the governor-general by the commander-in-chief, with the following expression of opinion:—

"Government-house, Calcutta, Oct. 8th.

"Sir,—I have the honour to forward, for submission to his lordship the governor-general in council, two despatches, which have arrived from Major-general Wilson (commanding the field force before Delhi), and the adjutant-general of the army. I beg very particularly to call the attention of his lordship to the matter contained in these two communications, and to give expression to the very cordial feeling I experience towards Major-general Wilson and the force under his command. It is impossible to be too lavish of praise for the untiring energy, invincible fortitude, and splendid gallantry by which this force has been distinguished, from the general in command to the private soldier in the ranks. All have done their duty most nobly; and the steadfast courage of the men has enabled the general to carry out his enterprise in spite of scanty means and a deadly season.—I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, Commander-in-chief.
"To Colonel Birch, C.B."

In reference to the above communication, the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary* of Friday, October 9th, 1857, contained—

"*Notification.*—The governor-general in council has the great satisfaction of publishing the subjoined letter of this day's date, from his excellency the commander-in-chief, accompanied by letters from the general in command, and from the adjutant-general of the army at Delhi. Most cordially does the governor-general in council join in the high encomium passed upon Major-general Wilson and his brave troops by General Sir Colin Campbell; from whom praise so hearty and so just will not fail to be appreciated by every soldier, British or native, in the army of the north-west. The noble qualities which that army has evinced during the arduous and wearing struggle of the last three months are indeed worthy of the highest admiration and praise. Its steady perseverance, and eager, resistless courage, have gloriously upheld the authority, and will not disappoint the expectations, of England.—By order of the governor-general of India in council.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India.
"Fort William, October 8th, 1857."

During the 17th and 18th, the right and left positions of the British army at the Cabul gate and the magazine, were brought into direct communication by a line of posts, in rear of which everything had been secured; and a new and yet more advanced point was gained on the latter day, by occupying the Delhi bank on the left, while the sappers on the right slowly made their way towards the Burn bastion, which, with the Lahore gate, still held out. The Delhi bank buildings were not won without some hard fighting; but once gained, they were resolutely held, as they faced the west front of the palace and Selimgurh. Within the marble walls of the former, as well as behind the massive works of the latter, the enemy still held out, playing occasionally from their artillery, and keeping up a continued fire of musketry; whilst along the streets leading to the Chandnee Chouk, the dropping sound of musketry, that told of irregular and partial fighting, was heard at intervals during the day. All the mortars belonging to the English force (most of them brought from the magazine captured on the preceding day) now played constantly upon the palace and the quarters of the town occupied by the enemy.

On the 18th, it was reported by spies, that the king, with his sons, the three royal regiments, some other corps of native infantry, and troopers of the light cavalry, had secured themselves in the palace, and were resolved to resist to the last man. They had now got a field-piece in position, in front of the Chandnee Chouk gateway of the royal residence, from which they kept up a constant but ineffective fire upon the bank.

During the evening of the 19th of September, the Burn bastion was surprised and captured by a party from the Cabul gate; and early on the following morning, the Lahore gate and Garstin bastion were likewise taken by assault. On the same day, the whole of the available cavalry had moved out through the suburbs, in the direction of, but not on the road to, the Cuttub Minar, and marched to the top of the Eed-Ghah hill, from whence they overlooked the camp of the Bareilly and Nusseerabad mutineers, under General Bukhtawar Khan, formerly a subahdar of cavalry in the Company's service. It was soon perceived that the enemy was evacuating the camp; and a loud explosion in the direction of it told, to practised ears, that the rebel troops were destroying their surplus ammunition previous to flight. The surmise was presently converted into assurance of the fact by the arrival of some hurkarus belonging to Hodson's irregulars. Captain Hodson immediately descended to the camp, which he found deserted, except by some sick and wounded sepoys, incapable of offering resistance. A great quantity of clothing, and some ammunition and plunder, was found in the camp, which bore unmistakable evidence of hasty abandonment. Another party of cavalry then entered the city by the Delhi gate, and quickly took possession of the Jumma Musjeed, in which important post they were immediately supported by a detail of infantry and some guns.

It had now become evident, that notwithstanding the boasted resolution to hold out "to the last man," the king and his adherents were about to, or already had, put in practice "that better part of valour called discretion," by seeking their personal safety in flight! In consequence of this change of purpose, the king and princes, with their attendants and a large portion of their troops, had left the palace and city during the night—the monarch and his family to seek a temporary refuge in the palace of the Cuttub Minar; the troops to carry the ravages of a war of extermination through the adjacent provinces.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 20th of September, a working party of engineers and sappers was detailed off to a large building near the Lahore gate of the palace, for the purpose of raising a battery of heavy guns, with which to batter the outer walls of the royal residence. By four o'clock the men had reached the station assigned to them, and filled in their sand-bags to make a traverse across a road leading to, and about 300 yards distant from, the gate, outside of which the enemy had still three heavy guns, that enabled them to keep up a desultory fire on the working party, which, however, accomplished its task, and then the rebels could no longer approach their guns, as the rifles, from behind the sand-bags, picked off every man as he showed himself. About 9 o'clock A.M., it was determined to break through some houses in front of the palace, in order to obtain a clear range towards the great gate of the building, with a view to batter it in preparatory to an assault. The subsequent operations in this quarter are described in the subjoined

letter of an officer of engineers engaged in this service. He says—"I waited a short time, when suddenly I saw some Sikhs and rifles run forward towards the gate, and squat down behind a low wall at the side of the road. A few men fired at them out of the loopholes of the palace wall, but did no damage. Colonel Jones then determined to blow in the gate and rush in. Accordingly, poor Home (who has since been killed) sent for powder-bags, and got 250 lbs. of powder. As he had been at one blowing-in expedition, I offered to light the fuse and lay the bags; but he said he had been ordered, and did not approve of volunteering, so he went himself. The rifles, some of the 61st, and Sikhs and Ghoorkas, were all safe some little distance off. I was with Colonel Jones. We saw Home light the train and run off. The Sikhs ran across the road up to the gate. We all ran in as hard as we could, and found a number of our officers in the front. As we entered the gate, we found pointing at it three heavy guns, loaded with grape up to the muzzle, but luckily nobody to fire them. We collected a good many men, and dashed through, finding ourselves in a very fine archway, lofty and wide, with small vaulted rooms on each side. In these were some sepoys, who were, of course, instantly killed. The first polished off, I am almost glad to say, was a sapper. We went on half-way up the archway, which is about eighty yards long, where two roads went across, right and left. We wanted to get up to the top of the towers of the gate, and one officer luckily knew the way; I followed him close with others. We searched all through the rooms, but could find no one. We then came down, and went to the other gate of the palace, called the Delhi gate, because it leads out in the direction of the old city of Delhi. Several sepoys were killed there also—one on the way to it. We saw this man come out of his hut, look at us, run back, get his musket and a powder-flask. Several shots were fired at him, but missed; at last, a rifleman beside me stopped, stretched his leg out, and took a steady aim, and killed the man in the act of loading. Having left a guard at this gate, we were returning, in order to penetrate the interior of the palace, when we saw a man coming towards us with a tulwar, not drawn, and another native weapon, which I have now. We said, 'Who are you?' He said, '*Ryot*' (that is, a peasant.) Having found him with arms in he palace, we thought this very unlikely, and so ordered him to be shot, which was done accordingly. We then went into a large courtyard, in which were lying a few bodies of men, camels, horses, bullocks, &c., killed by our shells, of which a good many marks were visible. Passing through this, we came to what was called the 'Public Hall of Audience.' Here was a marble balcony, in which the puppet king used to sit, when every one could come to the presence and make petitions. This balcony was about fifteen feet from the ground. The enclosure round it, of paling, about four feet high, is about eighty yards long and thirty broad; inside it were a number of sepoys on beds. They were all killed. I saw one man (sepoy) have both hands cut off with a tulwar, shot in the body, two bayonet wounds in the chest, and he still lived, till a rifleman blew his brains out. I did not feel the least disgusted or ashamed of directing or seeing such things done, when I reflected on what those very wretches perhaps had done; and I hope you won't think worse of me for saying so. I think I could have seen any number killed. From this we went on to the 'Private Hall of Audience.' In this no sepoys were found that I know of. This hall, where the throne was, is built of marble, and is a mixture of splendour and tawdriness, which characterise Indian buildings. I sat down on the white stone, or block of crystal, or whatever it is, on which, I believe, the king's chair used to be placed, and leant against a marble pillar, and hoped our labours were over."

The palace of the Moguls had then been deserted by its princely occupants, and the living representative of the illustrious race of Timour, was now, with his family and retainers, a wretched fugitive, shorn of his honours, and dependent even for the boon of existence upon the mercy of those he had so grievously insulted and irreparably wronged. Perhaps a more deplorable fall may scarcely be conceived than was that of the traitor, Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, titular king of Delhi.

In the course of the day, the head-quarters of the army were established in the palace, in the principal hall of which the health of her majesty Queen Victoria was rapturously drank to by the conquerors of Delhi; and, under a royal salute, the British flag unfolded its triumphant blazonry

while the building resounded with the joyous acclamations of the troops, who thus beheld the consummation of their months of toil and endurance.

Immediately that the flight of the king and princes became known, Captain Hodson obtained permission to start with his horsemen in pursuit, and came up with the elder of the royal fugitives at Durgah Nizam-oodeen, about six miles from the city. The king was at once summoned to surrender; and, after some negotiation with the begum, his favourite wife, who had accompanied him, and who stipulated for his personal safety as the only condition on which he would return alive to Delhi, Captain Hodson gave his word that the life of the king should be spared. The royal prisoner was then brought forth, and surrendered to his pursuer, who forthwith returned to Delhi with his prize.* Upon the arrival of the horsemen with their prisoner at the gate of the palace, the men on guard prepared to turn out and salute the party, but were restrained by Captain Hodson, who with a feeling of delicacy imagined the act might be construed by the ex-monarch as one of mockery. The king, with his wife, and her son (a youth of seventeen), with some half-dozen attendants, were then conducted to a small building in the courtyard of the palace, where, under a proper guard, they remained until their fate could be decided by a military tribunal.

On the following morning Captain Hodson again started, for the purpose of capturing the fugitive princes, whom he ascertained had taken shelter at the tomb of the emperor Humayoon, near the Cuttub Minar. This active officer, with 100 of his men, speedily reached the designated spot, and having taken necessary measures for preventing any access to, or egress from, the building, he ordered one of the illegitimate sons of the king (who had saved his own life by treachery to his relatives), with a Moulvie, named Rujab Ali (a trusted emissary of the late Sir Henry Lawrence), to bring the princes from their retreat. After a delay of two hours his order was obeyed, and two of the sons and one grandson of the king came out and gave up their swords. They were immediately placed in a carriage, and, surrounded by a guard of forty men, proceeded slowly towards the city. Captain Hodson then, with the remainder of his men, entered the *enceinte* of the tomb, where he found from five to six thousand of the refuse of the city and palace congregated, and armed with weapons and missiles of all descriptions. Upon his commanding the instant surrender of their arms, several shots were fired, but not one of Hodson's band was hit. The captain sternly reiterated his command, and was about to give his men the order to charge upon the rabble, when the latter began laying down their arms: 500 swords, 1,000 fire-arms of different sorts, besides horses, elephants, &c., were collected in less than an hour and a-half, without a blow being struck. Captain Hodson then rapidly followed the royal prisoners, who had by this time nearly reached Delhi. The carriage had halted, and was surrounded by an immense gathering of people, who turned defiantly upon the troopers as they approached the spot. It was not a moment for hesitation, and the captain at once dashed into the midst of the throng, and in a few but energetic words, told the people that "those men in the carriage had not only rebelled against the government, but had ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful

* The exigencies of the moment required that a wide discretion should be allowed to the authorities immediately upon the scene of action, when the personal condition of the king became a question; and, although the circumstances might not have warranted a subordinate officer in deviating from any positive order issued by government on the subject, it does not seem that Captain Hodson, in pledging his word for the safety of the king's life, did at all violate the instructions contained in the following notification from the secretary to the government, issued in the previous month, and simply prohibiting any negotiation in which restoration to his former state should be offered as a basis of future arrangement. The document referred to states, that "rumours have more than once reached the government that overtures have been made by the king of Delhi to the officer commanding the troops there, and that those overtures may possibly be renewed upon the basis of the restoration of the king to the position which he held before the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi. The governor-general desires it to be understood, that any concession to the king, of which the king's restoration to his former position should be the basis, is one to which the government, as at present advised, cannot for a moment give its consent. Should any negotiation of the sort be contemplated, a full report of all the circumstances must be submitted to the governor-general in council, before the government is committed to anything."—The notification merely refers to the question of future position, not to the preservation of life; and so it was doubtless understood by Captain Hodson; although Major-general Wilson was called upon by the secretary to the government, "to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him."—(Blue Books, No. 4, p. 106; and No. 6, p. 43.)

exposure of innocent women and children: and thus, therefore," said he, turning to the carriage with his revolver—"thus, therefore, the government punishes such traitors and murderers." Suiting the action to the word, he shot them instantaneously in succession. The effect upon the rabble was wonderful: not a hand was raised, not a weapon levelled; and the Mohammedans of the troop, and some Moulvies among the people, exclaimed, as if by simultaneous impulse, "Well and rightly done: their crimes have met with their just penalty!—these were they who gave the signal for the death of helpless women and children; and outraged decency by the exposure of their persons; and now a righteous judgment has fallen upon them! God is great!" The crowd then slowly and silently dispersed, and the bodies were conveyed into the city and thrown out of the carriage, upon the very spot in front of the Khotwallee, where the blood of their victims, a few months previous, had stained the earth. Here the carcasses remained exposed to the gaze of the people until the 24th, when, for sanitary reasons, they were removed, and cast into the river.

The following official despatch, from Major-general Wilson to the adjutant-general of the army, announces the complete re-occupation of Delhi by the English authorities:—

"Delhi, September 22nd.

"Sir,—In continuation of my despatch of the 16th instant, I now have the honour to forward a report, for the information of the major-general commanding in the upper provinces, his excellency the commander-in-chief, and the government, of the further operations of the force under my command since that date. During the 17th and 18th we continued to take up advanced posts in the face of considerable opposition on the part of the rebels, and not without loss to ourselves, three officers being killed, and a number of men killed and wounded. On the evening of the 19th, the Burn bastion, which had given us considerable annoyance, was surprised and captured. On the morning of the 20th our troops pushed on and occupied the Lahore gate, from which an unopposed advance was made on the other bastions and gateways, until the whole of the defences of the city were in our hands. From the time of our first entering the city, an uninterrupted and vigorous fire from our guns and mortars was kept up on the palace, Jumma Musjeed, and other important posts in possession of the rebels; and as we took up our various positions in advance, our light guns and mortars were brought forward and used with effect on the streets and houses in their neighbourhood.

"The result of this heavy and unceasing bombardment, and of the steady and persevering advance of our troops, has been the evacuation of the palace by the king, the entire desertion of the city by the inhabitants, and the precipitate flight of the rebel troops—who, abandoning their camp property, many of their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their field artillery, have fled in utter disorganisation, some four or five thousand across the bridge of boats into the Doab, the remainder down the right bank of the Jumna. The gates of the palace having been blown in, it was occupied by our troops at about noon on the 20th, and my head-quarters established in it the same day. The great diminution of our strength by losses in action during the last few days, added to the severe sickness prevailing among the troops, has prevented my immediately organising and sending a column in pursuit; but a force,* under command of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, will march to-morrow morning towards Bolundshuhur and Allygurh to intercept the rebels, whose intentions are said to be to cross the Jumna at Muttra. My intelligence, however, I regret to say, is very defective. The king, who accompanied the troops, it is believed for some short distance, last night gave himself up to a party of irregular cavalry, whom I had sent out in the direction of the fugitives, and he is now a prisoner under a guard of European soldiers. Three of the shahzadars† who are known to have taken a prominent part in the atrocities attending the insurrection, have been this day captured by Captain Hodson, and shot on the spot.

"Thus has the important duty committed to this force been accomplished, and its object attained. Delhi, the focus of rebellion and insurrection, and the scene of so much horrible cruelty, taken and made desolate;

* First troop, 1st brigade horse artillery; 2nd ditto; 3rd ditto; No. 7 light field battery, 9th lancers; 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab cavalry; Hodson's horse (220); two companies of Punjab sappers; her majesty's 8th regiment; her majesty's 7th ditto; 2nd and 4th Punjab infantry.

† Mirza Moghul, Mirza Kheyr Sultan, sons of the king; Mirza Aboo Bukkur, grandson, ditto.

the king a prisoner in our hands; and the mutineers, notwithstanding their great numerical superiority and their vast resources in ordnance, and all the munitions and appliances of war, defeated on every occasion of engagement with our troops, are now driven with slaughter in confusion and dismay from their boasted stronghold. The details of the operations have been so fully entered into in my previous despatch and annexed reports and returns from the various commanding officers, that little remains for me to say, but to again express my unqualified approbation of the conduct and spirit of the whole of the troops, not only on this occasion, but during the entire period they have been in the field. For four months of the most trying season of the year this force, originally very weak in number, has been exposed to the repeated and determined attacks of an enemy far outnumbering it, and supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. The duties imposed upon all have been laborious, harassing, and incessant, and notwithstanding heavy losses, both in action and from disease, have been at all times zealously and cheerfully performed.

"I beg to add my most cordial concurrence in the commendations bestowed by officers commanding brigades, columns, and detachments, on the officers and men named in their several reports; and I have to express my own deep obligations to those officers themselves for the valuable assistance I have at all times received from them. To Major F. Gaitskell, who recently assumed command of the artillery in the field, consequent on Brigadier Garbett having been disabled by a wound, and to the officers and men of that distinguished arm, to whose energy and untiring zeal the successful issue of the operations is so largely attributable, I have to offer my hearty thanks. And particularly am I indebted to that excellent officer, Lieutenant-colonel Hogge, director of the artillery depôt, who volunteered his services as commissary of ordnance with the siege-train, through whose able superintendence of the park, and arrangements for the supply of ammunition to the batteries, our artillery was enabled to deal out the destruction which was effected; as also to Captain J. Young, deputy commissary, and Mr. J. Stolesbury, assistant-commissary of ordnance, for their exertions during the whole siege. To Lieutenant-colonel Baird Smith, chief engineer, who, in ill-health and while suffering from the effects of a painful wound, devoted himself with the greatest ability and assiduity to the conduct of the difficult and important operations of the siege; to his gallant and eminently talented second, Captain A. Taylor; and to the whole of the officers and men of the engineer brigade, my thanks and acknowledgments are especially due for having planned and successfully carried out, in the face of extreme and unusual difficulties, an attack almost without parallel in the annals of siege operations. To that most brilliant officer, Brigadier-general J. Nicholson, whose professional character and qualifications are so well known and appreciated, I am under the greatest obligations for the daring manner in which he led his column to the assault; and I deeply deplore that his services are for the present lost to the state. To Brigadier Hope Grant, C.B., commanding the cavalry brigade, and to Brigadiers J. Longfield and W. Jones, C.B., commanding infantry brigades, I am deeply indebted; and I have to offer my best thanks to Colonel G. Campbell, commanding her majesty's 52nd light infantry, and to that intrepid and excellent officer, Major C. Reid, of the Sirmoor battalion, both wounded while gallantly leading columns of attack; as also to Colonel J. Jones, commanding the 1st battalion 60th royal rifles—a regiment which has shown a glorious example, both in its daring gallantry and its perfect discipline, to the whole force—for the ability with which he covered the advance of the assaulting columns.

"I have pleasure also in bringing favourably to notice the services rendered by Lieutenant-colonel H. P. Burn, attached as field-officer to the 1st brigade of infantry; and by Captain Seymour Blane, her majesty's 52nd light infantry, major of brigade to Brigadier-general Nicholson. Colonel J. L. Denniss, of her majesty's 52nd light infantry, whom I placed in charge of the camp during the operations, is entitled to my thanks and acknowledgments for the able dispositions he made with the troops under his command for the due protection of his important charge. To the officers of the general staff of the army, and to those of the staff of the field force, my cordial acknowledgments are due for the admirable manner in which they have performed their responsible duties. To the officers of my personal staff—Captain C. H. Barchard, who has served with me, first as my orderly

officer, and subsequently as aide-de-camp, and to whose zealous and untiring exertions I am deeply indebted; to Captain J. R. Turnbull, second aide-de-camp; Captain R. H. D. Lowe and Lieutenant R. C. Lowe, extra aides-de-camp—I am under great obligations for the zeal and readiness with which they, on this and all other occasions, have performed their duties. My thanks are also due to Major H. A. Ouvry, who attended me on the day of assault.

"For the valuable aid at all times rendered by the officers of the civil service who have been attached to the force, I have to record my warm acknowledgments. Mr. Hervey Greathed, agent to the deputy governor, North-Western Provinces (whose subsequent sudden death I deeply lament), and Mr. C. B. Saunders, both of whom attended me in action and made themselves most useful; Sir T. Metcalfe, whose gallantry in conducting Colonel Campbell's assaulting column through the city was conspicuous; and Mr. R. W. Clifford, who was also in attendance on me, are all entitled to my thanks. I need not observe how largely the success and efficiency of an army depends on the regularity of its supplies. Under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, in a district the population of which has been inimical, and in which civil authority has ceased to exist, this force has, from the commencement, been kept well and sufficiently provisioned with supplies of every description, the issue of rations to the soldiers having been as regular, both in quantity and quality, as in cantonments. My warmest thanks are therefore due to Lieutenant-colonel W. B. Thompson, deputy commissary-general, the admirable and indefatigable head of that department in the field; as also to Lieutenant T. H. Sibley, principal executive officer; to Lieutenant Waterfield, and to the other officers serving in that department.

"With the medical arrangements of the superintending surgeon, E. Tritton, I have every reason to be satisfied, and he is entitled to my cordial acknowledgments. At such a trying season of the year, and in a notoriously unhealthy locality, the sickness and mortality have, of course, been heavy. In addition to those suffering from disease, the hospitals have received almost daily accessions of wounded men. The labours, therefore, of the medical department have been unceasing, notwithstanding there has not been at any time the slightest failure in the arrangements for the care and comfort of the very numerous patients. The duties and offices of provost-marshal to the force have been conducted by a very deserving old non-commissioned officer, Sergeant-major Stoud, 3rd brigade horse artillery, whom I recommend to favourable consideration for a commission. I should neither be fulfilling the repeatedly-expressed wishes of the artillery officers attached to this force, nor following the dictates of my own inclination, if I failed to acknowledge the valuable assistance which has, throughout the operations before Delhi, been most cheerfully given by the non-commissioned officers and men of her majesty's 9th lancers and the 6th dragoon guards in working the batteries. Without it, owing to the comparatively small number of artillerymen, I should have been quite unable to man the batteries efficiently, or to keep up the heavy fire which, aided by these men, I have happily been able to do. To these regiments, therefore, and to Brigadier Grant, who so readily placed a certain number of his men at my disposal for such purpose, I tender my best thanks.

"It would be an omission on my part were I to pass over in silence the good services and loyal conduct of one who has already been rewarded by the government for the friendly assistance he rendered to our army in Affghanistan—I allude to the Nawab Jan Fishan Khan, who, with his brave nephew, Sirdar Bahadoor Meer Khan, and their retainers, accompanied me from Meerut, was present at the actions on the Hindun, and has since taken part in nearly every action in which this force has been engaged. Of the loyal services rendered to the state by the rajah of Putteeala, which must be so well known to the government, it may not be considered necessary for me to speak; but it is incumbent on me, in my capacity as commander of this force, to acknowledge officially the great assistance the rajah's troops have afforded me in enabling the numerous convoys of ammunition and stores to travel in security and safety to my camp, under their escort and protection. Equally is it my duty to bring prominently to the notice of government the admirable service performed by the Jhind rajah and his troops, under command of Lieutenant-colonel H. F. Dunsford. They have not only had very harassing duties to carry out in the constant escort of

convoys of sick and wounded men, ammunition, &c., but they have also aided me in the field on more than one occasion, and finally participated in the assault of the city.

"Lastly, I trust I may be excused if I thus publicly acknowledge the all-important and invaluable aid for which I am indebted to the chief commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., to whose indefatigable exertions in reinforcing me with every available soldier in the Punjab, the successful result of our operations is, I unhesitatingly pronounce, attributable; and I take this opportunity of recognising the advantage derived from the presence of the troops of his highness the Maharajah Rumbeer Sing, in alliance with the British force, the moral effect of which has been great: and, although unsuccessful, I regret to say, in the actual accomplishment of that part of the operations in which the Jummoo contingent was engaged on the 14th, I can attach no particle of blame to those troops, as I consider, under the circumstances in which they were placed, the very strong position which they had to attack, and the prolonged and determined resistance which they encountered from an enemy superior to them in number, arms, training, and experience, that they behaved, under their gallant commander, Captain R. C. Lawrence, and the other British officers serving with them (to whom my best thanks are due), as well as they could have been expected to do.—I have, &c.,

"A. WILSON, Major-general,
"Commanding Delhi Field Force."

Upon the receipt of the preceding despatch at the seat of government, the following notification was issued by command of the governor-general in council:—

"Fort William, 2nd October, 1857.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received, by a telegraphic message, the gratifying announcement that Delhi is entirely in the hands of Major-general Wilson's army. Delhi, the focus of the treason and revolt which for four months have harassed Hindostan, and the stronghold in which the mutinous army of Bengal has sought to concentrate its power, has been wrested from the rebels. The king is a prisoner in the palace. The head-quarters of Major-general Wilson are established in the Dewan Khas. A strong column is in pursuit of the fugitives. Whatever may be the motives and passions by which the mutinous soldiers, and those who are leagued with them, have been instigated to faithlessness, rebellion, and crimes at which the heart sickens, it is certain that they have found encouragement in the delusive belief that India was weakly guarded by England, and that before the government could gather together its strength against them, their ends would be gained. They are now undeceived. Before a single soldier of the many thousands who are hastening from England to uphold the supremacy of the British power has set foot on these shores, the rebel force, where it was strongest and most united, and where it had the command of unbounded military appliances, has been destroyed or scattered by an army collected within the limits of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab alone.

"The work has been done before the support of those battalions which have been collected in Bengal from the forces of the queen in China, and in her majesty's eastern colonies, could reach Major-general Wilson's army; and it is by the courage and endurance of that gallant army alone; by the skill, sound judgment, and steady resolution of its brave commander; and by the aid of some native chiefs, true to their allegiance, that, under the blessing of God, the head of rebellion has been crushed, and the cause of loyalty, humanity, and rightful authority vindicated.

"The governor-general in council hopes that the receipt of despatches from Major-general Wilson will soon place it in his power to make known the details of the operations against Delhi, and to record, fully and publicly, the thanks and commendation which are due to the officers and men by whose guidance, courage, and exertions those operations have been brought to a successful issue. But the governor-general in council will not postpone, till then, his grateful acknowledgment of the services which have been rendered to the empire at this juncture by the chief commissioner of the Punjab. To Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., it is owing that the army before Delhi, long ago cut off from all the direct support from the lower provinces, has been constantly reunited and strengthened so effectually, as to enable its commander not only to hold his position unshaken, but to achieve complete success. To Sir John Lawrence's unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy force at his

own disposal, it is due that Major-general Wilson's army has not been harassed or threatened on the side of the Punjab, and that the authority of the government in the Punjab itself has been sustained and generally respected. The governor-general in council seizes, with pleasure, the earliest opportunity of testifying his high appreciation of these great and timely services.—By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India in council.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department."

In an affair of so much importance, upon the successful issue of which it was, at one time, considered that the future destiny of the English rule in India was probably dependent, and which had naturally been an object of intense anxiety, the revelations of parties engaged in the conflict, and sharing its perils and its toils, become valuable and interesting; and as many of the exciting incidents of the siege and capture of Delhi are detailed in the subjoined correspondence and extracts, the introduction of them at the close of the present chapter may not be considered inappropriate. The first extract enters somewhat argumentatively upon the incident of the outbreak of the 11th of May, and the policy pursued by the several commanders in the early operations of the force collected for the recapture of the city, and the punishment of the traitors collected within it. The writer, an officer of engineers, dating from Delhi, September 28th, says—"You will see by the date of my letter that the task in which we have been so long engaged, is at last accomplished. Delhi was assaulted, and a portion of the city captured by us on the 14th of September. Our progress from this date was slow till the 20th, when the city was evacuated by the mutineers, and we found ourselves in possession of the whole. Thus had ended what I suppose future generations will consider one of the most extraordinary sieges in history. You will, by the time this reaches you, have learnt something more of the actual difficulties that we have had to contend against than our last English letters show; but you cannot have the same notion of the wonderful way in which our small force has been protected by Providence, as we who have been participators in all that has passed. You will hear a great deal, I will acknowledge; but there are small details which strike us so forcibly at the time of the occurrence, and these are so innumerable, that the most careful narrator will fail to tell all. Many calamities have befallen us since the 10th of May, that most of us felt tempted to look upon as irretrievable at the moment, but which a short time has sufficed to point out as the only remedies against evils of far greater magnitude. So often has our position seemed perfectly hopeless, and so wonderful have been our deliverances, that I cannot conceive the most sceptical man denying events to have been brought about by a power far above human. I will only attempt to point out to you some of the most convincing proofs of what I assert. Firstly, when the mutiny broke out, see how General Hewitt was blamed for his inactivity. The outcry was natural; and no one can deny that he was the most incompetent man that could have filled such a post. But let us for an instant suppose, that some more able man had commanded at Meerut, and even that the mutiny had, at its first outbreak at Meerut, been quelled. Subsequent events and disclosures have only proved to us that the outbreak has been premature, and that had it been overcome at the time, it would probably have come upon us at the appointed day with a force that none of us could have hoped to withstand. Secondly, let us take the fact, that the mutineers, on the 10th of May, found the Water gate (to the south of the palace) open, when all others had been shut against them. I have heard many deplore this fact; but let us suppose it otherwise. Let us suppose that all the gates in the city had been closed, and that all ingress had been impracticable. The results, I think, must have been far more lamentable even than they were. The mutineers, I think without a doubt, would not have spent much time in fruitless endeavours to enter the city, but have rushed straight up to the cantonments, where they would have been joined by the native infantry regiments there quartered. The surprise would have been most complete; and, under the circumstances, few indeed, if any, of us could have escaped from cantonments; and, with the prospect of the immense plunder in the city, I do not think they would have wasted much time in effecting an entrance, which would then have been most easy: and how would it have fared with those in the city? Thirdly, we have always

lamented the delay in the assistance of the European force from Bengal reaching us. The event has shown how far more necessary these same Europeans were down-country even than up here. Fourthly, we have three times (previously to the 14th of September) been on the point of assaulting Delhi. This was very shortly after our first arrival here on June 8th. On one occasion (June 12th) we had even sent out the advance column. I was the senior engineer with the column, and virtually had the command of it. My instructions were to advance through a portion of the suburbs of Delhi—Kissengunge, Paharipore, and those villages to the right of our position on the ridge—in close column, and when within 400 yards of the city walls, to extend to the right and left in skirmishing order. The suburbs that I allude to, I must tell you, are chiefly composed of loopholed enclosures and serais, which, you would think, had been built expressly for defensive purposes. The streets are very narrow; and the distance that we had to traverse, to reach within 400 yards of the wall, something beyond a mile. Had this position been occupied only by the merest handful of the enemy—and there was nothing to prevent its being so without our knowledge—we could certainly never have forced our way through it; and had the merest handful of the enemy only let us pass through to the extreme end of the suburbs, and then attacked us and cut off our retreat, I really think that hardly a man of us would have escaped to tell the tale. As it turned out, just as I was on the point of throwing out the skirmishers, an aide-de-camp rode up to tell me we were unsupported, and must make the best of our way back, and he only hoped we might get back safely. Most providentially, the enemy seemed to be in perfect ignorance of our movements, for not a shot was fired at us till we had almost reached camp again, and were very nearly out of range of the round shot from the city walls. On reaching the camp, we learned that the project had miscarried, owing to a misconception of orders of Brigadier Graves, in command of the second column. Loud were the abuses heaped on this unfortunate man, who seemed (and perhaps deservedly so) the butt of everybody's censure. Of course, everybody attributed to him the loss of such a seemingly good opportunity of taking the city. I think few would venture to say so now. My own (and, I think, the general) conviction is, that our force, so contemptibly small as it then was, would have been completely lost in such an immense city; and, unless the enemy had been most completely panic-stricken, would have had little chance of holding any temporary advantage that we might have gained in the first rush. I could enumerate instances of the same kind without number; but it would try your patience. I think few can ponder on all that has happened, and imagine that our work in India is done, and that Providence has altogether forsaken us."

Another engineer officer, whose letter ranges from the 21st to the 27th of September, says—"Here we are at last, thank God! having kicked out those rascals neck and crop after a twelve days' attack. The 14th was the storming day, as I told you, and I got knocked over the day before, which prevented my being present. We lost about 64 officers and 1,100 men out of 3,000 who went in. Some men say there never was harder fighting; and when we got inside, the brutes disputed every inch, till yesterday we shelled them out of the palace, charged, and took it with no loss, and all the villains in the city bolted; it is all ours now. Our men have been really most humane; they would not kill a single man who was not a sepoy, and I am glad to say not a woman or child was touched; but when I saw sturdy brutes of men, the very class who committed all the atrocities, allowed to pass out, I could not help wishing some of the soldiers would drive their bayonets through them; but I did not say so out loud, as they are very apt to take you at your word.

"September 23rd.—We have all moved down to a capital house on the banks of the river in the city; the breeze is delightful, and we are all getting as fat and jolly as if we were at home. We are getting on capitally; we have got the king (the Great Mogul) prisoner, and are only waiting for leave from Calcutta to hang him. His eldest son and heir, Mirza Moghul Beg, a most infernal scoundrel, who set the example of murdering the Europeans, was caught and shot like a dog; and his son, a man about twenty years' old; as well as the king's eldest son, Mirza's brother. I saw all the three bodies exposed in the Khotwallee this morning. I am happy to say we are not so lenient as we were. Two of our native sappers were murdered in the

city, so we went out and hunted up about fifty or sixty men, thorough rascals, and our men have been shooting them ever since. I saw twenty-four knocked over, all tied together against the walls; and when you hear those wretches, when they see they have no chance, coolly tell you, 'Well, you may shoot me if you like; I killed three Europeans in the glorious massacre,' you lose all horror at the sight, and only wish they had cat's lives, to take them all. Only four Victoria crosses have been given in the army—one to Lieutenant Home, engineers; one to Lieutenant Salkeld, engineers; one to Sergeant Smith, sappers and miners; and one to a bugler in her majesty's 52nd. So you see, we got three out of the four in our corps. Poor Salkeld is so badly wounded I am afraid he will never wear his. However, the red riband has been better than any medicine. I am sure I would have given my left arm for it; and I might have had a chance, as I should most probably have been with Salkeld, blowing-up the Cashmere gate, had it not been for that wretched grape the night before. * * * We are wonderfully comfortable in our new house; it was a powder manufactory in the days of the Mogul, and, consequently, our servants accidentally blew us up the other day, and killed one of themselves. But these little excitements are necessary. After being three months every day under fire, the change is so great, that we were thinking of paying men to fire at us daily, and so let ourselves down to a quiet life by degrees. * * * I have given up walking about the back streets of Delhi; as yesterday, an officer and myself had taken a party of twenty men out patrolling, and we found fourteen women with their throats cut from ear to ear by their own husbands, and laid out in their shawls. We caught a man there, who said he saw them killed for fear they should fall into our hands, and showed us their husbands, who had done the best thing they could afterwards, and killed themselves. We took about 280 cannon, with shot, &c., for nearly three years. Without artillery they are no good; with it, no despicable antagonists. There are no better gunners anywhere, as we discovered in this siege. By returns we lost 1,350 men and 64 officers during the assaults only. Tolerably bloody work. Our loss in the assault, out of eighteen officers on duty, was one officer killed (poor Tandy), ten wounded, many severely; one, I fear, mortally; one the day before the assault, one after: total, 13 out of 18—a tolerable number; for there were seven or eight who were on another part of the work, whom I don't count, and who are on the strength to assist the unhappy remaining five now. I am glad to say there is not much work for us just now. At present, indeed, cut up as we have been, we could not do it if we had much; as, what with officers thoroughly done up since with fever, and others sent out with movable columns, our twenty-six for duty are reduced to four."

The progress of the trench-work, preparatory to the assault, is described in the following communications, also from officers belonging to the royal engineers. The first extract says—"When once we began the siege we knew we should soon take the place, which kept us up to any work. On the 8th of September large working parties from all the regiments in camp paraded at the engineer park, taking tools with them. We marched down to within 300 yards of the walls and bastions of the city. The men were employed in filling sand-bags, and making the ground ready for the batteries. Previous to this, for about a fortnight, we had to go out at night with large working and covering parties, and cut all the trees where the works were intended to be. That was the worst part of all, stumbling about all night in the long rank jungle, sometimes five feet high, wet through with the dew, and frequently attacked by the enemy. On the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th the batteries were completed. They were immensely large, built up to the bottom of the embrasures of solid fascines; and 1,500 camels were employed nightly in carrying down the fascines. Strange to say, the enemy did not fire on us much while building the batteries. We were almost all of us on duty three nights running. On the 12th the batteries opened fire, when, after seeing the first salvo knock down a large portion of the Cashmere bastion, I was so tired that I lay down and slept during the roar of the guns for three or four hours. There were four batteries, one of them having twenty heavy guns and howitzers. The walls seemed to crumble before the weight of metal, and after two days' firing, two breaches were made and a great part of the parapet stripped off the wall. One sand-bag battery was within 200 yards of the Water bastion. The fire of musketry from the walls of the town at this bastion was

tremendous. The guns were obliged to have iron mantlets fixed on them to protect the men while working the guns. I was in the battery when poor Captain Fagan, of the artillery, was shot through the head with a musket-ball. He would expose himself, though frequently warned. He used to get up and look over the mantlets to lay his guns better. Captain Taylor, of the engineers, managed the attack admirably. He was the director of the attack. On the night of the 13th he and Lieutenants Medley and Lang, of the engineers, with two or three riflemen, crept up to the ditch and ascertained that the breaches were practicable, and got back again without being seen. Captain Taylor instantly determined on the assault for the following morning. There were five columns of attack. Two or three engineer officers were told-off to each by seniority. The seniors went with the first column, the next with the second; so Ward and myself, the unfortunate juniors (Carnegie and Forbes being sick), had to go with the fifth column or reserve; so I do not consider that we had so much danger, though the fire was rather sharp when we went in. All the engineer officers in the other columns, except Home, Lang, and Thomason, were wounded."

The second extract, referring to the engineering operations, says—"We opened our trenches on the 7th of September, and the way in which we accomplished this was one of the most wonderful parts of the siege. Our attack was divided into two—the right and left. The right was directed against the Moree bastion; and the left, to which I was attached, was directed against the portion of the walls near the Cashmere gate and church. If you can recollect the ground at all, you will remember that opposite Ludlow Castle (where Mr. S. Fraser lived), towards the river, it was occupied by gardens. The distance between this position and the city is very small, within easy range of grapeshot from No. 2 bastion, against which the thick brushwood was of course no protection. Breaking ground so close to the walls was a bold manœuvre, which few circumstances would justify, and one which we fully expected would cost us many valuable lives. Judge, then, of our surprise to find scarcely any notice whatever taken of our proceedings. It is the more remarkable, as there seemed to be no attempt at secrecy on our part, and we ourselves could hear the enemy's sentries on the ramparts. Our working party was an excessively large one; and had the enemy taken common precautions (for they could not have been ignorant of our presence), they must have inflicted very heavy losses, if, indeed, they had not entirely stopped our works. Vigilant, however, as we have always found them, this first night God seemed to have blinded their eyes to all sense of danger; for, with the exception of one shower of grape and two or three round shot directed at us, which injured no one, they fired away at our batteries on the ridge as usual. In the morning they acted very differently; for they commenced, and through the day kept up a very hot fire; too late, however, for we had managed to obtain pretty good shelter by that time; and our first battery on the right was not only finished, but armed and hard at work breaching. You would think that after the experience of our first night, they would have allowed us little peace in breaking fresh ground nearer the walls; however, even then there was not very much fire, and it was only on the third night that they seemed to awake to a sense of their danger; and from that time they kept up a pretty steady fire of all sorts, including musketry, and we certainly lost some men. You may fancy that the engineers had little time to themselves. I was not in bed for four nights, and, as you may imagine, pretty well done up. There was only one battery (only 150 or 200 yards from the walls) to be finished, and it was the excitement alone that kept us awake. I had a party of her majesty's 61st and 8th regiments under me, filling sand-bags. The fire was very hot, and I was anxious to get my men under cover in some pits, where the earth was softer to dig. I was leading them to the pit, when, the night being dark, I fell into one that I had not seen, and sprained my leg and ankle so severely that I was obliged to be taken to camp in a dhooly. There I lay on my back till the day of the assault. I don't think that anybody in camp knew for certain the time of the assault till within two hours of the time. I was in my tent, away from the mess, and therefore had no opportunity of hearing anything about it till the rattle of musketry told me that something was doing. Of course, stopping in bed was out of the question; and as my charger was *hors de combat*, I had no choice but to mount my little pony Donald. I had my doubts about my new charger, a very pretty little beast, and perfect in every

respect except courage, being one of the most determined shyers that I have ever seen. However, I had no choice for it, so I mounted, and in due course of time I found myself at the Cashmere gate. Our columns had entered, and one had even penetrated as far as the bank, but being unable to withstand the murderous fire, was compelled to retreat. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could keep my seat, for on reaching the branch roads outside the Cashmere gate, the bullets and shot of all descriptions were flying about like hail, and one which struck close to the hoofs of my pony frightened him so that he became quite unmanageable. However, I got him through the gate, and a fearful sight it was that met my eyes.

"A portion of our troops had escaladed the bastion walls close to the gate; others had scrambled up two large breaches in the walls and bastion near the treasury. The remainder had entered at the gate itself, which had been blown open by one of our officers. The latter was really the hazardous duty of the day, and was most gallantly performed, though in broad daylight. The explosion party consisted of Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, of our corps, a few sappers, and a bugler of her majesty's 52nd. On their nearing the gate they found it slightly open, with a number of muskets protruding at the opening. They were received with a volley, which killed and wounded a number. Still, however, they advanced, and fixed their powder-bags on to the gate. Sergeant Carmichael, of the sappers, tried to light the portfire attached to the bags, but was shot dead in the attempt. After him Corporal Burgess, of the sappers, tried, but fell, pierced with three bullets. After Corporal Burgess, Salkeld tried, but fell into the ditch, shot in the leg, which is broken, and in the arm, which has been amputated. Sergeant Smith, of the sappers, tried next, and he and Home, between them, happily succeeded without a wound. Seeing the portfire well a-light, the whole party jumped into the ditch; and the enemy, little dreaming of what had been done, continued firing till the explosion took place, so you may fancy what effect it had. Twenty of the mutineers strewed the road inside the gate, not one of whom would it have been possible to recognise; and this was the first sight that met my eyes at the gate. Little wonder that Donald refused to move; however, finally he did, and got as far as the centre of the Main-guard, beyond which nothing would urge him. It was perfect agony keeping my seat, and I would have given worlds to dismount; but walking was out of the question; it was anything but an agreeable fix to be in. I felt how perfectly useless I was; and being the only mounted man there in the open space, fully accounted for the number of bullets whistling past my ears. There was no help for it, so I had to make my way back to camp as I best could, fully convinced of my own folly. You may imagine I had done neither leg nor ankle much good by the trip, and I had not many opportunities of seeing the remainder of the operations. We progressed slowly after this for two days; but having obtained possession of the magazine containing about 130 guns, there could no longer be much doubt as to the result. The enemy, who had hitherto so stoutly resisted us, was losing heart, though he had succeeded in beating us back with loss, and kept us at bay at two or three points. Daily and nightly large numbers continued to leave the city till the 20th, when we found ourselves in perfect possession, and the entire city evacuated. Immediately on receiving news of the evacuation I started for the palace. You can have no conception of the scene of confusion—riflemen, Ghoorkas, Sikhs, and Punjabees quarrelling over their plunder; and such plunder to quarrel about! Old counterpanes, dirty blankets, tin and copper pots and pans, sepoys' red coats, baskets, papers, packets of tinsel, bottles of rose-water and otto of roses lying here, there, and everywhere, and the whole place in a state of squalor and wretchedness passing all description. On turning into the gardens in front of Douglas's stables I found myself alone. I cannot tell you what a scene of desolation presented itself to my eyes. The garden had been an encamping-ground of the sepoys, and everything bore witness to its having been deserted in hot haste. The tents were still standing; but it seemed as if everybody had taken his armful out of the boxes, and, without caring for what might drop, had made the best of his way out of the place. The stillness, too, after the noise and riot that I had just quitted, was really appalling, and I stood at the foot of the stairs stupefied as if with a heated atmosphere, and unable to move. I was roused by hearing three cheers from the apartments above me."

Another correspondent says—"The Cashmere gate presented a horrible sight; thirty or forty sepoys, some blown up and others bayoneted and shot down, were lying all about. It was the same all along the walls. No quarter was given; but they made very little defence, and retired into the city, where they again made a stand. I went into the bastions. Such a scene of ruin you never saw. Almost every gun was dismounted, or had a great piece of iron knocked out of it, and dead sepoys all around. The troops took up their quarters in the college and church, but the enemy fired on us all night. We made a battery by the college, and commenced shelling the town and palace. We lost most of our men in the town. They advanced too far without support, and were fired at from the walls and houses. Our losses, from the 14th to the 20th, were sixty-four officers and 1,380 men killed and wounded. On the 16th we attacked and took the magazine. I went with the column. We took them by surprise, and they offered very little resistance; but in the afternoon they returned and attacked the magazine, and set the roof on fire. We had to get up on the roof with leathern bags of water and put it out, while they threw large stones at us. They were fanatics, I afterwards heard. I think that day I had the narrowest escape of any. After putting out part of the fire, I was just jumping down, when three of them put their heads over the wall and took three deliberate shots at me, all of which missed. They could not have been above ten yards off; I fired my revolver at one, but don't know whether it hit him or not. A sergeant of artillery then got on the top of the artillery magazine with 10-inch shells in his hand; he lighted the fuse, and dropped them on their heads; five or six he let off in this way. He must have killed a great many, for they fled almost directly. On the 20th, after our pouring into it a tremendous fire of shell, we attacked the palace. There were very few sepoys found in it. They had all fled during the night. Thank God it is all over; I am sick of bloodshed and seeing men killed."

An officer describing the assault on the 14th of September, observes:—"The Cashmere gate was blown open in the most gallant manner by the engineers, and our troops marched in. The scaling parties on the right and left took the walls, but with great loss. Pandy was perfectly unconscious of our movements until the columns rushed forward; the ramparts were now cleared, and the guns turned on the rebel city. Our troops advanced in different directions, and were succeeding better than expected, when several stores of beer, champagne, and brandy, placed there by Pandy (he knowing too well the character of the British soldier), were fallen in with, and some of the European troops became a drunken rabble. We were driven back some distance, where we made a stand. Guns were now brought up with mortars, and the firing became incessant against the magazine, the first stronghold. Our troops fought well, and took a great many guns. Every street had its one or two pieces, which poured grape into our advancing columns, and could only be captured by the bayonet. General Nicholson received a mortal wound while cheering on the men to a second charge at a gun. On the 21st I rode down to see the palace; the wall and entrance are the finest part. The interior is dirty, filthy, and in great disorder, Pandy having revelled in its cool archways. The hall of justice and the king's throne are entirely built of white marble; the latter is inlaid with stones and mosaics. I went all over the state apartments and the harem. The latter is a curious place, and had a remarkable appearance; its floor covered with guitars, bangles, &c., and redolent of sandal-wood. The fair daughters of Cashmere had their swing in the centre of the room. They had left in a great hurry; dresses, silks, slippers, were lying on all sides. On leaving the palace I met a dhooly, surrounded by some cavalry, and a few natives on foot. Its inmate was a thin-faced, anxious-looking old man. This was the new king of Hindostan, the descendant of the Great Moguls, entering his palace in the hands of his enemies. He was captured some distance from the city. Being eighty-five years of age, his life is to be spared. He will be kept a close prisoner for life."

Another letter, of the 24th of September, describes a visit to the dethroned and captive majesty of Delhi in the following terms:—"The day after the king was caught I went to see him with two or three officers. He was in a house in a street called the 'Lâll Kooa'-street—that is, the Red Well-street. He was lying on a bed with cushions, &c., a man fanning him, and two or three servants about. He is, and looks,

very old, being very much wasted; has a very hooked beak; short white beard; not at all a regal looking swell. He looked in a great fright, and, apparently, thought we had come to insult him, &c.; but we only took a look, and then came away. I hope to get a likeness of him in a day or two."

A correspondent, attached to the English commissariat, says—"We have seen the captive king and royal family; they are in ruinous little rooms in one of the gates of the palace. The old king looks very frail, and has a blank fixed eye, as of one on whom life is fast closing. He certainly is too old to be responsible for anything that has been done. With his sons much more guilt may lie: some have been shot, as you must have read; some are yet untaken. The youngest son we saw, looking like fifteen—they say eighteen; bold and coarse to look at. He is the only child of the queen. With her some of our ladies have had a long interview; they found her seated on a common *charpoy* (bedstead), dressed in white cotton clothes, with very few and very trifling ornaments, all her grand things having been taken from her. She is described as short and stout, above thirty years of age, with a round, animated face, not at all pretty, but having very pretty little plump hands; she was cutting betel-nut to eat with her pawn. Some thirty females, relatives and menials, surrounded her. She professes the utmost horror of the 3rd cavalry, to whom she traces all her misfortunes. She says the king was helpless to control them, and that when their arrival had placed Delhi in rebellion against us, they were as ready to rob her as any one else. She says the mutineers did rob the palace, and that all her jewels were only saved by being buried. She does not seem to blame us for their present captivity; she understands the necessity for inquiring into guilty or innocent parties; but she did not seem to assert the king's innocence as much as her own. She said he had been in the hands of bad people. There appeared to be frightful rivalries among the women; it is said she criminated the sons of the former wives, she being the last. Her sister is represented as much better-looking than herself, and has a daughter of thirteen married to the king's youngest son, already mentioned, and reputed very beautiful. Our ladies describe her as having superb large eyes, and a most beautiful little mouth, but her face otherwise too flat and full. Some of the women told them they had had Englishwomen and children in the palace after the massacre, in hope of preserving them; but the mutineers demanded them, and could not be resisted. They say the sepoys complained that the king was feeding Englishwomen daintily, while he only gave them gram for food. Heaven knows if the royal family be clean in heart and hand or not."

An officer who, in his tour of duty, had charge of the royal prisoner, writes thus:—"I was on guard over the king and his wives and concubines, on the 24th and 25th, and was obliged to be much on the alert to prevent rescue or attempts at escape. I was ordered to shoot him if things came to the last extremity. Yesterday I handed him over to a guard of the 60th rifles, being precious glad to be relieved of so responsible a position. We daily find hidden in the houses sepoys who were unable to escape from sickness or wounds; these are all put to death on the spot. On the 24th I caught a fine tall sowar, or trooper, of some light cavalry regiment, dragged him out into the street, and shot him dead. No mercy can be shown to them. We don't forget, and won't forget, the massacres of women and children, and we kill every sepoy we catch. The city is quite deserted, and all the citizens have fled. It is curious to see a large place like this without a soul in it. We have plundered all the shops, and all the valuables are being collected and sold for prize. Our vengeance cannot be appeased, for we found several of our men who had been merely wounded on the 14th in the assault, and overlooked by us, lying dead *minus* their heads, and fearfully gashed with sabre-cuts; and so we spare no one. Every sepoy we catch, 'Shoot him' is the word. I'm sorry to say our regiment has suffered much; and we have buried four officers, and upwards of 200 men, since it left Ferozepore."

Of the interior of the city, we have the following descriptive sketches in letters of officers, ranging from the 21st to the 28th of September:—

"It is a frightful drive from the palace to the Cashmere gate; every house rent, riven, and tottering; the church battered, and piles of rubbish on every side. Alas! the burnt European houses and deserted shops! Desolate Delhi! and yet we are told it is clearing, and much improved since the storming of the place. It has only as

yet a handful of inhabitants in its great street, the Chandnee Chouk; who are all Hindoos, I believe. Many miserable wretches prowl through the camps outside the city, begging for admission at the various gates; but none are admitted whose respectability cannot be vouched for. Cartloads of ball are daily being dug out from the Moree bastion, now a shapeless, battered mass. Every wall or bastion that faced our camp is in almost shapeless ruin; while the white marble pavilions of the palace arise unharmed along the Jumna's bank. In one of these live the ——. There is no describing the beauty and quaintness of their rooms. I long for photographs to send home. They are all of inlaid marble, with semianahs pitched in the zenana courts between; but all around speaks of awful war: the rows on rows of captured guns; the groups of English soldiers at every post; and not English only, for our brave defenders, the Ghoorkas, Sikhs, and Cabulees, mingle among them. A strange army, indeed, with not a trace of pipeclay."

Again we read—"For a description of the riches of Delhi my pen is inadequate. Cashmere shawls inlaid with gold, bodies covered with gold lace. skirts of dresses, watches, bars of gold, beds of silk and down, such as no nobleman's house in England could produce, you would see Sikhs carrying out of Delhi the first day, as if they were almost nothing. A shawl which in England would fetch £100, they were selling for four rupees; and you may depend our fellows were not behind them. * * * It is supposed the rifles will go to England with upwards of £1,000 each, though General Wilson has issued an order that the prizes shall be all put together and divided. Most of our men are worth upwards of 100 rupees."

Another writer gives the following description:—"Since the 22nd of September, we have lived in the city, in a place called Durria Gunge, in a large house formerly owned by a nawab, and in which a number of people took refuge on May 11th, and held out in the upper story, till, being promised quarter, they went down, and met the fate of those who trust to the mercy of such villains as the sepoys proved themselves. The house had been afterwards used as a powder manufactory. We found several barrels of powder, and all the materials for making it scattered about. We were afraid of a blow-up; and, unfortunately, we were not disappointed. On the morning after we had occupied I went out riding, to see part of the town; and on returning, I found everybody outside the house, and everything turned out, and was told there had been an explosion. It appeared that one of my servants had been smoking in the lower story, and some ashes from his hookah dropped on the floor on a lot of pounded charcoal, sulphur, and inflammable stuff; the consequence was the explosion, and the house partially set on fire; while my poor servant was so scorched, that although I took him to the hospital directly, he died in two days. No one else was hurt, but a good deal of damage was done. We are very glad we took Delhi without reinforcements from England. A good deal of loot has been found, and we all expect to get some prize-money some day or other. Numbers of Cashmere shawls and Delhi shawls, silk dressing-gowns (called chogas), handsome native coats (called chapkans), scarfs, &c. A good deal of cash, too, has been dug up, having been buried by the owners. I have heard also of jewels being found; but as all the bankers, jewellers, and rich people had bolted long before the assault, I do not give much credit to the stories I hear. The Jumma Musjeed is a most beautiful building. You ascend wide steps, which go all round it, made of red stone, brought from near Agra. The wall is built, and the large open space paved, with the same stone. Inside the temple, the pavement and walls are of marble, and luckily not adorned, as I said the palace was. There are many good houses in the city, but so hard to find. There are very few good streets—that is, wide ones. Riots occurring daily on account of plundering. Some men of a native corps actually fired on a guard of ours to-day, in consequence of the men preventing them from breaking into a house where valuables were secured. Our men wounded some, and took two prisoners, who will, no doubt, according to order, suffer death. It is almost impossible to prevent looting, the city is so large. I have heard about some ladies being murdered on our entering the city, but no authentic news of it."

A letter from the camp, dated September 26th, says—"We are left behind, in a camp strewn with dead animals in all directions, and with all the filth of three months'

encampment. Within a hundred yards of my tent is the churchyard, a very small space, but containing the remains of nearly 1,000 men. The graves are like mole-hills, as close together as they can pack; and on digging a new one, the stench that issues is revolting, and the wonder is that a plague has not broken out, and taken us all off while exposed to these things, the sick included. We have about 4,000 sick and wounded at present. It will rapidly decrease now, I trust, the weather becoming much cooler. Cholera is still carrying off individuals here and there. It has never entirely left us since June. It is extraordinary the stillness now. It is, in truth, unpleasant. For three months, day and night, the cannon have been firing; now a musket-shot is rarely heard. Do not suppose that I like the noise in preference to the quietness. I do not wish ever to see or hear another gun fired in action. War is certainly an awful scourge; and when these rebels are cut up, I hope India may long have peace. Our camp is swarming at present with old men, women, and children, without food or money. They have lost everything, and are obliged to be fed by our commissariat. A famine will be raging this season all through this part of India. No fields have been cultivated, no money circulated; so starvation must stare them in the face. If it fell upon the Goojurs chiefly, no one would regret it, as they have committed more mischief than any other sect; but the innocent will also suffer."

The following interesting passages, also extracted from a private letter, may conclude the selection from Indian correspondence so far as it relates to the recapture of Delhi. The writer says—"When we received the news of the occupation of Delhi, I found my way across country, and came in with the vultures, to have a look at the carcase of the reconquered city. Those who called the fortifications of Delhi a garden-wall, have only to walk round them to be satisfied of their mistake. The defences are exceedingly strong; and though the heights, a mile distant, facilitate a siege, they by no means, for practical purposes, give any real command of the place. From a mere artillery point of view, the place is stronger than Bhurtpore ever was; and yet it proves that our main difficulty was inside, not outside Delhi. Street by street the enemy contested every foot of ground, and occupied position after position with a courage and determination worthy of a better cause. There is no doubt, that on our occupation of a part of the city, our army became disorganised to a degree which was highly dangerous when the battle was but half won. Whether the collection in the part of the town which we first assaulted, of vast quantities of wine and spirits (the produce of the plunder of a long line of road on which those articles are the main staple of European commerce), was really the result of deep strategy on the part of the mutineers, I cannot say; but it does seem as if the only common bond which unites the various races fighting under our standard, is a common love of liquor; and Europeans, Sikhs, Ghoorkas, and Affghans, are said to have all indulged to an extent which might have been disastrous. In truth, the days which followed the first assault were a time of great anxiety. Our progress was slow; the number of men whom we could bring into action curiously small; and the abandonment of the positions held by the enemy was, I believe, a relief to the generals, even though we did *not* exterminate the mutineers. In fact, I believe that the bridge of boats was purposely left intact by our batteries; we were well content to leave a bridge to a flying enemy. I do not think that the enemy were actually forced out by our shells. I was surprised to find how little damage was done by them. The walls of the palace are almost intact; so are by far the greater portion of the buildings inside; and it is quite clear that the chances were yet very much in favour of such as chose quietly to sit in them. In fact, I fancy that our mortar batteries were by no means very strong, and not sufficient to do effectually such extensive work; but both the sepoys and the king's party had had enough of it. The fire was, no doubt, hot, and was becoming more so; so they retreated, carrying with them most of their valuables, but leaving all the heavy guns and other bulky articles. As to pursuit, the infantry was simply completely knocked up, and unfit to pursue for a single mile, and the general would not risk the mounted branch alone; so he contented himself with securing his conquest, and the city of Delhi is completely ours. For the taking of Delhi, I believe that General Wilson—slow, cautious, calculating, and purely an artillery officer—has been the right man in the right

place, and that we have been very fortunate in him. He is neither a square man nor a round man, but a very peculiar man, who has found his place in the very peculiar situation before Delhi; and, amid much to perplex, has very steadily held his cautious course till, by a favouring Providence—having meantime averted all the possible and probable *contre-temps* which might have prevented the issue—he has at last triumphed. But Delhi taken, I believe that his part is played. General Wilson seems to have been born to take Delhi, and he has taken Delhi; so let us be thankful."

Upon examining the apartments occupied by the king and his chief officers in the palace, many papers were found that threw a light upon the intended proceedings of the rebel monarch; and from them it appeared that the kind of government to be permanently established for the city and immediately surrounding country, was more of the nature of a military than of a Mohammedan government. It seems to have been a sort of constitutional monarchical milocracy. The king was king, and honoured as such like a constitutional monarch; but, instead of a parliament, he had a council of soldiers, in whom power rested, and of whom he was in no degree a military commander. No Arabic or Persian names, forms, or terms appear to have been introduced; but, on the contrary, the English terms and modes of business were generally adopted. All petitions seem to have been presented to the king; but the great authority to which almost all of them, on all matters both civil and military, were referred (by order endorsed on the petition), was the "Court"—a body composed of a number of colonels, a brigade-major, and *seketur* (or secretary), which latter functionary seems to have been the most important personage in Delhi. All the colonels, &c., were sepoys who made their mark, or, at best, signed in rough Hindoo characters. Very regular muster-rolls of regiments were kept up, and authenticated in due form by the colonel, adjutant, and quartermaster. From these documents it also appears, that they went so far into detail as to fill up the places of the European "sergeant-majors" and "quartermaster-sergeants."

One sepoy colonel had presented to the king a kind of memorandum on the best mode of administering the country after getting rid of the "Feringhees." First and foremost, he advises his majesty to collect as much money as he can, from any quarter, by any means whatever, as a capital to start upon. Second, he avers that there is no doubt that, with all the faults of the English, their government was the best that Hindostan has ever seen, and he proposes that the future administration should be based on their model; and then, in many headings, he goes into details evincing considerable thought and shrewdness. There was also among the papers, a very long and enthusiastic account of the destruction of the European garrison of Futteghur. A petition was found, from a man who sought to be appointed collector of the district in rear of our army, on a solemn pledge that he would collect the revenue and stop the supplies of the Europeans, or, if not, would submit to be blown from a gun; but the prudent order is "to be considered when the hill (the British position) is taken!" There were also many communications from native princes, who either promised or temporised much.

The requirements of retributive justice had yet to be satisfied by the exemplary punishment of the royal traitor and his sons. The king himself was reserved, on the score of advanced age, for the more formal and dilatory procedure of a military commission; but for his principal instruments in the dire work of rebellion and carnage, no unnecessary delay was accorded in disposing of them, and their fate was as promptly decided as the severity of it was merited. Soon after the capture of the king, followed by that of two of his sons and a grandson at the tomb of Humayoon, two others of his progeny were also captured, and tried by a military commission, for aiding in the revolt and massacres.

Evidence was produced before the court, principally documentary, consisting of reports, returns, &c., bearing the prisoners' seals, showing that they exercised command of their regiments, and acted. In their defence they pleaded total ignorance of the intention of the sepoys to mutiny, and said that when the Meerut mutineers first reached Delhi on the 11th of May, they (the princes) thought it was a Russian invading army! They were then summoned to an audience by the king, and a few days after were appointed colonels of regiments at the request of the sepoys themselves. The court, however, found the prisoners (Prince Mirza Bucktawar Shah, and Prince Mirza Ma-

hadoo) guilty, and sentenced them to death; and, accordingly, they were shot by a party of the 60th rifles. Detachments of rifles, artillery, sappers, and Ghoorkas, and a great number of spectators, were present at the execution. The bodies were afterwards cast into the Jumna.

A letter of the 14th of October, referring to this occurrence, says—"Yesterday morning two princes, sons of the late king, were shot by musketry. I went to the palace the evening before, and saw them told their approaching fate. They said, 'Very good, it is our fate;' or words to that effect. It is wonderful how quietly these people (Mussulmans) take it. They were taken in a cart to the outside of the wall of the city, near the river, just at sunrise, and shot by riflemen, their bodies being afterwards pitched into the river."

On the 10th of October, the following message was transmitted, by the secretary to the government of India, to General Wilson:—

"The governor-general received yesterday the despatch of the 21st ultimo, those of previous dates having reached him. The governor-general in council heartily congratulates you and your brave army upon the brilliant success which you have achieved. You have nobly earned it, and the governor-general in council offers you his warmest thanks. The governor-general in council desires that you will at once proceed to demolish the defences of Delhi. You will spare places of worship, tombs, and all ancient buildings of interest. You will blow up, or otherwise destroy, all fortifications, and you will so far destroy the walls and gates of the city as to make them useless for defence. As you will not be able to do this completely with the force at present available at Delhi, you will select the points at which the work may be commenced with the best effect, and operate there. If, as has been reported to the governor-general in council, the king of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad, under an escort, as soon as this can be safely done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempts at a rescue, and must consist in part of some European infantry and cavalry, with some field guns. Any member of the king's family who is included in the promise, is to be sent with the king. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the king, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the king, he is to be brought to trial under Act 14, of 1857. The special commissioners appointed for this purpose, are Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner of the Punjab; Mr. C. G. Barnes, commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states; and Major Lake, commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states. You will summon these officers at once to Delhi, in the event of a trial of the king taking place. Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence, and frame the charges. Should the king be found guilty, the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the governor-general in council."

Before the above message had reached Delhi, Major-general Wilson had been compelled, by ill-health and fatigue, to relinquish the command of the gallant army he had guided to victory. The remark of one of the correspondents, from whose letter we have extracted an interesting passage upon the subject of his probable retirement from active service, appeared to have been prophetic. With the conquest of Delhi General Wilson's "part had been played": and it had been well played to the end. Of the services of this valuable officer the following summary is recorded:—Major-general Archdale Wilson is a scion of a Norfolk family of high antiquity, and first-cousin of the present Lord Berners. He was born in 1803; and, in 1819, obtained a second-lieutenancy in the Company's artillery, arriving at Calcutta in September of that year. Having served with distinction at the siege of Bhurtpore, under Lord Combermere, in 1826, for which he received a medal; in 1839 he was invested with the command of the artillery force stationed at Lucknow. In 1840 he was appointed to the charge of the foundry at Cossipore, and superintended the casting of most of the guns which were turned against the British forces before Delhi; the arsenal of which city was completed and stored during his tenure of office. In 1847 he succeeded to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the command of a battalion. This gave him an opportunity of distinction of which he did not fail to take early advantage; for the second Sikh war, which was commenced in 1848, was decided in our favour by the battle of Goojerat, which has been called "emphatically an artillery battle;" and the late Sir H. Wheeler

recommended Colonel Wilson for honorary distinction for his services. The next appointments held by Colonel Wilson were those of commandant of artillery at Jullundur, and afterwards at Dum Dum, the most important artillery command under the Bengal government. In 1855 he was promoted to the command of the artillery throughout the presidency, with the command of the station of Meerut, whither, since the time of Sir Charles Napier, the head-quarters of the regiment of artillery had been removed. He was further promoted, since the outbreak of the mutiny, to the command of the Meerut division, in supercession of General Hewitt. On assuming command he was at once ordered to Delhi, and crowned his professional career by victory, gained by consummate prudence and heroic daring.

Upon Major-general Wilson retiring from the command of the army of Delhi, he was succeeded in that distinguished post by Major-general Nicholas Penny, C.B., an officer of high standing in the army. General Penny was born in 1790, and was gazetted to an ensigncy in the Bengal army in February, 1807, obtaining his lieutenant's commission December 19, 1812. During the war of 1814, '15, and '16, Lieutenant Penny was actively employed in Nepaul; and in the latter year, also, in the Mahratta war. In 1817 he served with distinction under the Marquis of Hastings, and in 1818 won laurels at Gurrah Khota. In 1823 he came to London on furlough; but, returning to India in 1825, he accompanied the commander-in-chief on service to Agra, and acted for a time as deputy quartermaster-general with the forces near that city. In the same year he took part in the siege of Bhurtpore, and was thanked by the commander-in-chief for his services on that occasion. In the following year he was nominated major of brigade on the establishment, and appointed to the command of the Muttra and Agra frontier. In 1828 he was appointed deputy assistant-adjutant-general on the establishment, and also to the command of the Dinapore division, from which he was shortly afterwards removed to the presidency at the express order of the governor-general, the late Lord William Bentinck, being allowed brevet rank for his services in the field. In November, 1837, he was directed to take charge of the adjutant-general's department at the presidency; from which post he was transferred, in June, 1841, to the command of the Nusseree battalion, for the efficient drill and discipline of which he was so frequently thanked by his superiors, that his name became almost a by-word and a proverb for energy and activity. At the same time he was directed to act as assistant-adjutant-general at Barrackpore, in which capacity he was again reported as a "most zealous and efficient officer." In the Sutlej campaigns he commanded, at first, the 12th brigade of the fifth division, and the 2nd infantry brigade on the breaking up of the 12th. He was present at Aliwal, where he was in the very thickest of the fight, and was thanked for his gallantry on the battle-field. General Penny was again engaged at Sobraon, where he was wounded; and Sir Hugh Gough recommended him, "in the most earnest manner," to the notice of the governor-general, for the spirited manner in which he and his gallant troop had overcome "the most formidable opposition."

After an uninterrupted career of success and promotion, during which he received the medal for Aliwal and Sobraon, General Penny was gazetted a C.B., and appointed honorary aide-de-camp to the governor-general. He attained, in 1854, the rank of major-general; and in May of the following year, was appointed to the divisional staff of the army, and posted to the Cawnpore district: from thence he succeeded Major-general Wilson in the command at Meerut; and again following his steps, replaced him as commander-in-chief of the army of Delhi.

Returning to the subject of the demolition of the fortifications of Delhi, it seems that the propriety of that step was questioned by Sir John Lawrence, chief commissioner of the Punjab; who, on the 21st of October, wrote to the governor-general in council as follows:—

"I have received your message of the 20th. The king's life has been guaranteed. There can be no object in sending down the three officers named by government;* and I can ill spare their services at present. As regards the fortifications of the town, I should be glad if General Penny would delay their destruction, until government can receive and give orders on my despatches of the 9th and 15th of October. I do not think that any danger by delay could arise. If the fortifications be dismantled, I would suggest that it be done as was the case at

* Messrs. Montgomery and Barnes, and Major Lake: see previous page.

Lahore: we filled in the ditches by cutting down the glacis, and lowered the walls, and dismantled the covering-works in front of the gates and bastions. A wall of ten or twelve feet high could do no harm, and would be very useful for police purposes. Delhi, without any walls, would be exposed to constant depredation from the Meeras and Goojurs, and other predatory races: even such a partial demolition will cost several lacs of rupees, and take a long time. Works at Lahore cost two lacs; and occupied upwards of two years."

On the 22nd of the same month, General Penny wrote to the secretary to the government thus:—

"Your message to Major-general Wilson, now sick at Mussoorie, has been sent to him to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him. The king, agreeably to instructions, will be sent to the fort of Allahabad as soon as the road shall be freely opened; but that cannot be immediately. In communication with the engineers, I will get everything in readiness for the destruction of the fortifications; but as the chief commissioner of the Punjab has requested the work to be stopped until an answer can be received from government to a reference made by Sir John Lawrence, and as the delay will involve no detriment to the contemplated work, I have consented to the propositions. I solicit early instructions."

And here, with the sword of retributive justice suspended over the smoking city, its streets desolated, its palaces in ruins, its king a wretched captive, and the rebel host that had converted it into a Golgotha, scattered to the winds; it may be well, by way of *résumé*, to indulge in a brief retrospect of the circumstances that had led to the deplorable climax, and to the heroic achievements by which that climax was attained.

There can be no doubt, that upon the first indications of discontent among the troops at Barrackpore, Meerut, and other places in the early part of May, the importance of the fact was lamentably underrated, and that the supreme government actually believed that the mutinous spirit could be repressed, and subordination restored, without having recourse to other than the ordinary means at hand; that the disaffection was partial, and would be removed by simply withdrawing an obnoxious innovation upon the religious prejudices of the sepoys: in short, that it was confined to the Bengal presidency, and, if necessary, could be put down by the European force in the vicinity, and the contingents of our allies among the native princes, though all the native regiments in the Company's service should become affected by the assumed grievance. Even after the serious outbreak at Meerut, and the revolt at Delhi, it was thought it could only be necessary for the English commander to appear before that city, to ensure its surrender; and that, with its restoration to English rule, the pacification of the country would doubtless follow. To effect this purpose, therefore, a small army was put in motion towards Delhi from the north; while detachments, to augment its ranks, came up from the south in scanty numbers, far from support, and without any base for military operations, until the proximity of the city itself was reached; but unforeseen difficulties lay in the way of progress. The means of transport were not ready; the heat was excessive; and the commander of the "army of retribution" (as the force of General Anson was at first designated) was without heavy artillery. It was then, as if for the first time, discovered that the city of the Moguls, which had been literally given into the hands of the rebels, was not a mere imaginary fortress that could be taken by a rush, and held by a handful of European troops; but that it was a large and strong place, which, with a singular fatality, we had been for years storing with the appliances and resources of a first-class arsenal; and, in spite of repeated warnings, had persisted in confiding such resources to the protection of native troops alone; thus placing in their hands the most dangerous and effective means of offence, whenever they should be stimulated, by disaffection or fanaticism, to avail themselves of the opportunity. At length the opportunity occurred; and the consequence was, that the calculations and arrangements of the Anglo-Indian government were overturned, and a series of unparalleled disasters ensued. In an incredibly short time from the first bursting forth of the flames of rebellion, the mutineers had possessed themselves of the largest arsenals, had occupied the chief strategic points, and, at every turn, outnumbered, by ten to one, the Europeans opposed to them in conflict. At length the army reached the heights of Delhi; and upon those heights, from June to Septem-

ber, the British lines were maintained almost altogether upon a defensive principle. Sorties, that thinned the ranks and exhausted the strength of the army, were of daily occurrence, and, for a long time also, of daily-increasing boldness. A small besieging army, without artillery, lay for weeks in front of a garrison held by at least one-fifth of the enormous native levies of Bengal, with upwards of 260 pieces of ordnance, and munitions of war that were inexhaustible, at their command. For some time it was a question whether the constantly-increasing accessions to the rebel force would not compel the English to retire from their position by the mere pressure of overwhelming numbers; and the failure in so doing may be attributed partly to want of rebel courage for a hand-to-hand attack, and partly to the determination and tenacity with which the English trenches, from the left extremity of the ridge down to the river bank, were held by a mere handful of gallant defenders. Moreover, after the signal defeat of the mutineers at Nujufghur, on the 26th of August, their offensive operations became for a time paralysed; and such was the effect of their terror, that on the 31st of the month, a white flag was sent into camp, to ask for terms; with a proposal on the part of the troops, to give up all actual murderers, provided the rest of the force within Delhi was suffered to go free: but the instant reply of General Wilson—"Unconditional surrender—any other rebel coming to propose terms will be hung—future negotiation must be carried on at the cannon's mouth"—settled the question of capitulation. At length, on the 6th of September, the siege-train arrived; on the 8th the batteries were opened within 700 yards of the walls; and the bombardment commenced preparatory to the final assault. The English troops—which had passed from the hands of two commanders-in-chief, whose decaying energies were prostrated by the fatigues of active service—were now under the command of Major-general Wilson, and barely numbered 8,000 men, with forty heavy guns and howitzers, and about twenty-two mortars, none of which, as we have observed, were in position for effective service until the 8th of September. The ordinary methods of approach were then resorted to; and at daybreak of the 11th of the month, a heavy cannonade was opened against the city, that increased in intensity as the day advanced; and then, for two more successive days and nights, the agents of destruction poured forth their iron hail against the walls and bastions of the rebel capital. On the 14th the assault was made: the gallant rifles covered the heads of the storming columns, one of which rushed through the smoke and *debris* of an explosion at the Cashmere gate; a second and third dashed over the bodies of dying traitors, through breaches in the shattered walls, and swept the ramparts; and again the British colours floated victoriously upon the walls of Delhi. But the city was not to be won in a day. For a week the enemy fought from street to street, and from house to house. On the 17th, the English batteries commanded the bridge, the Selimgurh fort, and the palace; all of which were kept under an incessant fire of shells. The rebels at length came to a conclusion that the town could be no longer held, and, accordingly, sent off their baggage and plunder, with the intention to follow when it had gained a fair start. The inhabitants took refuge in the palace, or fled the city over the Jumna bridge, or by the Delhi gate. Many of them came into the districts of the city occupied by the English troops, and were passed out of the town unhurt. Streams of people and cattle also poured out of the Ajmeer gate; and, a few days later, the city was described as void of inhabitants. Houses, mosques, bazaars, were tenantless; and large districts of the capital of Mohammedan India, with its 200,000 inhabitants, were changed to the desolateness of Pompeii. By the 19th great numbers of the mutineers had effected their escape from the city; but a remnant of the rebel host still remained in and about the palace, and exhibited to the last moment their determined spirit by mounting a single gun behind a breastwork, near the Lahore gate of the royal residence, with which they continued to play upon the English troops at the bank. The act was inoperative as far as the desire of mischief was concerned; but it evinced the obstinacy of those engaged in the duty of resistance; since, two days previously, the greater portion of the guns, to the number of 226, had been taken from the rebels, and there was not the slightest possibility of their recovering, by this single field-piece, one inch of the ground from which they had been driven. On the 20th, by five o'clock in the evening, the struggle for Delhi was

over; and the entire city, the palace, the Jumma Musjeed, the Selimgurh, and the bridge, were in the possession of the English troops. Such of the insurgents as could then escape appear to have been seized with a panic; for they deserted their camp outside the Ajmeer gate, leaving their clothing, bedding, cooking utensils, and other necessary articles behind them. So ended the siege of Delhi! The number of troops by whom the assault was successfully carried was disproportionately small, when compared with the numbers and resources of its defenders; but the perseverance, the energy, and the indomitable courage of Englishmen, determined to avenge their murdered countrymen, and the helpless women and children sacrificed by the malignity of a treacherous and unmanly enemy, overcame every obstacle.

The dastardly flight of the greater portion of the rebel troops and of their phantom king, had, as we have seen, preceded by a few hours the final attack upon the palace, the marble pavements of which were, but a few months previously, stained with the blood of the helpless victims of Mohammedan lust and cruelty. It is needless here to contrast the position of the aged traitor—who for years had enjoyed the honours of a titular monarch within those walls; possessed of ample revenue, surrounded by a host of retainers, and ruling his dependents in mimic state—with that he occupied when, led back a prisoner, he again entered the outer gate of the palace of his mighty ancestors, a miserable and hopeless captive—a withering trunk, from which every living branch was now to be torn, and whose inevitable future was henceforth only to be traced by its desolateness and despair.

The consequences entailed upon the inhabitants of Delhi by the insane and revengeful passions of the mutinous soldiery, and the infatuated folly of their Monghol princes, were necessarily most calamitous: their homes were destroyed—their families scattered—their property at the mercy of outlaws and plunderers, whom they dared not resist and could not propitiate;—before them peril, and around them, on every side, death in its most revolting form: for them no alternative was left between the ruin brought upon them by their own people, and impending utter destruction by the hands of others; unless, indeed, the scarcely-to-be-hoped-for mercy of their exasperated conquerors should concede to them the miserable privilege of bare existence. They sought that mercy, and were not refused it: and yet, when it is remembered that the inhabitants of Delhi, if not actually in arms with the mutineers of May, had sympathised with, and encouraged them in their atrocities—that the people of that city had stood by when the most frightful outrages upon suffering humanity were wantonly perpetrated by their licentious, brutal, and unmanly princes and ruffian soldiers—that they had permitted Englishwomen to be paraded naked through their streets in the face of day, and had gloated over their agonies, and mocked their despair, without lifting one hand to prevent the indescribable wrong;—when these things were remembered (and it was impossible but that they should be so), it would have been no great wonder if English soldiers, in the hot fury of the strife, when the streets of the guilty city, the actual scenes of the outrages, were open before them, should have associated all they met with the foul pollution cast upon the name of Englishwomen, and have retaliated upon the cowardly abettors of such wrong as they would upon the actual perpetrators of it. But, to the honour of the British arms, no massacre of the inhabitants followed the storming of the city. On the contrary, all of its unarmed population that appealed for British protection, appear to have received it.

The capture of a city is about the greatest trial that can be put in the way of the temper of troops and the authority of a general; it is a wild, exciting, lawless scene—the *finale* of a long and slow process, when patience and endurance have to give place to vehement action; and passion, after being reined in and suppressed for weeks or months, bursts out with unrestrained fury. On such an occasion, soldiers must be excited; for such excitement is an essence of the very nature and duty of war, and the reckless daring of the assault could not be sustained without it: and yet, when the field is won, and the enemy is prostrate before the uplifted sword of the victor, how swiftly does this excitement subside into pity, and the hand that has stricken down a foe becomes the first to bind up the wounds it has inflicted.

With the conquest of Delhi, the *prestige* of the Indian rebellion passed away. The war, still fed by isolated bands of insurgent soldiery, might yet, for a time, spread its de-

vastating influences in different directions, and at remote points; but the chief seat of its strength was lost. So long as a descendant of the Moguls could spread the banner of his race from the ramparts of his palace at Delhi, rebellion had an emblem, a prospect, and a name to strive for; but with that banner trailing in the dust, that Mogul a powerless captive, and his vast army a scattered rabble, little remained for the iron heel of the conqueror but to trample out the smouldering fires that, for a time, continued to scorch and sear the ravaged provinces of Central India.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DEFECTION OF HOLKAR'S CONTINGENT AT INDORE; DEATH OF COLONEL PLATT; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEANS; CONDUCT OF THE MAHARAJAH; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE; THE OUTBREAK AT MHOW; INCIDENTS OF THE REVOLT; ARRIVAL OF EUROPEAN TROOPS; REVOLT OF PETTY CHIEFS OF MALWA; FLIGHT FROM BHOPAWUR; REVOLT OF THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT AT AUGGUR; MURDER OF LIEUTENANT O'DOWDA; FLIGHT OF EUROPEANS; ADVENTURES ON THE ROAD AND IN THE JUNGLE; ALARM AT AGRA; ARRIVAL OF NEEMUCH AND NUSSEERABAD MUTINEERS; BATTLE OF FUTTEHPORE SIKREE; DEATH OF CAPTAIN D'OYLEY; DESTRUCTION OF THE CANTONMENT AT AGRA; OFFICIAL REPORT; 14TH NATIVE INFANTRY DISARMED AT JHELUM; 58TH NATIVE INFANTRY DISARMED AT RAWUL PINDEE; MUTINY AT SAUGOR; ENGLISH OFFICERS CALLED INTO THE FORT; FIGHT BETWEEN THE NATIVE TROOPS; DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE MUTINEERS; OUTBREAK AND MASSACRE AT SEALKOTE; MURDER OF DR. GRAHAM; PURSUIT AND DEFEAT OF MUTINEERS; RETRIBUTION; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

HAVING detailed the varied incidents connected with the siege and capture of Delhi, from the arrival of the "army of retribution" before its walls in June, until the complete reoccupation of it by the British troops in September, we shall now revert to occurrences that were progressing in other quarters simultaneously with the events narrated in the preceding chapters.

The month of July was rife with the horrors and calamities of savage and relentless warfare. From the gray dawn of its first morning, until the midnight hour of the last day of that month, murder and rapine stalked wolf-like through the provinces of India; and although at every point where insurrection raised its head it was promptly beaten down and repulsed by the valour and prudence opposed to it, still the distress and suffering inflicted upon families and individuals, through the exterminating ferocity of the rebel hordes who had madly rushed upon a career of destruction, was vast in its extent, and too often irreparable in its consequences.

INDORE and MHOW*.—Upon intelligence of the mutiny and revolt at Neemuch† reaching these places, a considerable degree of excitement became visible among the troops stationed at them; but the vigilance of the Maharajah Holkar at the one station, and of the English authorities at the other, had the effect, for some time, of repressing the ebullitions of bad feeling. At Indore, on the 1st of July, the troops consisted of a regiment of Bhopal contingent cavalry, three companies of Bhopal contingent infantry, with two guns; two companies of the Malwa Bheel corps, a regiment of the Mehidpore contingent, and a detachment of Holkar's contingent, with three guns. Those of the Bhopal's were placed near the residency, which was then occupied by Colonel Durand, the political agent at the court of Holkar. The guns belonging to Holkar were kept at a distance; and no immediate outbreak on the part of any of the troops appears to have been expected, although the conduct of some of the men was far from satisfactory. The storm was,

* INDORE is the chief town of Malwa, a state of Central India, belonging to Holkar, and is situated about thirty miles south-east of Oojein, on a finely-wooded table-land, at an elevation of 2,000 feet from the sea. It is modern, having been wholly built within the present century, upon the site of a village belonging to the Princess Ahilya Baee, who is described as being "the most illustrious ruler of the Holkar dynasty." There are some spacious streets and a few good buildings, but the massive granite palace of the rajah is the only edifice of any importance.—MHOW is a small town situate about fourteen miles south of Indore, and derives its only claim to notice from its existence as a station for the Company's troops.

† See *ante*, p. 211.

however, nearer at hand than was anticipated; and it burst upon its victims with sudden and terrible effect.

A little after eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st of July, the troops belonging to the maharajah, without any previous warning, broke into open mutiny, and proceeded with their three guns towards the residency, then under the protection of the two companies of Bheels and the Bhopal cavalry, both of which vainly attempted to arrest the progress of the mutinous corps. The cavalry under the command of Major Travers behaved with excellent spirit, until he ordered them to charge the guns, when, of the forty troopers present, five only followed their officer to the attack, and those would have sabred the artillerymen had the latter not skulked under the guns. This effort to cripple the enemy having failed, the major retired to the residency, followed by the enemy, who had now, with their guns, reached an open space in front of the flower-garden, intending to cannonade the buildings in which all the Europeans that could escape from the town had assembled for protection. Meanwhile, intelligence of the outbreak, with a call for immediate assistance, had been transmitted to Mhow, where Colonel Platt, with the 23rd regiment of native infantry, and some cavalry, under the command of Major Harris, were stationed. A spirited resistance was still kept up by Major Travers, who brought the two guns of the Bhopal contingent into play, and prevented the mutineers from entering the grounds of the residency, until, as by one impulse, the whole of the troops that had assisted in the defence, with the exception of the Bheels and a few troopers, deserted to the mutineers, threatening, at the same time, to shoot the European officers if they ventured to interfere with them. At this juncture, it was perceived that a large and tumultuous body of troops, both infantry and cavalry, with several guns, were approaching the residency, followed by a rabble from the town; and it became evident, that if an effort was to be made to escape the impending danger, not a moment was to be lost. As the whole of the carriages and horses belonging to the European residents were in the possession of the mutineers, no other means of flight were at hand, of which the ladies and children could avail themselves, but the gun-carriages at the residency; and these were at once brought to the rear of the buildings, and used for the conveyance of the fugitives, who left the place as the rebels broke into the front enclosure, their retreat being covered by Major Travers and the few troopers that still continued faithful. During the tumult, Holkar himself did all that lay in his power to re-establish order and protect the Europeans, and he resolutely refused to countenance the behaviour of his rebellious subjects. Fortunately, the greater part of the European residents at Indore were saved by this timely retreat; but several persons belonging to the post-office and telegraph establishments, who had not been able to escape from the town, were barbarously murdered.

Major Travers, writing of this affair from Lahore, on the 4th of July, gives the following details of the outbreak and subsequent proceedings. He says—"A little after 8 A.M. on the 1st, Holkar's troops suddenly attacked us at Indore: they cut down a number of poor telegraph people, and dosed us with a supply of our own grape, furnished them from Mhow. My only cavalry at the moment available, were a few always kept saddled in the square of the stable-yard; the others, being in the Mehidpore cavalry lines, were in a measure cut off, and required time to saddle and come round. The Mehidpore infantry were neutral, and our own (Bhopal) nearly in as bad a state. To strike a blow, and an effectual one, was of the greatest importance, and in doing this not a moment was to be lost. Placing myself at the head of the few cavalry ready, though not properly formed, I led them against both the guns and infantry supporting each other, at first with something less than twenty men: the affair seemed almost hopeless, but our only chance. As I cast my eye back, and found only six or seven following me, and not in good order, much as I despise the Mahrattas as soldiers, I saw we could not by any possibility make an impression. Still, at it I went; to draw rein or turn after giving the order to charge was too much against the grain. I came in for a large share of their most polite attention. My horse was wounded in three places; I had to parry a sabre-cut with the back of my sword; but God, in his great mercy, protected me, and the dastardly gunners threw themselves under their guns. Had I had thirty or forty good sowars at the time, with their hearts in the right place, I would have captured their three guns, and

cut their 200 infantry to pieces; but what could half-a-dozen do against so many? The foe then moved into the plain in front of the flower-garden, to blaze into the residency. I instantly moved up and attacked with my two guns (the Subahdar Sewlale and the gunners behaving nobly), and drove them back, disabling, apparently, one of their guns.

"The rest of my cavalry now came up, asking to be led to the charge; but I could find no bugler, nor could I get the men into proper order. They seemed uncertain whom to trust—who were friends or who foes; and to lead them on as they then were would have been destruction. They would have been taken in flank by Holkar's numerous cavalry, and overthrown. My infantry was reported in a state of mutiny, so it was all up. —— decided upon retreating, drawing off the children and ladies before we were completely surrounded. Although we could have held the residency for a few hours longer, we should have been unable to withdraw the poor helpless women and children, many of whom had to be put upon the gun-limbers and waggons, as all Holkar's force was pouring out of the city, and the rascals also. I covered the retreat with the cavalry, and we made for Mundlaisir, *viâ* Simrole Ghat; but we found that, during the previous night, a strong force had been sent to occupy the Ghat, and prevent our escape in that direction. It was therefore necessary to change our route, and that instantly, for we all knew that delay would be death. We then continued our march until we had left the Maghoghur Pass behind us; for had that been occupied, we should have been still in difficulties. Even then we could only halt for an hour or so, as we had to look out for the Tuppa Pass. At last that was got over; men and cattle done up, the poor ladies and children bearing up wonderfully, or better than that: at Koorlee we rested for three hours, and then pushed on for 'Ashta,' which we reached yesterday, the 3rd. How the weaker portion stood so much is wonderful."

Tracing the route of the fugitives, the major again writes on the 8th:—"A large party left for Hosungabad a few days ago. The begum (Bhopal) has clearly told us that the whole of India is now at enmity with us—that our remaining here is a source of weakness to her, and endangers the state and her: we have, therefore, no other option but to depart for Hosungabad, taking with us as much of the contingent as choose to go, which will be few. The remainder I leave here in charge of the begum, and we trust to retain the contingent thus, who are angels in comparison. I lost everything at Indore, as did every one. To say my heart is heavy, is no word for it; but what can be done? Matters are indeed horrible. The 5th infantry, Gwalior contingent, murdered Dr. and Mrs. James, and Lieutenant and Adjutant O'Dowda; the others, with a large party, are coming this way. Terrible rain; and so many poor women and young children exposed night and day to it."

The following letter, written by a native functionary at the court of Holkar, describes the conduct of the latter during the outbreak of the troops, and the state of the place after the flight of some, and the massacre of other Europeans on the 1st of July. The writer, dating from Indore palace, July 8th, says—"At last, the worst has happened at Indore. The two companies and three guns which have so long been, at Colonel Durand's request, sent to protect the residency, broke out into open mutiny on the 1st instant, and fired on the residency-house. Colonel Durand, Mr. and Mrs. Shakspeare and child, Mrs. Dutton, Major Stockley, Captain Waterman (all European gentlemen), went away quite safe to Lahore.

"Poor Mr. M'Mahon and Mr. Butler, and some of the East Indian writers and telegraph people, have had a severe loss of lives. After the firing began, Molabux and Surroop-Narain escaped to the town. I stood for a while, keeping all the Baboos and their families and the treasures with me, and sent his highness word that we wanted protection. He sent out a few horsemen, by whose assistance I safely reached the palace, and the Baboos the town. Meanwhile it appeared that not only those companies alone, but almost all the troops of his highness, were disaffected more or less; for no one would go out to attack the mutineers, among whom Saadut Khan, Bukshee Hafeez's son, had taken the lead. The work of rapine and destruction lasted long, and the whole residency presents a regular scene of woe. The poor maharajah was quite horrified. The troops told him it was a case of *deen* (faith), and they would not go against their brethren.

"There seems to have been an under-

standing between them and the Mhow troops; for, simultaneously with Indore, the Mhow regiments shot the good old Colonel Platt, Major Harris, and a few others, and burnt some bungalows. The Rev. C. Hamilton, Captain Elliot, and all the other officers, are quite safe. Early on the morning of the 2nd, the whole of the 23rd regiment and the wing of cavalry arrived at Indore, and put up at the residency, together with their brother-mutineers: the disorder that lasted for two days can hardly be described; servants were plundering their masters, old retainers were shamefully revolting, not for 'deen,' but actually for plunder. The mutineers dictated their own terms to the maharajah; and, not satisfied with receiving all they wanted, they proposed to him the hard terms of cutting off and sending to them the heads of a few poor Europeans and Christians, to whom he had given protection in his own palace, together with those of his advisers who were in the British or 'Kafir's' interest. Of these, unfortunately, I was one, and Ramchuder, Khooman, and Gunish; and you can conceive his highness's situation; but he firmly refused to yield to any such terms. On the 4th, the general plunder of the town of Indore commenced; there was no end of fright. Our own guards began to run away with our property, and the whole was confusion and uproar. At last, the maharajah rode with a very few of his paigah, guarded the posts, and then went to the mutineers' camp with a handful of followers, and told them, in the name of 'deen,' to cease plundering. He said he would, as long as he lived, never consent to give up his European *protégés*, dead or alive, nor those of his courtiers; and, though he knew his troops had deserted, he would yet die manfully if they did not cease plundering. The rascally mutineers had also philosophers and historians among them; they reminded the maharajah of his illustrious ancestor Jeswunt Rao Holkar; that he ought yet to take the 'bambo' upon his shoulders and proceed to Delhi with them; that the star of the British in the East had set, owing to their pride and faithlessness, and his highness must not prove himself to be a coward. But to all this harangue his highness made proper answers. He said he had no strength of his forefathers; that he did not think rapine, and the murder of poor women and children, a part of any religion; and that he could not therefore make a fit companion to them. He then came home, and the plundering in the town ceased. On the evening of the 4th, they plundered the British treasury to the extent of ten lacs, and, with about six of the guns, which had been given over to the mutineers, marched on towards Dewar. The panic is yet great; his highness endeavours to recover the guns and the treasury, and has sent an attack; but I don't know if it will succeed. His highness is giving every assistance to the European officers in Mhow fort; and about twelve lacs of the remaining and the recovered treasure, with notes to the value of 24½ lacs, was sent to Mhow, under a strong escort, together with the European *protégés*. All the ringleaders have gone away with the Mhow brigade to Delhi; a great part of the property has been recovered. I went to see the residency and my house yesterday, and I could not help bursting into tears to see its ruins. So you see the fearful consequences of your leaving Indore. The authorities were told months before there was danger, yet they could do nothing. Last night a letter was received from Captain Elliot, stating that Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, who had fled in disguise, were caught at Umjheera. His highness immediately ordered 300 foot, 200 horse, and two guns, under Khooman Sing, to blow up Umjheera; but though the troops have marched, the report appears to be incorrect, and Captain H—— and party are all safe at Jabooah, Molabux having received a letter to that effect. We have just dispatched runners to bring correct news. I am yet alive; but momentarily expect my head to be cut off, owing to old enmities, and being known to be in the British interest. Pray do come out soon or Malwa is gone; your presence is equal to five regiments. I can't write more.—I am, your obedient servant,

"OMEID SING."

One of the ladies who fortunately escaped from the residency, has given an interesting account of the outbreak, and describes the retreat in the following terms:—

"It was now urged by all, that unless we took advantage of the present moment, escape would be impossible, and a general massacre would follow. The cavalry, which was our sole reliance, were preparing to fly, their only thought being to save

their own lives, and ours also, provided we chose to accompany them; if not, to leave us to our fate. Under the circumstances, retreat seemed the only alternative, and the order was most reluctantly given by the resident. He and others had hoped to hold out till relief could arrive from Mhow. Our carriages and horses were in the hands of the mutineers. We, ladies and children, &c., retreated at the back of the house, while the guns were raking the front. We mounted the gun-waggons, sitting upon shot and powder-boxes, and were slowly dragged by bullocks. The guns, with the few cavalry and some infantry who did not desert us, followed with the officers. As we retreated over the plain, we saw the smoke of the burning bungalows, and for some time heard heavy firing, the shot from the enemy's guns passing close among us; mercifully not a soul was hit. I kept continually looking back to see that —— was safe. Of course, I could but be truly thankful that our lives were spared; but I confess I felt keenly with —— the mortification of being compelled to leave without our troops having made a good stand. As to fear, that was far less present with me than vexation and disgust at the conduct of the wretched cowards who were our sole reliance. With a hundred European soldiers we should have held the place. * * * The destructive wretches, after we left Indore, commenced doing all the damage they could—cutting up carpets with their tulwars, smashing chandeliers, marble tables, slabs, chairs, &c.; they even cut out the cloth and lining of our carriages, hacking up the woodwork. The residency is uninhabitable, and almost all have lost everything. I might have saved a few things in the hour and a-half that elapsed between the outbreak and our retreat, but I had so relied on some of our defenders, and felt so secure of holding on, that flight never for a moment occurred to me.

"On the morning of the outbreak it was imagined, because Holkar sent no messengers (while his troops were firing upon the residency), that there might have been connivance on his part; but he (Holkar) says that all his troops mutinied, and that his own life was in as great danger as ours. His vakeel narrowly escaped being shot by some of the infantry as they were rushing past Holkar's palace towards the residency. The vakeel attempted a remonstrance upon their going without orders from the maharajah, when instantly several muskets were levelled at him, and he was asked what he was saying? He readily replied, 'I was only saying that you should take plenty of ammunition!' Upon hearing this, they lowered their arms and passed on. The greater part of these troops are still at Indore, having assisted in all the violence and plunder; only a small portion of them went finally off with the Mhow mutineers, so we have a nice collection near us; but no fear of their having the courage to attempt any attack upon Mhow, which has a wing of her majesty's 14th dragoons and a wing of her majesty's 86th (which came in to-day), and some artillery, &c. They never would stand a charge of our dragoons for a moment, superior as they are in numbers."

Of the whole number of Europeans massacred at Indore, amounting to thirty-four individuals, many were so horribly mutilated as to leave no clue to their identity. The following only were recognised—namely, Mrs. Beauvais, the wife of the postmaster; Mrs. Crawley and her young child, Mr. and Mrs. Norries, Mr. Murray, Mrs. and Miss Macbeth, and five children; Mr. M'Mahon, two Parsees, Mr. Payne, Mrs. Alphonso, Mr. Brooke, Mr. and Mrs. Avery, and Mr. and Mrs. Bone. Amongst those who escaped were Colonel and Mrs. Durand, Captain and Mrs. Shakspeare, Major Travers, Dr. and Mrs. Knapp, Lieutenant and Mrs. Cobbe, Mrs. Robertson and two children, Captain Ludlow, Captain and Mrs. Mallingot, Colonel Stockley, Mrs. Dutton, Sergeant and Mrs. Murphy. Messrs. H. Hammond and Williams, Mr. Shields, Messrs. Martin, Collins, O'Brien, Galloway, Norries, Tinley, Farrell, Moran, Beauvais, and Crawley; Lieutenant Waterman and Dr. Thornton, of the 1st light cavalry. The house of the latter gentleman being the most distant from the cantonments, he had no means of escaping the rebels but by creeping into a drain, from which he only emerged on seeing some troops approach his asylum.

MHOW.—While these events were progressing at Indore, the Europeans at Mhow were also in imminent peril; for there, too, a mutinous spirit had burst forth in wild revenge for imaginary wrongs, that could not be atoned for but by the blood of many good and gallant men, who had braved the dangers of the battle-field to fall ingloriously by the felon hands of their own treacherous

soldiers. The following despatch of Brevet-major Cooper, of the 23rd native infantry, at Mhow, furnishes the melancholy details of the whole occurrence:—

"Head-quarters, Mhow, July 9th, 1857.

"It is with feelings of extreme pain that I fulfil the duty of reporting, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, the circumstances of the mutiny of the sepoys of the 23rd regiment native infantry, and the murder, by their hands, of Brevet-colonel Platt, commanding the regiment, and of Lieutenant and Brevet-captain and Adjutant Fagan. On the 1st of July, 1857, Colonel Platt received, about half-past 10 A.M., a pencil note from Lieutenant-colonel Durand, agent for governor-general in Central India, at Indore, stating that the residency at that place was attacked by Holkar's troops. Subsequent information came that Lieutenant-colonel Durand had been overpowered, and that he, with several officers and ladies, had been obliged to fly for their lives from Indore, accompanied by a few faithful troops only. About noon, Colonel Platt dispatched the two flank companies of the 23rd regiment native infantry, under command of Captain Trower, and accompanied by Lieutenant Westmacott, down the road to Bombay, with orders to bring back into cantonments, at all hazards, two 9-pounder brass guns, belonging to the maharajah, which had passed through Mhow two hours previously, with the assistance of a troop of 1st light cavalry, under Captain Brooke (who overtook the guns, and brought them to a standstill till the infantry came up); this duty was satisfactorily performed, and the guns brought back into the fort at Mhow about 3 P.M.; no casualties having occurred in the detachment.

"Meanwhile, Colonel Platt was taking every precaution for the defence of the cantonments, expecting an attack from Holkar's troops, and placing full reliance on the loyalty and attachment of his regiment. The ladies and children, with the European battery of artillery, were ordered into the fortified square, and the officers of the 23rd native infantry were ordered to proceed, at dusk, to their men's lines, and remain there all night, ready at any moment to turn out and repel any attack. At about a quarter past 10 P.M., several of them were sitting together, talking, in front of the lines of the grenadier company, when a shot was heard from the cavalry lines on the left, followed by several others. Immediately afterwards the fusiliers commenced in the rear of the lines of the grenadier company 23rd native infantry, and was rapidly taken up from right to left all along the lines of huts. The men were evidently firing on their officers, who, supposing the lines were attacked by Holkar's troops, went towards their respective cavalry lines and the quarter-guard to turn the men out to repel the attack. It soon, however, became evident what was the true state of the case, and finding they could do nothing, and as the parade-ground was literally whistling with bullets fired from the lines at them, the officers made their escape to the fort; there they found Colonel Platt, who had not as yet been down to the lines, and whom it was difficult to persuade of the fact of the regiment having mutinied, so confident was he of their loyalty.

"However, the men of the regiment on duty at the fort gate were immediately disarmed and turned out by the artillery, and four guns of the horse battery were immediately got ready, and went down to the sepoy lines. Colonel Platt, however, without waiting for them, ordered Captain Fagan, his adjutant, to accompany him, and the two rode down together to the lines of the 23rd native infantry. They were never seen alive again; all night, after the return of the four guns, they were anxiously expected; but it now appears that they were shot down by the men by a volley whilst Colonel Platt was in the act of haranguing them, and before the guns had time to come up. Their bodies, as well as those of their horses, were found next morning lying on the parade-ground, in front of the bells of arms, literally riddled with bullets. Colonel Platt had also been fearfully gashed by the cut of a tulwar across the mouth and the back of the head. The two guns, under Captain Hungerford, of artillery, opened on the lines with grape and canister, and speedily cleared them of their occupants. The men all rushed out of cantonments, not even waiting to take their property with them, and, with the cavalry, went off to Indore, not, however, before they had managed to burn down the regiment mess-house and the bungalows of several other officers. Since then small parties have occasionally returned, or have been hanging about the neighbouring villages, from which the guns drove them out on the following day.

"The remainder of the officers, with their families, are safe in the fort at Mhow, and the officers have all placed themselves under the orders of Captain Hungerford, commanding the fort, and act as volunteers for night duties and sentries on the walls, and to accompany the guns, mounted as a covering party, whenever they have occasion to move out. They, with myself, await the orders of his excellency the commander-in-chief as to our future disposal; but as yet the disturbed state of the country will not admit of our leaving the fort. Of the men of the regiment, only the drum-major, a Mussulman, and five Christian drummers, have remained with their officers. Two sepoys preserved the life of Lieutenant Simpson (who was on picket duty with them on the night of the mutiny), and brought him safely into the fort next morning; but though I promised these men promotion to havildar, they have since gone and joined their comrades. The colours of the regiment have been carried away, as well as the arms, except a certain number recovered; returns of which shall be hereafter furnished. The regiment magazine has been blown up by Captain Hungerford's orders. We are now in a dangerous position, in a weak fort, utterly untenable against an enemy with guns for any length of time, with only a handful of Europeans in the midst of a country risen all around; but we trust to be able to hold our own until such time as assistance, so much needed, may reach us.—I have, &c.,

"CHARLES COOPER, Brevet-major,
"Commanding 23rd regiment N. I."

The outrages and murders of the day had not sufficed to appease the vengeful feeling that raged among the troops: more victims were required; and the following report from Captain Brooke, of the 1st Bengal native cavalry at Mhow, describes the manner of the sacrifice. Addressing the deputy adjutant-general of the army on the 5th of July, the captain writes thus:—

"Sir,—It is with great regret that I do myself the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, the mutiny, on the night of the 1st instant, of the right wing of the 1st cavalry, and the murder of its late commanding officer, Major Alfred Harris. As the next senior officer present of my late regiment, I venture to send the following detail of the conduct of the men prior to, and on the occasion of the late lamentable outbreak; and would, at the same time, solicit his excellency's excuse for what must necessarily be a hurried and imperfect report.

"For a considerable time after hearing of the mutiny of the 4th and 6th troops of the corps at Neemuch, on the 3rd of June, the men were in a very unsettled state; the constant watch, however, kept upon them, and the judicious measures used by the late Colonel Platt, had the effect of quieting them down, so that we had great hopes of being able to weather the storm; but on the morning of the 1st of July, the intelligence reached Mhow of the attack on the Indore presidency by the troops of the Maharajah Holkar. The effect produced by this intelligence was immediately noticed on our men; many talked of fears for their own safety; others hinted to their officers that danger was impending. Within half-an-hour of the Indore news reaching us, the 3rd troop, under my command, was directed to proceed on the Bombay road, and recover the guns belonging to Holkar, which had passed unheeded through the cantonment about two hours before, and which were supposed to have been sent on to occupy the passes and obstruct the advance of General Woodburn's column. Some few of my men demurred at being sent on this duty, and lagged behind; but, on the whole, I was satisfied with their conduct, especially when, on nearing the guns (two brass 9-pounders, manned by about twenty-five artillerymen), they charged them, and the capture was effected without any loss on our side.

"It was agreed that we should all sleep in our lines that night, the ladies and families of all officers having resorted to the fort during the day, not, however, from any fears from our men, but from an apprehension of an attack from the rajah's troops. Our tent was pitched ten paces in front of the quarter-guard. The regiment was warned to be ready to turn out at a moment's notice; and each man, with the major's permission, slept with his arms alongside him. Nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the night until about ten o'clock, when a bungalow close in front of us was set fire to; the men appeared to take little notice of this act of incendiarism. Lieutenant Martin, the adjutant, remained conversing with the men at the guard, and was so occupied until about eleven o'clock, at which hour, in an instant, a most fearful

and never-to-be-forgotten yell was raised; the trooper with whom Lieutenant Martin was conversing turned round and fired two pistols at him. We all rushed off across the parade in the direction of the fort, having no time to mount our horses, and pursued and fired on by the whole guard, and the men now issuing from all parts of the lines. Firing commenced in the 23rd lines about three minutes afterwards. We had, consequently, to run the gauntlet of the whole of their fire as well; but all contrived to reach the fort in safety, except Major Harris, who was found dead on the parade-ground the next morning, with a frightful sabre-cut on the throat. The lines were entirely deserted and plundered during the night; the only man who remained being a Christian trumpeter, who was stripped of his arms and clothes by the mutineers. The officers of the regiment are now acting as a cavalry guard for the support of the European battery, under the orders of Captain Hungerford.

"In conclusion, I have the honour to report, that the last accounts (dated the 19th ultimo) from the five troops of the regiment on duty at Kherwarra were very favourable, and the men continued as loyal and tractable as before.—I have, &c.,

"JOHN H. BROOKE, Captain,
"Commanding 1st Regiment."

The following letters from officers stationed at Mhow at the time of the murderous outbreak, describe with great force some of the most interesting incidents connected with it, and are valuable as records of the event and its attendant circumstances. The first communication is from an officer belonging to the 1st cavalry, who writes thus:—

"Fort Mhow, July 6th.

"On the 1st of the month, news came in from Indore, that the rajah's troops had risen and slaughtered every European, forty in number. I heard nothing of it; but the commanding officer came to my bungalow, saying, 'You are on duty, so go and retake some guns with the 3rd troop.' We went; and most marvellous to say, took them the first charge, Brooke and I together. The men demurred at first, but afterwards followed well. We were all surprised, as we knew they were in an unsettled state. The guns were brought into the fort. We went to our houses about three o'clock, having had a long morning, as the guns we took were some way off. Nothing occurred the remainder of the afternoon. The officers of the 1st Bengal light cavalry met to consult. We agreed to sleep in the lines with the men, anticipating an attack from the rajah's troops, little suspecting the awful scene we were to witness in a few hours. Mess-time came, and we dined as usual. I should tell you, all the ladies were moved in here, and the artillery took possession of the fort. About 9.30 P.M. we went to the lines, having had our tent pitched two or three yards in front of the Main-guard. Brooke and I in one bed, after looking at our horses all ready for action, went to try to sleep. But there was a presentiment on my mind: about ten o'clock, a small bungalow in front caught fire. I went with one or two sepoys, who had stuck by me in the morning, to see who had done it. The men with me cocked their pistols, and looked ominously at me. I returned to the guard. Martin was in the centre of all the men, talking to them. I joined him, and observed one man in my troop—a villain; he had his carbine, and began to cavil with Martin about some men Brooke and I had killed in the morning. I, feeling sleepy, said to Martin, 'I'll turn in;' but, good God! I had hardly turned my back, and got to Brooke's side, when an awful shriek arose from the men, and the bullets whizzed around us in torrents. The man I had observed lifted his carbine first, and fired either at myself or Martin. I leaped out of my tent, and saw Martin rushing across the parade-ground, the wretches shrieking after him. I reached him, and Brooke followed. We felt our last moment had come; but we ran for it. I led to the fort, a mile off. The men kept following us, and the bullets fell thick. Having got across the parade-ground about 500 or 600 yards, we came to the hill with the church at the top; and when at the top, Martin caught hold of me, exclaiming, 'For God's sake stop!' I caught hold of his arm and said, 'Only keep up and follow;' but at this moment I felt I was done. We parted, as I thought, only to meet in death. But, thank God, I rushed on and reached a bungalow about a quarter of a mile from the fort. By this time the infantry had all risen; and as I ran, the ground was torn up with bullets, and they fell thick around me. Their lines were in a direct line between the fort and ours, so that we, poor fellows, had to run the gauntlet of both fires. I felt, when I got to the

bungalow, quite sick and done. Wonderful Providence! I saw two natives, and rushed up to them, and simply took their hands, hardly able to speak, and said, 'Save me!' They did. To them I owe my life. At the moment the infantry were coming screaming around. They hid me in a small house. Oh, those moments! for I could not trust the men, and felt sure they would give me up. Some sepoys came, but did not find me. At last there was a lull. I opened the door and ran for the fort, my nigger friends having wrapped me in their own clothing to disguise me. Can I ever make you feel the deep thankfulness that was in my heart as I ran across the open plain, up the hill, to the fort. The artillerymen were manning the walls, and the sentry's call was never more thankfully received; and I cried 'Friend, friend!' and found myself safe inside. Can you realise the scene? I am too excited, and, in fact, overdone, to write fully now. Directly I got in and had drunk something, we who were saved went to the walls with muskets and swords, as we felt almost sure that this rising was in union with the rajah's troops, and that they would immediately attack the fort where we are now—only eighty-four Europeans. We were under arms all night. I am without a stitch to my back hardly, having lost everything I possess, with the exception of a pair of trowsers and a few shirts. My horse and all my money gone. But, oh! how kind every one has been, and I have got everything I want now! But to my story. Nothing occurred that night. The next day we were formed into an irregular cavalry (about twenty-one of us), and went out with the guns to bring in ammunition, which was safely done. We found all the sepoys gone. Every day since, we have been out at ten o'clock in the morning, almost all day, blowing up our magazines that were left, or getting in provisions, and killing every sepoy we came across. I had a tremendous chase the first day, with an artilleryman, after one. We were wrong, and went too far. I recognised the man as one of my troop. We cut him down dead, and rode back to the guns unhurt. The excitement has been immense. We have been, and are now, on sentry duty; all night as well. Last night was the first we were a little relieved; having heard that all the men had left Indore for Delhi; that the Rajah Holkar was friendly, but that all his troops had gone. But the same watches will continue, as treachery is to be feared. We are all very closely packed, and shall be so till the European troops join us from Bombay, when we shall most likely proceed up the road, first retaking Indore, then clearing everything before us up to Agra or so: this is what is supposed. We have a bloody time before us, indeed; and I can only leave my life in God's hands.

"Most wonderful to say, only three officers have been killed—Major Harris (of ours), Colonel Platt, and Captain Fagan. They were most shockingly cut up. We buried them the same day—a most mournful occasion. The European blood was indeed roused by the sight of their poor bodies. We all vow vengeance.* It was a fine scene when we came into the fort and found each other safe. I was one of the last, and they had quite given me up as lost. But how we did shake hands together and express our thankfulness! We are living in a most curious style—something like picnicking—never taking off our clothes night or day; always ready to turn out at a moment's notice. If I get into a dragoon regiment I shall have a glorious time of it if my life is spared. The whole of India must be reconquered. Now you may think of us as jolly as possible. Don't be the least uneasy about me; and when once the force arrives from Bombay, part of which we expect every moment, we shall be perfectly safe."

An officer of the 23rd regiment also writes on the same day (July 6th); and after describing the pursuit and capture of the two guns mentioned in the preceding letter, says—"The guns were taken by Captain Brooke, but he could not disarm the fellows with them until we came up. We then took the arms from the gunners, yoked the bullocks to the guns, and came back to cantonments. I noticed how sulky the men were; and when I went to the lines to lodge their ammunition, they told me they had an order to keep forty rounds in their pouch; but I would not let them, and there was a good deal of grumbling; but

* "On the morning of the 2nd of July, Captain Hungerford sent out four guns to bring in the bodies of the murdered officers, and to clear the cantonments of any loiterers for plunder. The bodies of Colonel Platt and Captain Fagan, and that of Major Harris, were then brought in, and buried in the corner of one of the bastions—all three in one grave."

they all pretended they were faithful to us, and only wanted their arms in case they were attacked from Indore. However, in riding away from the lines I saw the men collected in groups talking, and some with muskets in their hands; this made me more suspicious, and I went and reported it to the colonel; he, poor man, thanked me, but evidently did not doubt the good faith of the regiment. * * * However, thank God! my representations, coupled with the assistance of the officer commanding the artillery, made him give orders for the occupation of the place we are now in; but, to give our men confidence in us, we had guards detached to our bungalows, and had orders to sleep in our lines. Our dinner was taken down to our sergeant-major's house, close to the lines, and there we sat down. During dinner we saw a light on the roof of our mess-house. I went up, and it was put out by the cook. Not one of the sepoys of the guards was there. That made me nervous; but I went back to the lines, and we all sat in a group, talking. After a little while they came and told us there was a light in another roof. I went up, and beat out the fire with my cap, and was assisted by a sepoy on guard from my own house. After extinguishing it I went back and sat down. Some officer proposed we should then go to our beds at the bells of arms of each of our companies; and we were going, when some one said, 'The report is, the regiment will rise at ten to-night.' It then wanted ten minutes, and our major said, 'Oh, very well; let's wait and see.' By Jove! the words were hardly uttered when we heard shots in the cavalry lines, and we all sprang up, some one crying out we were attacked in rear by the Bheels. We all ran towards our companies; but as I got to mine I was received by two shots, one in rear and one in front: an officer was behind me, and I sang out, 'The men are firing on us! there is no hope—run!' I then saw the adjutant galloping towards our quarter-guard; he was received by a volley. He, poor man, saw it was hopeless, and told Dysart to run. It was a bright, beautiful moonlight night, and we were in our white uniforms, so they could see us for a long distance. I ran, and received a volley from our grenadier company; but the bullets went all round me. After a little I was dead-beat, and could not move. At last, seeing a Syce running away with an officer's horse, I seized it, and mounted; but not liking to carry away an animal that belonged to another man who might be in danger, I waited under the shade of an empty guard-house to see for him; but I heard footsteps, and, looking round the corner, I saw the men of our hospital guard within fifty yards of me. I thought then I was done for, but put the horse to a gallop, and heard a shot ping by me quite close. I then made for the fort, and found the gateway all confusion. Our poor colonel was there on horseback, and, infatuated to the last, would not believe the men had mutinied, and called on the adjutant to follow him to the lines. That was the last we saw of the poor fellows. We instantly disarmed the native guard in the fort, and turned them out, mounted sentries at the bastions ourselves, and prepared for the worst. It was a fearful night, for some of our officers were on picket duty by themselves, miles out on the Indore-road, and we feared their death was certain; in fact, the escapes were wonderful. One officer, who had hid in the bazaar all night, came into the fort at daybreak, telling us the colonel and adjutant of our regiment had been killed in our lines, and that Major Harris was lying dead in the road, shot by his own troopers. The only one we could not account for was Dr. Thornton, of the cavalry. Hearing the bodies were lying there, we resolved to bring them in, and went out with two guns and some officers mounted to protect them. The scene of pillage and confusion was horrible; our mess-house was burnt to the ground; my own house also. I have lost everything except my sword and pistols, which I had on at the time of this outbreak. * * * Having recovered the bodies, and not knowing how many men were near us, we returned to the fort, and had the melancholy task of burying them. Throughout all this I cannot express the admiration I feel at the way the ladies have behaved—cheerful, and assisting in every way in their power; poor things! without servants or quarters, huddled together, they have had to do everything for themselves, and employ all their time in sewing bags for powder for the guns, well knowing the awful fate that awaits them if the place is taken: there has not been a sign of fear; they bring us tea or any little thing they can, and would even like to keep watch on the bastions if we would let them. * * * Yesterday Holkar's vakeel came over and disclaimed all participation in the mutiny. We shall see if he is sincere; for

they offered to send all the treasure that was not carried off over here; but I have my doubts. We have no money; and the people round, seeing the state of affairs, won't let us have anything without paying for it. We hear Woodburn's column will be here on the 15th. God speed it! There is no water in the fort; we are dependent for it from a well close by; and if we are invested I don't know what we shall do. It all depends on Holkar, for our mutineers have marched to that rallying place of the faithful, Delhi, to assist there. I don't know whether you will ever get this letter, for the road is lined with people to intercept the dâks. You should see the state we are in; all of us dirty and tired with night watching; we mount sentry duty to take the weight of it off the artillerymen; we snatch sleep and food as we can; we have made a few foraging parties, and I succeeded in driving back our mess sheep, to the number of 150, and recovered a lot of mess stores; but all our silver and furniture has been stolen and burnt. This is not a regular fort—merely a sort of store-place for spare guns, &c. But we are putting it in as defensible a state as we can, and I think we shall stagger a few before they capture it. Martial law is proclaimed, and a gallows in course of erection outside the fort gates. Mercy is a word we have scratched out of our memories; in fact, mercy to them is death to us."

Another letter, from an artillery officer who writes from Mhow on the 23rd of July, describes the occurrences of the 1st, and the murder of Colonel Platt, thus:—"Since I last wrote to you we have had some very hard work. On the 1st of this month the troops broke out at Indore, fourteen miles from here. We were ordered out with our battery; but when we had gone seven miles and a-half, news came that the insurgents had taken another road, so we returned and found the station in great alarm. After dinner we were ordered to clear out of the barracks into the arsenal, and we got most of the things in by dark. About half-past 8 P.M. one of the native infantry officers came galloping in, saying that the regiment was up; in came another from the cavalry with the same story. Our horses were so knocked up that we placed the guns inside, so as to play through the gate in case of an attack. We had forty of the native infantry on guard inside; next up came Colonel Platt and said they were outside, and the battery must be brought out. We could not, for it takes half-an-hour to put in horses and get ready. The first thing we did was to disarm the guard we had inside, which was done promptly; we found every man with his piece loaded, and some of them with three balls. There was only one shot fired on our side, and not one on theirs; the reason of this was, we had them in front of our guns, and could have sent them to 'kingdom come' in no time. During the time this was going on, Colonel Platt rushed outside along with one of the officers of his regiment, and tried to persuade them to come back. We were ordered to fire; the portfires were lit; and as soon as they saw that, away they went, so we had no firing inside. It was a great pity the old colonel was in the gateway, or we should have mown them down nicely with grape. I must not forget to mention that Colonel Platt was like a father to the men; and when he had an opportunity of leaving them and joining an European corps last summer, the men petitioned him to stay. He had been upwards of thirty years with them; and when the riot took place, he had so much confidence in them that he rode up to their lines before we could get out. When we found him next morning both cheeks were blown off, his back completely riddled with balls, one through each thigh; his chin smashed into his mouth, and three sabre-cuts between the cheek bone and temple; also a cut across the shoulder and the back of the neck. Two others were killed—one native Indian and one cavalry officer; total, three. I never saw such mangled bodies in my life, and never wish to see the like again. We have been hard at work ever since. The first four nights and days we got no rest. My face and arms are skinned, the same as if they had been scalded, and my lips are parched with the heat of the sun. After the first day's work all the native drivers left us (on the 2nd instant), so we had no choice but to mount and drive ourselves. Three of the drivers returned; one of them so late that we taught him how to dance upon nothing. We are hanging all we can get hold of; the gallows is just in front of one of our siege batteries. We have mounted twelve heavy guns—six in front and four in rear; also one in front of each battery inside; so that if they take the outside ones they will have to come through a gateway up to the muzzles of our eighteen guns. In all, we have twenty-four guns, from 9 to 24-pounders. The inside of the place is

like a fair; it is not much more than 200 yards square, and we have all our horses, bullocks, carts, carriages, furniture, &c. We have everything up from the barracks. Officers work with pickaxe and spade, just the same as the men; all are alike so far as duty goes: officers do sentry at night with firelocks on their shoulders. It is a mercy that any of us are alive; and nothing but the hand of Providence saved us all from death. There are old soldiers here who say this is twenty times worse than any campaign; for this reason—we do not know the moment that we may be attacked by the insurgents, nor yet their number. Keep up your spirits and trust in God. I am sure He will not forsake those who trust in Him. I have seen His hand put forth in our defence already, and I thank God for our escape."

The arrival of a European reinforcement at Mhow, and some subsequent proceedings at that place, are described in the following letter from a medical officer, who had succeeded in escaping from Indore:—

"Mhow, August 8th.

"We left Hosungabad on the 21st of July, and reached Mhow after a march of twelve days, accompanied with the usual amount of misery, to which we have been so long subjected. On the 1st of August we reached the left bank of the Nerbudda, and found the movable column, which consisted of four troops—her majesty's 14th dragoons, 25th regiment of Bombay native infantry, and Woolcoomb's battery, with a force of Madras and Bombay sappers, commanded by Major Boileau of the former. With the column (which is commanded by Stuart, Bombay 16th native infantry) we proceeded to Mhow, where, on arriving, we found all the European inhabitants under shelter of the fort. The news of our approach was the signal for them to abandon their hiding-place, and return to their houses (those who had such, for many had not), the padre among the number. Confidence was at once restored; and we had the satisfaction of again seeing the poor people breathe freely. This force came by Aurungabad and Asseerghur, meting out punishment to those deserving such at either place. Three of the wing of the 6th regiment of the Gwalior contingent at Asseerghur were blown away from the guns. They had incited the company of the 5th regiment, Gwalior contingent, at Boorhaunpoor (distant about twelve miles from Asseerghur), to join them; but failed. Oudan Sing, subahdar of the company, behaved well; but it was deemed prudent to disarm them all; and both parties are encamped here, under Scott, second in command of the 6th Gwalior contingent. Their final disposal seems to be with Durand a subject of much concern; for the company of the 5th Gwalior contingent are positively innocent as to acts of mutiny. Two hundred and fifty men of the 86th Queen's joined us on the 6th instant; and it was supposed an immediate advance upon Indore would take place. Circumstances, it would seem, have altered since the 6th. Holkar's force, hitherto in a state of open and avowed mutiny (hearing, no doubt, of the approach of our dreaded Europeans), have, it seems, returned to their allegiance, on the promise from their chief, it is understood, that all previous offences will be condoned; but we surely will not allow ourselves to be compromised in such a matter, nor the blood and treasure spilt on the 1st of July to be so easily forgotten. Now, not a word regarding an advance is ever heard. The rebel remains of the Gwalior contingent are round about the fort of Gwalior, at the solicitation, it is said, of the old demon, the 'Bhazee Baee.' God only knows when peace again will reign in Central India; I fear the day is far distant. Oh! how thankful you must be that it pleased Providence to release you from the trials and dangers to which a residence in India, at this crisis, would necessarily have exposed you. Would to heaven that I was at home with you! But it is the duty of every Englishman to stand by the old craft when in distress; and, please God, I shall never be found absent from the call of duty."

The subjoined letter, from the brother of Gordon Cumming, the lion-hunter, is eminently descriptive and entertaining. Writing from Maunpore on the 8th of July, this gentleman says—"We are in the thick of the row here. God only knows where it will stop. I have not much time, but will give you an outline of what has taken place. Elliot, of the Thuggee department, and his wife, had been staying here with me some time. On the morning of the 1st they went to Mhow to get some things, intending to return in the evening. I went out alone for a ride, and came home, and was sitting at breakfast, when suddenly heavy firing was heard in the Mhow direction, and big guns going like smoke. I had about me seventeen men of the Gwalior

contingent; one havildar, and four sepoys of the Bhopal contingent, who formed Elliot's guard; and a lot of Nujeebs, guarding Thuggee prisoners. Besides these, I had six chuprassies, and some of my own police. I at once armed them with every weapon I had—swords, spears, &c. Elliot had left two rifles and a gun, and I had as many of my own and two pistols. These I distributed among men I could trust—rather a difficult point to discriminate now-a-days. The firing ceased about twelve o'clock, and Holkar's sowars kept coming and going along the road to Maunpore. We were all in a state of great excitement, as you may suppose. I preserved a calm exterior, though I felt anything but comfortable. A lot of the men about me were scoundrels, only looking out for a chance to cut me down: the worst of all was my own bearer, a Mussulman, who told several of the men, if there was a scrimmage, not to kill the natives, but him (pointing to me.) He kept dodging after me all day, having armed himself with my regimental sword. Bappoo,* however, and my police jemadar, Bhuggo, and two or three others, kept close to him with loaded rifles and pistols; and, though not appearing to know what he was after, I, too, was on my guard, and had a pistol in my belt, and a sword in my hand all the day. Reports of all sorts kept coming in, and I did not know what to believe. At length, about midnight, a native banker's clerk came and told me that the Indore residency had been attacked by Holkar's troops. The guard made no resistance. Every European whom they could get at had been butchered, the resident escaping with some Sikh horsemen of the Bhopal contingent. I hear he is gone to Bhopal. I do not know for certain who was killed; but I hear twenty-six Christians in all—chiefly telegraph men; M'Mahon, the road contractor, three Parsees, and some Baboos. On hearing this, I got a lot of men I could trust about me, and slipped quietly out by the rear of the house, and took to the hills. I remained there till yesterday, sending out scouts all over the country, keeping some good Bheels about me, and moving my ground every day. The Europeans at Mhow, consisting of a battery, or troop, of artillery and the officers, got into the fort—a place built in the plain in the old days to keep out Bheels and Pindarries. They made themselves as strong as they could, with big guns. Pay was issued to the infantry on the 30th of June, and to the cavalry on the 1st of July. At ten that night they went off, firing some bungalows, and shooting their colonel, poor Platt, and Harris of the cavalry, and two other officers. They went to Indore, and demanded to be taken into Holkar's service. He refused, offering them a month's pay, and telling them to go on. Our people in the fort sent to Holkar, telling him to come on—if he wanted a little war, to come at once; if a big battle, to wait three months, and they'd show him what they meant. Holkar sent a deputation of the three sirdars, saying he was in the same fix as ourselves—his men had mutinied too. The treasury was not looted at first; but three days ago the whole of the mutineers went off towards the fabulous Delhi. I hear they've begun to fight among themselves for the treasure; and such of Holkar's troops as had stood fast were to have gone after them last night to bring back the treasure. Meanwhile I was out; but kept up constant communication with Maunpore and Mhow. Elliot's guard of four sepoys went off, driving the havildar before them with their bayonets; and the Nujeebs took off all they could get. My guard stood fast, and are still with me. They prevented the bungalow being plundered. I hope they will remain firm, and that government will reward them. Elliot wrote to me yesterday to do all I could to reopen the dâk to Bombay, and I came in here and sent sowars along the road for that purpose. The Dhar Durbar has been intriguing with the Bhomiah chiefs under me; but, finding Holkar was not against us, they have returned, most of them having been to Dhar. I have got hold of several letters sent to them. I hear Bhopawur has been looted by the Amyherra men; that the sahibs have escaped and are safe; but where I can't find out. I am the only political now in the country, and God knows when it may be my turn to go under! I hope, however, to do my duty.

* Bappoo was a pultewallah, or peon, who had been with the writer of the letter for the past five years. Though "a follower of the prophet," he was one of the staunchest natives going, and had proved his fidelity and attachment to his master on more than one occasion. Not long previous to this affair he had saved Mr. Cumming's life when he was seized and terribly mauled by a bear. Bappoo, in the nick of time, shot the infuriated animal through the body, and killed her on the spot.

I have got a motley army about me; road police armed with carbines, Bheels with bows, and Bundlecund men with long matchlocks—some 200 men in all, and a few sowars. You cannot tell who to trust. The men say themselves they would not trust their own fathers now-a-days! I get on with them very well though; my jemadar is a capital fellow, and Bappoo is invaluable. Neither of them ever seem to tire; they are constantly moving about among the men, armed with double rifles, swords, and pistols. When I was in the jungle, one or two of my party showed signs of wavering; but the rest swore they would shoot down any man who attempted that kind of humbug. I have raised the pay of all the police and sowars, and have sent fifteen men to Mhow to-day to get some muskets and ammunition, which have been promised to me by Elliot. We are anxiously looking out for the arrival of troops from Bombay. I hear some are near the Nerbudda, on the Asseer-road, and others coming up from Malligaum. I do not, however, anticipate much more disturbance here. Holkar is with us, and Dhar cannot do anything alone. Holkar's sowars escort the dâk in his district, and are relieved by mine. Things are getting quieter; the mutineers having gone off, we are tolerably quiet; but the times are very ticklish. Some Bheels have been looting on this side of the Nerbudda; but I hope soon to put them down. I am all alone here, fourteen miles from Mhow, and twenty-eight miles from Indore. The country is loud in the praises of the bravery of the European artillerymen in Mhow fort; and some of my Bheels insist on being introduced, the very first opportunity, to the lame gentleman Hungerford, of the artillery—to wit, he being lame in one leg. They are all very happy in the fort, and have carried off supplies of every sort from the bazaar. On the 2nd, some sepoys came back to the lines for their kit, but were pursued by the artillery, and shot. A gallows is up, and martial law going on. Any one who liked was allowed to take what he chose from the sepoy lines; and rips of all sorts are walking off with what they could find. A lot of great-coats and warm trowsers have found their way out here, and been sold by the finders to my men for a mere trifle. I hear all the bungalows at Bhopawur are burnt, and at Mhow six bungalows. If we only had one regiment here, the effect in the country would be great. Holkar has sent thirteen elephants to meet Woodburn's force. I have no time to write more now, so good-bye, old fellow. Love to all the 'boys.' I got your letter last night, with that of the Dholka 'Mamlutdar.' Bappoo sends his salaam."

The fidelity and good-will of Holkar, although for a moment suspected, in consequence of the behaviour of his troops at Indore, had not wavered, notwithstanding that his avowed determination to protect the Europeans to the utmost of his power, in spite of his rebellious subjects, had exposed him to much personal danger from their fanaticism and rancour. As a proof of his reliance upon the confidence placed in him by the government, he at once transmitted the whole of his treasure (twenty-four lacs) and valuables to the fort at Mhow, for safe custody, and offered a large reward for the discovery of the chief instigator of the rebellion in his capital. An autograph letter was also dispatched by him to Sir Robert Hamilton, the British resident at Indore (absent in England on leave), in which he described the events at his capital, and expressed, in feeling and eloquent terms, his great distress at the violence of his soldiers, and his determination to protect the English, of whom he had ever been the faithful friend, at all hazard to himself aud family.

The openly-declared loyalty of Holkar was, at this juncture, of the greatest importance to the European cause; and it happened that opportunity was promptly afforded for judging of the effect that would have been produced throughout Central India by his defection. The mere rumour that the mutiny at Indore was sanctioned by him, was sufficient to incite to action several of the petty chiefs of Malwa. The rajah of Dhar, a small state about 32 miles W.S.W. of Indore, at once commenced hostilities: his neighbour of Umjheera, not to be behind in the *mêlée*, made a descent upon the town of Bhopawur, a station 60 miles from Indore, and the seat of the English resident for the small state of Malwa; from whence the Europeans had to seek safety by a precipitate flight. The circumstances connected with this petty exhibition of native feeling, are detailed in the subjoined letter from a gentleman who had medical charge of the station, and of the Bheels located there.

"You may remember that I returned from

Indore to Bhopawur about the middle of June; at that time I left Indore perfectly quiet, and there was no suspicion of any mischief taking place. But in the dark a treacherous plot was brewing, which has brought down ruin on us all. A portion of Holkar's troops attacked the residency; the contingent troops joined them, with the exception of the Bheel corps; but the latter, being thus left alone, were unable to resist, and ran away.

"As soon as the news of the affair at Indore was known, it spread like wildfire through the country that Holkar had attacked the British, and all prepared to join him. Happily the rumour was false, for it was only a portion of his troops that had done so, and that against his will; in truth, they had mutinied like our own men. Holkar himself remained true, as you will find; and to his assistance our party are, humanly speaking, indebted for their lives. But the rumour was not contradicted till too late for us at Bhopawur. A neighbouring chief, called the Rajah of Umjheera, thought it a fine thing to follow Holkar's example (or what he thought to be such), and, without the slightest provocation or warning, sent his troops to attack our little station. We heard, however, of their approach. I immediately assembled the men of the Bheel corps, about 180 in number (the head-quarters, as you know, being away), got out two small guns which we had, helped to load them with my own hands, and posted them in a good spot. I then sent to Lieutenant Hutchinson, the political officer, who was living three miles away, and told him what I had done, recommending him to join me and make a stand at the lines of the Bheel corps. He accordingly came down with his family. All this occurred on the evening of the 2nd of July. Night came without the appearance of the enemy. The men lay down at their posts, and I slept at the quarter-guard. In the night, however, the cowardly Bheels took advantage of the darkness to desert, and by two o'clock in the morning not twenty of them remained; and it was evident, from their conduct, that these twenty did not mean to fight. What could we then do? We knew that no mercy would be shown us by the villains coming from Umjheera; and as it was hopeless to attempt any defence after the desertion of our men, we determined to fly, and thus endeavour to save the ladies and children. Accordingly, having made what little preparations we could, we left the place about half-past four on the morning of the 3rd of July, our little party consisting of Lieutenant and Mrs. Hutchinson and child, Mrs. Colonel Stockley and four children, and myself. Scarcely any of our servants followed us, and not one of the faithless Bheel corps would accompany our party for the protection of their colonel's wife and children. Of all my own servants only one came along with me, and he ran away the first night afterwards. The rest not only deserted me, but helped themselves to whatever they could lay their hands on. Such were the miserable circumstances under which we took our departure; and, excepting for the providence of God, the prospect of escape was as hopeless as could well be; for the nearest British post towards which we could make our way was nearly 200 miles off.

"Hardly had we turned our backs on the station ere it was taken possession of by the Umjheera people. I suppose they were at first too busy plundering to think of us, and we continued to push on. In the afternoon we had got about fifteen miles away, having travelled over shocking roads. Our cattle were quite knocked up, and we were obliged to halt. Happily for us, the spot which we had reached was in the state of a petty chief called the Rajah of Jabwa. About an hour after we had halted we were overtaken by a party sent in pursuit of us from Bhopawur. We gave ourselves up for lost; but Lieutenant Hutchinson and myself prepared to sell our lives as dearly as we could. Fortunately, we were well armed, having five guns between us. Our resolution probably deterred the villains from making an open attack upon us, for they knew we should in all likelihood knock over some of them. They thought we should endeavour to escape as soon as it got dark; and in the hopes of killing us without any risk to themselves, the scoundrels took up their position about a quarter of a mile in advance, at a very difficult and broken part of the road, where the jungle came down to the edge on both sides, and afforded them every facility for their murderous purposes. This we only discovered next morning; but in the meantime, knowing that there were more than a dozen of them, horse and foot, we every moment expected their attack. Fatigued as we were, Lieutenant Hutchinson and myself kept watch all night, hour and hour about, each awaking his com-

panion (if he slept) at the slightest cause for alarm. You may imagine how dreadful a night the poor ladies passed; indeed, few of our party will be disposed, I fancy, ever to forget it. Nothing but jungle all round; one miserable hut within sight, belonging to some dâk runners; deserted again by the few people who accompanied us so far from Bhopawur; and a band of assassins at hand thirsting for our blood—where could we look for aid but to Him whose merciful hand did shield us in that hour of danger? I told you that we had just entered the state of the rajah of Jabwa. A Bheel, who had observed what was going on, carried intelligence to the nearest town—a small place called Para—of the invasion by the Umjheera people. Firing at the insult, a party started from Para to drive them away. Just as the gray of the morning appeared we had the pleasure of being rescued by them; and thus did God raise up instruments for our delivery when death seemed near at hand. But had the villains not been such cowards nothing could have saved us, if they had attacked us in the night. This fresh party carried us to Para, and were civil enough at first; but towards evening, for some reason or other, they began to get very insolent, and commenced plundering us. We saw our position had but little improved, and we prepared again to sell our lives as dearly as could be. But just as things appeared to be getting desperate, a party arrived from Jabwa (ten miles away), sent by the chief to our rescue as soon as he had heard of our being at Para. They carried us to Jabwa that same evening, and we reached the town early in the morning, having rested for some hours on the road. The young chief, who is a very pleasing-looking boy of sixteen or seventeen, received us very kindly. The managing authority, however, is an old lady, who is, I believe, grandmother to the chief, and by her directions everything that could be done for our safety or comfort was effected. To protect us, however, was as much as she could do, for there were a number of Arabs and men of that class in the employ of the chief; and these fanatics loudly demanded our surrender, that they might put us to death. The family themselves are Rajpoots, and had fortunately a number of Rajpoot retainers about them. To these they assigned our protection, and faithfully did they execute their trust. Not a Mussulman sepoy was allowed to approach our quarters in the palace; and there we waited patiently for eight days for assistance from some quarter or other. Lieutenant Hutchinson wrote to the resident at Baroda to send aid to us, and this he did. But long before that could reach us Holkar had done all that was necessary. I must tell you that Mrs. Hutchinson is a daughter of Sir Robert Hamilton, and Holkar professes the greatest friendship for that family. The first intelligence that reached him was, that the rajah of Umjheera had made us prisoners. He instantly dispatched some of his chief officers with a strong force, giving them particular orders to recover us, and blow the town of Umjheera to pieces. In the meantime he received the true intelligence of our being at Jabwa, the chief of which is one of his tributaries. He sent him a despatch to say that if a hair of our heads was injured the chief should answer for it, and that in a few days his cavalry would reach Jabwa to our rescue. They did so, and escorted us back to Bhopawur, where we remained for a couple of days. What a change from its former neat appearance did every house present! From Bhopawur we intended to go into Indore, where Holkar had kindly prepared rooms for us in his palace. But hearing that many of his troops were still in a very agitated state, and that the Mussulmans in the city were ripe for mischief, we turned off and came in here, thinking it more prudent, both on Holkar's account and our own. We arrived on the night of the 16th of July, thanking God for His mercy to us during so many days of danger."

The demonstrations of satisfaction and active co-operation, with the reported hostility of Holkar, was not confined to the two instances mentioned, as many other of the petty chiefs of the district hastened to show, by insults and action (where the latter was practicable), the intense delight with which they received and welcomed intelligence of so valuable an auxiliary to the cause of rebellion.

The whole district of Malwa was, at this period, in a state of excitement that could hardly be controlled by the resident authorities. Colonel Durand, who was acting *pro tem.* for Sir Robert Hamilton at Indore, wrote, in August, to the governor-general as follows:—

"Western Malwa much disturbed. The shahzadah, or hadjee, has established himself at Mundisore, after wounding the soubah and kotwal. He is reported to

have about 6,000 followers. The troops of the nawab of Jowrah are mutinous and threatening. The sudden death of the rajah of Rutlam, a chief loyal to the British government, is a misfortune. The Mussulmans have commenced plundering in the city of Rutlam. Eastern Malwa also in a critical state. Bhopal fort most precarious; its troops as mutinously disposed as those of Bhopal contingent at Sehore. Boondellah swarm is said to have settled down on Major Tirdan's districts, and were expected to leave Chornarputhy, on the right bank of the Nerbudda, on the 21st or 22nd. Mutinous masses at Gwalior, incited by leaders of Indore insurrection, after failing to obtain fort of Gwalior from Scindia, were bent on marching to Agra and Delhi. Scindia has applied to me for aid. Mhow and Indore quiet; but Holkar's compromised troops in a sullen and dangerously uncertain temper, and not under control."

On the 30th of July, Brigadier Stuart's column reached Mhow, and Colonel Durand, who accompanied it, returned to the duties of his residency. Holkar had dispatched his vakeels and courtiers to receive Colonel Durand, who, on his part, had summoned the vakeels of the surrounding chiefs, that had formerly waited upon him at Indore, to attend his court at Mhow, where he remained until relieved from duty by the return of Sir Robert Hamilton from England.

AUGGUR.—Amongst the details of romantic incident so abundantly furnished by the actual occurrences and extraordinary escapes hitherto narrated, in connection with the progress of the revolt, the following are certainly entitled to notice. The town of Auggur is a fortified and populous station in the Gwalior dominions, situated about thirty-six miles to the north-east of Oojein, and at no great distance from Indore. At this place the 5th regiment of the Gwalior contingent, with other troops, had been for some time stationed. Of the first-mentioned, the men had, by their steady and soldierlike behaviour, strengthened the confidence reposed in them by their officers—that whatever pressure might be brought to bear upon them by the mutinous troops in other places, they at least, to a man, would stand firm in their loyalty and attachment to their officers. In this satisfactory state the troops continued until about the 3rd or 4th of July, when several officers attached to the Gwalior contingent, and the commandant of artillery from Sepree, arrived at the station, bringing intelligence of the outbreaks at Indore and Mhow, in which Holkar's troops had joined. The news occasioned much excitement among the men, who were already dissatisfied, on account of the refusal of the soubah to advance pay for the regiment upon the receipt of the officer commanding, as he had theretofore done. This fact had evidently shaken the confidence of some of the men; but their behaviour generally had been still satisfactory.

The best spirit appeared to exist amongst the troops of all ranks up to the morning of the 4th of July, when, at dawn, the night-guards over the officers' bungalows withdrew to the lines with their accustomed order and regularity; but, about half-past five o'clock, the orderlies of the officer commanding, reported that there was a great deal of excitement and running about in the lines. Captain Carter instantly dressed, and called to the adjutant, Lieutenant O'Dowda, to accompany him to the lines as quickly as possible; but the horse of the adjutant being ready at the door, and that of Captain Carter remaining in the stable unsaddled, Lieutenant O'Dowda rode off without a moment's delay, and had scarcely entered the lines when he was shot down. Whilst Captain Carter's horse was being prepared, the orderlies reported that a large body of cavalry and infantry were approaching the parade-ground; and, supposing such to be the case, he galloped over to Captain Le Marchand's house, to desire he would take charge of two guns of the Mehidpore contingent, then in position at the quarter-guard. Having given his orders, he proceeded towards the lines, and, on the way, met Quartermaster-sergeant Miller with a musket on his shoulder, from whom he learned that the regiment was in open mutiny, and had warned him away. Still the captain pressed on till stopped by four sepoys, who, with raised hands, entreated him to return, or he would be shot. As a good deal of firing was then taking place, any attempt at interference seemed not only useless but unwise: he therefore returned to the bungalow, and devoted the few remaining minutes that intervened before leaving cantonments, to arranging for the safety of the ladies and children, whom it was necessary should be instantly removed from the station. The incidents of their escape are described in a letter from a

medical officer attached to the Gwalior contingent, who, writing from Hosungabad on the 16th of the month, after noticing the alarm and the urgent necessity for immediate flight, proceeds thus:—"Having a double-seated curricle with fast horses, I, through God's goodness, had the satisfaction of rescuing Mrs. Burlton and Mrs. Harrison of the 2nd cavalry, whose husbands were absent, and each of whom had an infant in her arms. While yoking the curricle, my servants threw in a few blankets and some bedding, which, with our lives, was all that remained to us. The other ladies effected their escape in a cart, excepting Mrs. James, of whose fate we have no positive information. Both she and her husband had mounted their horses for their morning's ride, and while moving away from the house, Dr. James (who officiated for me during my absence in Bombay,) was shot down by some sepoys of the rear-guard. The horse which Mrs. James rode took fright, threw her, and screams for help were heard, but only reported when it was impossible to render her any assistance. It is generally supposed that this unfortunate lady was also slain; but no certainty as to her fate exists. Of the European non-commissioned officers at Auggur (two of the 5th regiment and one of the Mehidpore artillery), with their families, nothing is known; but reposing as we did perfect confidence in the fidelity of our men, there is every reason to apprehend that they too have been murdered. Twelve minutes from the commencement of the disturbances, and the little band of fugitives was wending its way towards the jungles, with nothing but the clothes that covered them; some in their night-dresses as they rose from their beds, bare-footed and bare-legged, uncertain whither, or in what direction, to proceed, unattended by servants, and without food, and looking back upon the neat houses which contained their all, only to see them in flames. We passed on through the village of Ranur to a town called Mundoda, within four miles of Sarungpore. At Mundoda we halted for the night, and were joined by two European overseers and their families, who had been compelled to fly from their work upon the roads between Indore and Patchore. Our party now consisted of—Captain Carter, commanding late 5th regiment, G. C., and station of Auggur; Captain McDougall, second in command, ditto; Major Macpherson, commanding late 3rd regiment, G.C., at Sepree; Captain Ryall, second in command, ditto; Dr. Sillijant, surgeon, ditto; Captain Le Marchand, late 3rd battalion artillery; Mrs. Burlton and child; Mrs. Harrison and three children; Mrs. Le Marchand and four children; Mrs. Heyman; Miss Heyman; Messrs. Watts and Wackfield, European overseers, with their families and myself. About midway between Auggur and Mundoda we were met by two mounted men—Ram Row, moonshee; and Oonkar Sing, chuprassy—who, after some interrogation, we learned were spies, in the service of Major Rickards, the resident at Bhopal; they recommended our proceeding to the begum's territory, and offered to escort us to Sehore. At Mundoda we felt the first foretaste of that dire misery which our little band was doomed to experience. Every villager was uncivil; and the smile of respectful submission with which the European officer was wont to be greeted, was displaced by an angry scowl and haughty air towards the despicable Feringhee, whose raj was at an end. No house to shelter us; and only a little milk and chupatty to appease the hungry cries of the poor little children, were procured in scanty quantities, and with the utmost difficulty. From this place we directed our course, *viâ* Sarungpore, to a place called Lurrawud, some thirty miles distant; but two serious obstacles intervened, *i.e.*, the Kala Sind river and the Trunk-road. We were now but four miles distant from the city of Sarungpore, which was then said to be in the hands of plunderers, and that a regiment of cavalry from Mhow, with seven European officers, had halted there; every inch of the road, moreover, was said to be infested with gangs of marauders, from whom escape was unlikely, did we attempt to cross it. It now became necessary to alter our route so as to avoid that city, and that portion of the road contiguous to it. We crawled along through lanes and bye-paths, making about a mile an hour on our way towards the friendly (?) rajah of Lurrawud, and had proceeded some five miles, when a number of men from a village approached us, stating that a few miles ahead several hundred cavalry and infantry were waiting for us. This was not calculated to raise the hearts of men in our condition. Our anxiety was not for ourselves, as we were well armed, and could fight our way, but for the helpless ladies and children

whose protectors we were. The few men who first came from the village were quickly followed by thousands, every man with a menace in his look. Through Ram Row, we endeavoured to procure by bribery safe conduct through the village, and this he said the headman could give. The conditions were agreed upon; but still the chief hesitated to proceed. Fearing treachery, the moonshee took him aside and swore him to be true to his trust; yet even this was insufficient to reassure us; and the timid looks and wavering manner of Ram Row, told us too plainly that we had but little to hope for. The proportions of the crowd continued to swell; a restless buzz of a hornet's nest went through it; the headman had withdrawn, and so had the moonshee; the mob was gradually closing in upon us; we formed up closely upon open ground round our charge, every finger on a trigger awaiting the attack. About this period we learned that it was a village of Sondeas who had turned out upon us; and all who are familiar with the habits of these scoundrels will appreciate the danger in which we stood. Night was now at hand, and to remain in our present position was to encounter to a certainty an attack from thousands under cover of its darkness. It was agreed that we should move on; and committing ourselves to the protection and guidance of Providence, and doubling our rear-guard, we silently advanced towards the village from which the onslaught was expected. Finding that the Sondeas did not hang upon our rear, we were enabled to show a considerable front on entering the village, by decreasing the strength of our rear-guard. The word was passed for all to be silent, and so we proceeded; but what with dogs barking, lighted houses, and neighing horses, our expectations of a successful passage was but frail. We passed the chowkie, and saw but one man rise, enter his house, doubtless to arm, and resume his position; but there was no challenge. We had reached the outskirts of the village in safety, and were venturing to congratulate each other in a whisper, when, through the unpardonable clumsiness of one of our party, his gun went off, spreading dismay among us all. At three o'clock on the morning of the 6th we reached Lurrawud, and after submitting to the usual ceremony of an hour's detention, were permitted to enter the old 'gurree,' or fort, in which the rajah resided. Everything in and about it bore the semblance of squalid poverty, and gave poor promise of comfort or protection. The space allotted us was not habitable, and it was judged wiser to occupy a shed outside the walls. In this we had hardly settled ourselves, when a man from the bastion shouted out, 'Cavalry, cavalry!' A rush inside was of course the result; the alarm was a false one; but it was not disregarded, for it had its meaning. A few putrid mangoes were offered us as food; and while waiting for forage for our jaded horses, we learned that our host rejoiced in the allowance of two rupees a day whereon to support the dignity of his station. He and his people were at first accessible and civil; but in a few hours the demeanour of all became totally changed, and every assistance was denied us. We had all looked forward with much hope and confidence to the rajah of Lurrawud; and the depth of the disappointment we experienced on his refusing to aid us, even to the extent of procuring a guide, may be easily imagined; and to complete our despair, the moonshee Ram Row, and the chuprassy Oonkar Sing, refused to accompany us any further, stating that they were to remain by order of the rajah. To tarry any longer in such a hotbed of vagabonds was imprudent, and preparations to resume our journey were immediately made. It was now about four in the afternoon; we had travelled far, and were without food, and the cries of the hungry children were heartrending. As our preparations for a start progressed, armed men poured in from every side, and lined the fort walls, under which our road lay.

"The aspect of affairs at this crisis seemed to render escape impossible; yet we advanced, in the opinion of most of us, to certain death beneath the crowded wall. To our intense surprise, not a shot was fired, nor a word spoken by our supposed assailants, who stood in hundreds on the walls above our heads. As we descended across the river and ravine, where the sowars were seen to halt, shouting commenced, and numbers began to run towards the hill in advance of us, apparently with the intention of occupying it. While in the nullah, we were joined by a man who offered his services as a guide; this inspired us with fresh hope, and we moved on, several of us filing off through the jungle to meet the horsemen. We con-

tinued our course unmolested, though every man among us looked on death as certain and immediate; and to the goodness of God alone was our preservation due. A little further on, and a fresh disaster overtook us; one of the carts was upset, to the imminent danger of all in it; and though not more than a mile from Lurrawud, the people from an adjoining village lent us ready assistance, the Patell himself volunteering to escort us across the Kala Sind: his promise was faithfully fulfilled, and he received the reward he merited. Our guide, hitherto looked upon with much suspicion, gradually regained our confidence, and this we testified by advancing him a portion of his promised pay; still, it was thought necessary to guard him closely, and this duty we took in turn. About midnight we lost our way; and our weary cattle were for several hours obliged to labour over ploughed fields of heavy black soil, till at length we reached a village, in which it was judged prudent to make inquiries for the road to Inchode. Here we were fired upon, and were obliged to proceed, ignorant as to whether we were taking the right direction or not. At a Chumar village some miles further on, we discovered our position, and were joined by a man who pointed out the road to Inchode, which we reached, weary and hungry, on the morning of the 7th, at daylight. This was the first village of the Bhopal begum, who we knew still continued the stanch ally of our government, and we all gratefully hailed it as a place of rest and safety. About a quarter of a mile outside the town, we halted under a tamarind tree, and were waited on by the Komashdar, from whom we obtained favourable accounts of the state of affairs at Sehore, whither it was our desire to proceed. Through his agency we obtained some milk for the half-famished children, and the promise of his good offices to forward a chit to the resident at Sehore. He, moreover, offered us shelter in the town; but which, on being examined, was found so utterly filthy and inadequate to accommodate us, that we determined on remaining under the friendly shelter of the big tree, where he proposed sending us some provisions. Soon after our arrival, a fearful storm of rain and thunder set in, compelling us to seek refuge in the town; for in ten minutes from its commencement, the spot we occupied became a swamp, and everything we possessed was literally afloat. A deep nullah separated us from Inchode, and it had now become swollen into a torrent. No language could possibly exaggerate the misery we experienced here. All were obliged to ford the rapid at the risk of their lives; and some were to be seen with children upon their heads in water to the neck. Still the rain continued to pour down incessantly. Each looked upon the other, and deplored his miserable fate, as we sat, twenty-seven souls, drenched, cold, and hungry, huddled together on the damp mud floor of a buneah's verandah, some twenty-four feet long by eight broad. There was not an inch of dry raiment among us all, until we procured a few coarse blankets, and a little hay, on which to lie down. Almost tired of life under such repeated hardships, we sought comfort in sleep, drenched, hungry, and cold as we were. Throughout the whole night long the wind and rain beat in upon us in ceaseless fury; the screams of hungry children, and fighting of horses broken loose from their pickets, rendered sleep impossible; for most of the gentlemen were obliged to stand by their own horses, or aid in catching loose ones. During the 8th the rain continued to fall heavily; we were able to procure a few chupatties and milk; but our position still continued extremely miserable, and the close of the day found us doomed to endure another night of wretchedness. On the 9th the weather began to clear up; but the Duddee Neewud river, which was to be crossed, still continued flooded. We passed the day in a state of anxious expectancy for a note from Sehore; but none arriving, we resumed our march with heavy hearts about 7 P.M. Here, too, the authorities, who but the day previous were all civility, now refused to make good the promises they had given us, denying us even the assistance of a Coolie, and leaving us to cross the river without either guide or guard. This was regarded by us all as an unfavourable omen; yet there was nothing left us but to trust in Providence and push on, in hopes of meeting a messenger from Sehore. Just before marching, we found that a report prevailed, that a force from Mhow and Indore was marching upon that station, and were then but a couple of marches distant. Our position, sad enough hitherto, now became more critical. The passage of the river was accomplished with the utmost difficulty, occupying us better

than two hours; the black soil through which the road ran was as tenacious as putty, and four miles was all we could make until obliged to halt in the jungles for the night. About five o'clock on the morning of the 10th, we started for Jamnair, another village of the begum's—Captain Carter and myself riding on in advance to ascertain the true state of affairs at Sehore. Scarcely had we dismounted in the main street of the town, when, to our intense joy, an elephant appeared, and a chuprassy handed us a note from Major Rickards, telling us on no account to come into Sehore, but to proceed to Hosungabad, six marches further on, where we should find a safe retreat. This was indeed an oasis in the desert of our affliction. This good man had also sent us a bountiful supply of food and clothes—bread, mutton, tea, sugar, chocolate, beer, wine, and brandy, as comforts for the sick; and clothes, warm and clean, for both infants and adults: indeed, the quantity and variety of the good things sent us, proved the solicitude with which we were regarded. No language of mine could convey to you half what I felt on the contents of each basket and bundle being exposed. All were silent; and those who did venture utterance, could not suppress the tear of gratitude which gathered as he spoke. Major and Mrs. Rickards, and the other good and thoughtful people at Sehore, to whom we owe so deep a debt of gratitude, will have the satisfaction of knowing, that through their kindness the little half-nude children were clothed and made comfortable, hungry and half-starved mothers enabled to supply their little infants at the breast with food, and the hearts and arms of strong men made braver to protect the charge they had in safety brought so far. Curious to ascertain the cause of our prohibited entry into Sehore, we inquired from the chuprassy (an intelligent young Moslem), who gave us much useful information. From him we learned that, at the request of Secunder Begum, all the officers of the contingent had left for Hosungabad, now a Madras station; that the resident had everything in readiness to quit cantonments; and that the begum had promised to take charge of the station and contingent. He also told us, that the begum had received an 'ishtaher' from the king of Delhi, calling upon her, as a true Moslem, to hoist the standard of rebellion, and extirpate the Feringhee race from her dominions; but her timely warning to the officers of the Bhopal contingent, enabling them to escape in safety, showed that her sympathy with the rebel king was but slight indeed. Abandoning our carriage, we left the same evening for Imlaah, making a detour of three miles to avoid Byrassiah, a large town of Scindia's, this side the Parbutty, in which a strong body of horse and foot were said to be posted. It was our intention to have rested at a place called Moriah, about half-way; but learning that that village lay within a couple of miles of Sehore, we gave it a wide berth, and passed on to a hamlet called Somlah, where we halted but four hours; and finding that provisions were not procurable there, proceeded five coss further on, to a large town called Eechawur, which we reached at 8 o'clock P.M. on the night of the 11th. Eechawur we found to be a walled city, the gates of which were closed. After some delay, however, we were allowed to enter, and were escorted by its governor, John de Sliva, commonly called 'Jan Sahib,' to his own house. Both we and our cattle were well cared for, and every mark of respect and attention shown towards us: it was fully appreciated; for throughout our wanderings we had been treated with incivility and contempt, and as despicable Feringhees whose reign was over. Every member of that little band of fugitives will long cherish in grateful recollection the worthy ramdar and governor of Eechawur. John de Sliva, or Jan Sahib, was a Portuguese by birth and parentage, a Christian as to creed, and a Mussulman in dress. Easy and affable in manner, deeply versed in the knowledge of drugs and disease, he commanded the respect of all around him as a man of wonderful attainments. He exhibited with honest pride his medicine chest, which contained phials of calomel, laudanum, jalap, essence of cinnamon, and oil of lemon-grass, with which he successfully ministered to the wants of thousands. Several old Frenchmen (Bourbons) resided here; they had emigrated in the days of the revolution. Some had served under our government, and enjoy pensions from it, and each had adopted a Mussulman name. A young man of considerable intelligence, by name Nicholas Reilly, who called himself an Irishman, waited upon us; he too had donned the garb of a native, spoke English fluently, and gave us much information. He was

born at Cawnpore, and had, with a number of other Christians, taken service under the Begum Doolan Sahib, whose jaghire the district of Eechawur is. Her own name, it seems, is 'Lizabeth—a Christian, married to the Hakim Shazad Mussel; both were absent from Eechawur, having been summoned to Bhopal by Secunder Begum. At this place we obtained full particulars of the Indore mutiny, and the slaughter with which it was attended, and with which you doubtless are already familiar. In the afternoon, we had an interview with Kamaloodeen, the ramdar of Larkoe and Peepletoder; he assured us of safety and protection throughout his district, and of a hearty welcome at Larkoe, our next halting-place.

"We reached Larkoe on the morning of the 18th, after a long and fatiguing march, many miles of which lay through dense jungle. Great was our disappointment at finding ourselves badly received, notwithstanding the friendly assurance of Kamaloodeen. We thought ourselves secure from all danger; but scarcely had we sat down in the verandah of a buneah's house, when we were waited on by one Koondun Sing, who represented himself to be a spy in the service of Holkar and Scindia, and who astounded us by stating that his orders were, that no Feringhee should pass alive through that district. He pointed to a hill, some six miles in the distance; and 'there,' said he, 'are 500 horse ready to enforce my commands.' He, however, loved the *sahib log*, and suggested that our safety might be guaranteed for a consideration. Then, in the most circumstantial manner possible, he told us that Colonel Durand, the resident at Indore, had passed through but three days previous, and that from him he had received 500 rupees, together with swords and guns, as the reward for his services. Sorely perplexed by this intelligence, we halted for the night, determining to pursue our journey at daylight. It was with heavy hearts and dark forebodings that we left Larkoe on the morning of the 14th. The lives of all were in the hands of this Koondun Sing; and we were without the means of purchasing his protection. Money we had not; and to part with our arms, as he suggested, would have been an act of insanity. Oh! how I sighed for an interview of five brief minutes by the bank of some lonely nullah, with the ruffian who held our life's blood in his hands; to have rid ourselves of such a scoundrel would have occasioned me no compunction, and gladly would I have taken his life upon my head. We saw the rascal leave in the direction of his men; yet we held on our course, and, shortly afterwards, learned that Koondun Sing was one of three brothers—Dhuleep Sing and Murpul Sing, the jagheerdars of the district," and that they had leagued together to fleece us of everything we possessed. We now continued our course, without interruption, towards Gooraria, which place we reached about eight in the evening, and found it nearly deserted. On the morning of the 15th we resumed our march for Boodhamee Ghat, and reached it about 2 P.M., without molestation, having now before us the land of promise, in pursuit of which we had toiled so long, and endured so much. Deep and fervent were our thanksgivings to a merciful Providence for its guidance and protection throughout our twelve days of wandering, in which we encountered daily peril and hourly vicissitude. We crossed the Nerbudda about 3 P.M., and were received with a hearty welcome by Major Rickards, who had come from Sehore, and by Captain Wood, the commissioner. A large party, fugitives like ourselves, had already arrived from Indore and Sehore. Every house was full; yet the ever kind Madrassees proved themselves true to their reputed hospitality, and in an hour we were all made contented and comfortable. One lady amongst us (and a brave woman she is), whose little infant was but twelve days old the morning of our flight, contrary to all expectation, found herself restored to a husband whom we had all mourned as lost—Captain Harrison, the second in command of the 2nd cavalry, Gwalior contingent. He had been closely pursued, for several days, by Baba Apta and his horsemen, who had also been upon our track, as we now learned, but fortunately missed us through our deviation from the direct line."

AGRA.—Turning northward from the troubled States of our allies, Scindia and Holkar, and the incidents of peril, daring, and suffering connected with the history of each at the period we have referred to, we must again, in the order of time, direct attention to the capital of the North-West Provinces of Bengal, and endeavour briefly to trace the progress of the revolt in the direction of Agra.

The state of European feeling at this

place had never regained its wonted tranquillity since the occurrences in May, which ended in the disarming and dispersion of the 44th and 67th regiments;* and, to add to the many visible causes for disquietude, the gaol guard, that constituted the sole protection of the large central prison of the district, which then contained about 4,000 offenders of various degrees of criminality, had deserted its post during the night of the 23rd of June, with the whole of its arms and ammunition. Two nights afterwards the gaol was discovered to be on fire; but the object of the incendiary was frustrated, as the prisoners were prevented escaping by a strong guard of the 3rd European regiment, which had been posted at the gaol as soon as the desertion of the burkandazes became known; and the damage to the building was inconsiderable. To impart a feeling of confidence in the European inhabitants, a local militia force was now organised by direction of the lieutenant-governor, to assist in the defence of the place, rumours of the approach of mutinous troops being of frequent occurrence. At length the fact was established; the proximity of the insurgent forces from Neemuch and Nusseerabad, who had encamped about twenty miles from the city, was announced; and also that they intended to attack the station. Upon this fact becoming known, no time was lost in preparing for their reception; and the European and Christian residents of the city were summoned into the fort, where arrangements had been made for their accommodation. The fortifications were also placed in as good state of defence as means at hand would allow, there being an abundance of guns and ammunition within the fort, but, unfortunately, very few disciplined gunners.

On the 2nd of July the Kotah contingent, consisting of horse, foot, and artillery, marched into cantonments; and, as great reliance was placed upon its loyalty, a detachment of the force was almost immediately sent to relieve the European guard at the gaol, another being at the same time posted as guard at the residency; but, on its being known on the evening of the 4th, that the enemy was advancing towards the city, the contingent was dispatched from the cantonments to occupy a position that would intercept the line of march. The Kotah troops had no sooner reached the post assigned to them, than, instead of halting, they hastened forward to unite themselves with the rebels they had been sent out to oppose. Just about this time a small body of mounted volunteers from Agra (about forty), which had been previously sent to watch the movements of the Neemuch mutineers, and could have no suspicion of the treachery about to be practised, rode up to the Kotah force, and, to their surprise, found them preparing for an attack. The volunteers halted, and for a time stood facing the traitors. After the lapse of a few minutes, the contingent, fearing, it is supposed, an ambush from the European regiment still in the fort, broke from their ranks, and dispersed in all directions. Observing this, some of the volunteers made a dash for the guns, which they succeeded in taking after cutting down a number of the men in charge of them. The whole of the contingent, without further struggle, abandoned the field, leaving the guns, and about 150 camels laden with ammunition, in the undisputed possession of the gallant volunteers, by whom the whole was escorted back to Agra.

Early on the morning of the 5th of July, the Neemuch and Nusseerabad forces, consisting altogether of 7,500 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and a train of artillery, numbering twelve guns, were reported to be encamped on a plain in the rear of the village of Shahgunj, about four miles from Agra, on the road to Futtehpore Sikree;† and, shortly after this announcement, the English garrison, consisting of the 3rd European regiment, the civil lines militia, a battery of horse artillery, and the volunteer cavalry, composed of civilians and some unattached officers belonging to various disbanded corps (the whole force numbering little more than 500 men of all arms, under the command of Brigadier Polwhele), marched out to attack the rebel camp. The troops arrived in sight of the village about mid-day,

* See *ante*, p. 168.

† Sikree, or Futtehpore Sikree, is distant from Agra about 19 miles, in a direction W.S.W. of that city: it became a favourite retreat of the emperor Akbar, on account of its proximity to the tomb of the Shah Selim Cheestee, by the efficacy of whose devotion, the empress "Noor Mahal" or "Light of the Harem," after remaining several years without children, became, to the delight of Akbar, a mother. The child was a son, who, in honour of the saint, was named Selim; but on ascending the Monghol throne of Hindostan, he assumed that of Jehanghir, or "Conqueror of the World," by which title his fame spread over regions far more extensive than those under the sway of his illustrious predecessors Humayoon and Akbar.

and found the enemy strongly posted in its rear, their guns flanking the village, and protected by cavalry. The English advanced in line, with three guns on either flank, the mounted volunteers supporting. When within half a mile of the position, a tremendous fire of grape and canister opened upon them; and the infantry being ordered to lie down, the contest for more than an hour was confined on both sides to the artillery. At length a tumbril of the Agra force blew up, and the stock of ammunition began to fall short. Under such circumstances, the troops, who had gradually advanced to within 200 yards of the enemy's position, were ordered to carry it at the point of the bayonet. The men sprang forward with a cheer, and, after a fierce struggle, gained the village. Pending this, however, the rebel horse had made a wide sweep, and nearly succeeded in getting to the rear of the English force—a feat they would have accomplished but for a most gallant charge upon them by the mounted volunteers. Soon after the village was carried, another tumbril exploded, and it then became absolutely necessary to retire, as no more ammunition remained. The regular troops and their brave auxiliaries, chagrined that victory should be thus wrested from their grasp, sullenly and slowly retraced their steps to the fort, the enemy following them to the very outskirts of the city. The loss sustained on our side was exceedingly severe, as out of little more than 500 actually engaged, the casualties amounted to fifty killed and ninety-two wounded. About the middle of the action, Captain D'Oyley, who commanded the artillery, was struck by a grapeshot in the side. His horse had been killed under him early in the day; and he was stooping to assist in extricating the wheel of one of his guns, when he received the fatal blow. He sank down on a tumbril near him, but continued to give orders until overpowered by the agony of his wound. At length he murmured to an officer who was supporting him—"They have done for me now! put a stone over my grave, and say I died fighting my guns." The gallant D'Oyley was carried alive from the field, but on the following day his noble spirit left its mutilated shrine. During the action, Lieutenant Lamb, of the artillery; Major Thomas, of the 3rd Europeans; and several other officers, were also severely wounded. The cavalry of the enemy followed up the advantage they had gained by galloping into the town and cantonments. Their first act was to liberate the prisoners in the gaol, who, being speedily joined by all the budmashes and rabble of the place, the work of pillage and destruction commenced: bungalows were fired in all directions; and the amount of private property stolen and wantonly destroyed, was afterwards estimated at upwards of ten lacs of rupees. While the havoc was going on in the city, thirty-four native Christians, who had neglected to seek safety in the fort, were savagely murdered.

An official report of the occurrence was transmitted to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, on the 6th of July, by Mr. H. Muir, civil commissioner at Agra, who stated, "that the Neemuch mutineers had come upon Agra, and that they (the inhabitants) were forced to take refuge in the fort: that the mutineers had halted for a few days at Bena; and it was for some time uncertain whether they were not going to Delhi. On, however, they came, and were at Futtehpore Sikree on the 1st." The report proceeds thus:—"We had 650 European infantry and artillery, besides 200 or 300 volunteers, foot and horse; the Kotah contingent troops, from Ulwar; with a party of Kerowlee horse and foot, headed by Sefula Khan. On Saturday the mutineers being reported half-way to Futtehpore Sikree, an advance was ordered in the early part of the night. The Kotah contingent, as previously arranged, marched out of the station in the afternoon, but at its first halt mutinied, fired at its officers, and killed a sergeant; the volunteers, however, pursued them, and seized and brought back the guns and ammunition. In the morning the Kerowlee horse also left; so they had nothing but the European infantry, artillery, and volunteers to fall back upon. On Sunday forenoon the pickets reported that the enemy were three miles from the station: about midday our troops advanced, and the action began between two and three o'clock, and lasted about two hours. The mutineers had taken up a strong position. We were driving them before us, when our ammunition failed, and we were, therefore, obliged to retreat; but this was executed with all the coolness and steadiness of a parade. The night passed off quietly.

"To-day it is given out that an attack is contemplated; as far as we know, they have little more then 6-pounders. The

militia did well, but they are raw and few. Two or three hundred carabiniers would make us tolerably independent; as it is, we are virtually in a state of siege, and must, I fear, remain so till aid reaches us. It is necessary we should have the earliest possible relief. Mr. Colvin has been for the last two days totally unfit for any public duty, by an attack *of* his head.*

"Monday evening.—No attack to-day. Report says that the enemy has gone off to Furrah and Delhi, not relishing an attack under our fort guns."

The extreme disproportion between the numbers of the mutineers and of the European troops, under the command of Brigadier Polwhele, rendered the offensive movement by the latter one of great hazard; and the danger to which, in the event of failure, the European residents in the fort would have been exposed, was most imminent. No necessity appeared to justify the risk; and the conduct of the officer in command at Agra was severely commented upon for its rashness. That it was viewed with serious displeasure by the government, may be fairly inferred from the subjoined passage in a despatch from the governor-general to the assistant-commissioner at Agra (Mr. Thornhill), on the 26th of the month. After some directions upon other topics, the message proceeds thus:—"It is further ordered by the governor-general in council, that, upon receipt of this message, the command at Agra be assumed by Lieutenant-colonel Cotton, of the 69th native infantry, in place of Brigadier Polwhele, *superseded*."

The following extracts from the private correspondence of individuals engaged in this spirited, but rash and, as regarded its termination, unfortunate affair, will afford some interesting details respecting the condition of the residents within the fort at Agra, as well as of the battle of Shahgunj.

The first extract says—"The troops that went to meet the enemy on the 5th instant marched out of the station about 11 A.M., and, proceeding along the road in the direction of the village of Shahgunj, which is about six miles from Agra, entered the large sandy plain that lies to the right of the road, where the line of battle was formed, and in that order advanced slowly to meet the enemy, who were then distinctly visible, hovering in large bodies immediately to the right of the village. The British line consisted of a horse field-battery on the extreme right and left, the infantry being in the middle, and the mounted militia somewhat in the rear. When about 600 yards from the village, the insurgents opened fire on our right battery by a furious discharge of round shot, grape, and shell, which was immediately responded to with such excellent effect, that, after two rounds from each gun, they were seen retreating in great numbers. Loud cheering and repeated cries of 'Follow them up, follow them up!' were heard from all parts of the right battery; and there can be little doubt, had a dash been made, the enemy would have been driven from their position into the open field with the loss of their guns, and the action been brought to an end, with less sacrifice of life than eventually was the case. Our guns, however, limbered up, and the line again advanced; but the enemy now stood to their guns, and, having got the range, directed their fire with admirable precision, as the havoc among our men and horses painfully attested: our attack was evidently being confined to a series of deliberate advances (for of such it consisted), until we were within 200 yards of the village, which we then commenced to bombard, and it is to be feared with small loss on the other side. The most unpractised eye could see our shots were being thrown away on high mud walls, which siege guns alone could have touched; whereas, had our right battery moved only fifty yards further to the right, every shot from it must have told on the enemy's two batteries, whence was issuing so destructive a fire upon us. The consequences of this were just what might have been expected—the enemy became emboldened, their cavalry in great numbers harassed our right, and the infantry, spreading themselves over the field in skirmishing order, gave us great annoyance with their rifle firing; whilst we, from the want of cavalry, were powerless to repel them. A large number of their horse had the audacity to sweep round to our rear, and, riding up the centre, endeavoured to reach the main body, which many succeeded in doing. It is true that our mounted militia charged through a body of those hanging to the right of the line, when, after five of them had got cut to pieces, and others severely wounded, they made a precipitate retreat into the battery, and, from the direc-

* *Sic.* orig.

tion they took to reach it, intercepted a fire about being opened from a gun that had been got into position for the purpose, and which would have blown off the field every trooper at whom it was pointed.

"The firing against the village continued for fully one hour, during which time a shower of musketry was being poured on us from behind its walls and the tops of the houses. Two companies of the European regiment then entered it in most gallant style, forcing their way through, and driving out the enemy to the opposite side; and this they would have done at a much earlier stage of the action, had they been permitted. The left battery had ceased firing before the Europeans emerged from the village, though that on the right continued exchanging shot for shot with the enemy; and it was only very shortly before it had succeeded in silencing them, that the lamented Captain D'Oyley received his mortal wound. But a few rounds of ammunition remained in our waggons when that sad event occurred; nevertheless, the wounded man sat on a tumbril, and continued to give the word of command until they were expended. Want of cavalry prevented our following up what we had so dearly gained, and nothing remained for us but to retrace our steps to cantonments, and this we proceeded to do in the most orderly manner possible. Immediately the rebels perceived the movement they advanced with their guns, and nearly the whole way into Agra fired round shot at us, after a fashion peculiarly humiliating to experience, whilst small bodies of their horse threatened us on either side with such activity as to prevent our getting a shot at them.

"The whole force succeeded in reaching the fort by half-past 6 P.M., after being actively engaged for full three hours out of the time it was absent. There is no doubt that our men were fearfully outnumbered; but, despite that, they would have remained masters of the field instead of having to retire after having licked the enemy, had it not been that both men and guns had fired off the whole of the small supply of ammunition they had taken to the field. It is now supposed that the enemy were in the same predicament; and, therefore, had we not moved off, but had waited a short time longer, perhaps they might have gone first. The civil lines infantry militia, having met the tired troops coming in, were formed across the road as a rear-guard, a position they maintained until the whole force reached the fort. But while still two miles from the fort, we had the mortification of seeing the enemy's cavalry galloping towards the defenceless station, and, before we entered, several houses were already on fire. After sunset, we saw, from the bastions, houses burning on every side; and again the next night—so that hardly a house has escaped destruction; and such houses and their contents as were not consumed by fire, have been completely gutted and destroyed by other means. In fact, if we were to leave the fort to-morrow, there are not four houses in the place with roofs remaining under which we could obtain shelter; and, as for household property and other things left outside, we suspect there is not a single article in existence in serviceable order. The very doors and windows are removed, and every bit of wood torn out, so that nothing remains but the bare brick walls. Things are strewn about the roads and streets in every direction; and wherever you move you see broken chairs and tables, carriages broken in bits, crockery, books, and, in fact, every kind of property wantonly destroyed. This has not been done, we are satisfied, by the enemy, but by the budmashes of the city, and the prisoners who were liberated from the gaol.

"The enemy disappeared the day after the action, and proceeded to Bhurtpore, but nothing with certainty is known of their after movements. It is rumoured that we may expect a visit from the mutineers of the Gwalior contingent, but it is doubted by many whether they will venture to come; however, if they do come we are ready to give them a warm welcome. The fort is crowded, but not inconveniently so, and all are in good health and spirits. We are well provided with provisions and ammunition, and, upon the whole, we are pretty comfortable, and have become reconciled to the necessary imprisonment. Only two or three Christians are known to have been massacred outside—namely, Major Jacob, formerly in Scindia's service; and Mr. Hubbard, of the Agra college; but every other Christian inhabitant is supposed to be safe within the fort. The maharajah of Gwalior is said to be exerting himself for our advantage; and we have no one else to fear.

"Before concluding, it is right to mention, that our retiring from the field may be considered an act of necessary prudence; for, had the enemy succeeded in getting into

our rear later in the day, they might have cut us off from the fort, and, by overpowering the small garrison, murdered four or five thousand defenceless men, women, and children. The following is a correct abstract of the casualties that occurred in the action on the 5th. It will be acknowledged that the fighting must have been severe, seeing that a full quarter of the men engaged were placed *hors de combat*. The artillery had two officers wounded—Captain D'Oyley (since dead) and Lieutenant Lamb; three men killed, and fourteen wounded, including six native drivers. The 3rd European regiment had twenty-nine men killed; three officers (Major Thomas and Lieutenants Pond and Fellowes) and sixty-four men wounded, of whom ten have since died. The civil lines infantry militia had six gentlemen killed (Messrs. O'Connor, C. Horn, P. Horn, J. Carleton, R. Smith, and Jourdan); one officer (Major Prendergast) and seven gentlemen—Messrs. White. Ray, Blackburne, Bramley, civil service; Freeze, Outram, civil service; and Oldfield, civil service—wounded. The unattached officers, &c., had six wounded—viz., Captain W. Alexander, 10th light cavalry; Lieutenants Cockburn, Williams, and Bramley, Dr. Watson, and Conductor Hunter. The number killed or since dead is forty-nine, and the number wounded, ninety-two; making a total of 141 killed and wounded, out of a total force of about 500 men engaged."

An officer of the 3rd Europeans writes thus, on July 16th, in reference to the fort and the action:—"We are here now, like rats in a trap; there are at least four or five thousand people in this fort, mixed of course —military and civil, Eurasians, half-castes, &c.; and when we shall get out is a thing to be guessed at. On the morning of the 5th of July the news of the approach of the rebels was confirmed; they were only some five miles away, when it was determined (wisely or not is a question not to be mooted now) to go out and meet them. The old leaven rose within me, and I accompanied them. Our force consisted of about 650 European infantry and one battery of guns, the infantry commanded by Colonel Riddell, and the artillery by the gallant Captain D'Oyley; their force consisted of 4,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and eleven guns—frightful odds. I must also add, that we had on our side many mounted volunteers, gentlemen of the civil service, civilians of the station, and the officers of the 44th and 67th regiments of native infantry—regiments that have been disbanded, and their arms taken away. We left the parade about eleven in the morning, and had not proceeded more than two miles when we heard of the enemy. We arrived on an open plain, and found the enemy in position behind a village, their guns flanking the village, their cavalry again flanking the guns: our little force formed a line with three guns on each flank; those on the right flank commanded by Captain D'Oyley, and the left by Captain Pearson. We advanced thus within half a mile of them, when they opened the ball with a round shot from their left battery; our one regiment, the 3rd Europeans, got the order to lie down, the guns unlimbered, and then the fight commenced in earnest. From my own experience I can say nothing; but, from that of others, it was a hard fight of artillery for at least two hours, when one of the tumbrils of the left battery (ours) blew up; the fiends attempted a cheer, which dissolved itself into a yell. One of our guns was thus disabled. They threatened us then with a charge of cavalry, but they were immediately stopped by a rattling volley from the 3rd Europeans. After a little more artillery practice the line got the word 'advance,' and gallantly they did it, under a heavy fire of artillery and infantry, the mutinied 72nd regiment of native infantry, having their rifle company in the village, picking our poor fellows off; but they paid dearly for it afterwards: a rush was made on the village, and it was carried and surrounded. We were still to be unfortunate, for another tumbril in the left battery was blown up; we therefore had only four guns, and, strange to say, no ammunition; for the artillery, by some—what shall I say? mistake, oversight—well, never mind what—no spare ammunition had been brought out. Thus we had carried the village, driven them from their position, and then no ammunition! Of course, immediately they found their artillery was not answered, they knew there was something wrong with us, and advanced upon their old position. We had to retire under a heavy fire, and threatened on each side by their cavalry; but the fellows had not the pluck to attack us even then; they made several attempts, but a volley always sent them to the right-about. We, however, arrived safely at the fort, and immediately afterwards the work of destruction commenced. The budmashes (Indian thieves) immediately began to plunder.

Bungalows on every side were set on fire; one continual blaze the whole night. I went out the next morning; 'twas a dreadful sight indeed. Agra was destroyed—churches, colleges, dwelling-houses, barracks, everything burnt. I lost everything I possessed in the world; but we are all in the same boat. The enemy were satisfied with their licking, and went quietly off: and here we are; we can't go out—no place to go to—nothing to do but to wait for assistance, which I do trust we shall receive soon. I am sorry to say our casualties were heavy."

An officer of the Gwalior contingent, who had joined the troops at Agra on the morning previous to the engagement, also gives some interesting details of the occurrence; and, at the close of his description of the affair, says—"It was considered prudent our thus going out to give battle to the insurgents, instead of waiting to be attacked and appearing afraid of them; and it was made evident that they had received severe punishment, and thought themselves well beaten, as they went off in another direction. We were obliged to come into the fort immediately after the action, as the instant our backs were turned to go out to give battle to the rebel force at Shahgunj the villains in the city of Agra set fire to nearly every bungalow, barrack, and church in the place; and it would be difficult to give you a correct description of the scene which presented itself at night, the whole place being in a blaze, more nearly resembling a scene in the *Prophète* than anything I can think of. The whole seems a war of extermination of all Europeans in India, and a blessed thing it will be when European regiments come out to assist us. The scene in the fort for the first few days was a trying one. All the servants ran off; I had eleven in the morning, and at night not one. Ladies were seen cooking their own food, officers drawing and carrying water from the well, &c. Many people are ruined, having escaped with only the clothes on their backs. I am one of the less unfortunate, having lost about 4,000 rupees. We are now shut up here—500 fighting-men, with ammunition; and about 4,000 or 5,000 altogether, eagerly awaiting the arrival of European troops. My only prayer now is, that God may protect you all, and be pleased to spare me to see you once again, when I could be content to die in peace."

The following extracts from the letter of a civilian in the fort, also furnish some interesting particulars. The writer says—"On the night of the 3rd of July the enemy were only fifteen miles off, and the Kotahs were sent out to make a demonstration. They had not marched three miles when they shot at their officers and went over to the enemy. The villains! who would have thought it? I was so fond of them; I would have trusted my life in their hands anywhere. The excitement in Agra was immense, and nearly everybody rushed to the fort except the two posts where the militia were stationed. When the news came I was sitting in D——'s balcony, drinking coffee after a hard day's work, packing Mrs. D——'s traps, &c. (for what everybody thought of was saving their property), with J——, P——, and S——; Mrs. D—— and her husband were there also. It was pouring with rain, when a sowar came riding up, saying the enemy were close on us, killing everybody they met. Mrs. D—— rushed for her baby, and I for an umbrella. D—— took the baby, and I held up the former in all the soaking rain, and arrived all safe at one of the fortified houses. Then D—— went back to the city to learn the news, and I to his house to get the carriage. The servants had actually begun to carry off the property. They have always proved themselves the most active in robbing their masters during this row. With pistol in hand I walked to the stables, and never got the syces to 'put-to' so quickly before; and then, after picking up Mrs. D—— and the baby, I took them, with the doctor, to Mr. B——'s house, our deputy collector, just under the guns of the fort, as D—— had on objection to going into the fort. After this I met D—— riding hard to the fortified post; he had been shot at by a Kotah sowar, but had taken him prisoner; and then he sent me three miles out of Agra for news, when I met with an adventure. The reason of my going was this: a Mohammedan, Sefula Khan, had a month previous brought into the Agra district a lot of wild-looking men from Kerowlee, as he said, to help D—— to get in his revenue—about 500 men in all, regular cowards, but good fellows to plunder villages, &c.; and they are a different caste from these sepoys, and all native infantry troops; and, hearing of this Neemuch force so near, and the Kotahs gone against us, they were in a great fright, and wanted to get into the government-

house compound, and fortify themselves for the night, but would not go there, unless D—— sent one of his officers to show them the way and give them admittance. The officers who commanded them had come in, and I thought they only wanted to get me in a trap. However, I went as ordered, and when arrived among them was immediately surrounded, and taken prisoner by their sowars, while their infantry struck their tents to march. They insulted and bullied me, and I had not even a cheroot in my pocket to look serene. I learnt a lesson of patience, but had no fears; for though quite alone, I knew a higher power was guarding me, so for three hours I laughed at them, till all the tents were on camels, and the foot ready to start, when they ordered me to lead the way to government-house. Two sowars were placed in front of me, and two behind: it was dark, and I could hardly find my way, and they would have killed me at once had I led them wrong. The worst of it was, I told Sefula Khan there was no guard at government-house, thinking there were only a few of my police; and to my surprise, when I got there, I found a subahdar and forty men of the Kotah contingent, the very fellows these Kerowlee boys were so frightened of; and I was therefore between two fires. But, to cut a long story short, the subahdar was an old friend of mine, as we used to have long chats together when on a march with the whole contingent. I reproached him with the infidelity and cowardice of the regiment in shooting at their officers and going over to the enemy. He said it was caused by some of the cavalry, who were a bad lot, and created a panic among the infantry, who cut and run anywhere; but he and his forty men were faithful to their salt. So I told him how I had got into the hands of the Kerowlee men; and on a promise that I would, when I returned to Agra, tell the brigadier how they were situated, they opened a way for me, and the Kerowlee cowards slunk away. My horse carried me safe in at 2 A.M., and I gave the subahdar's message. That night I got no bed, for my house was not considered safe. I had forgotten to send my bed and traps to a safe place, and lay down where the militia were assembled. On the morning of the 5th of July, both the 3rd fusiliers, with the battery and militia, went out to give battle to the enemy. I was out of that fun, as the city was my post. The battle began at 2 P.M., and went on till 5 o'clock, with incessant firing, when we fell short of ammunition and had to retreat —our loss tremendous, as they are said to have worked their guns splendidly, and had among them a rifle company of the 72nd native infantry, who picked off lots of our officers. Directly those in the city heard of our retreat, the police ran away, and the prisoners got loose. The rogues then got guns, and shot down all they met. Poor Hubbard was killed getting from his house to the fort. Shot came about me from all the houses, but I was most mercifully preserved. The troops had just time to get under the fort with the poor wounded, and dhoolies-full were carried in. At 7 P.M. we were all in the fort; the big guns frightened the enemy, and they contented themselves with burning all our houses. Such bonfires I never saw. All night long, from the walls of the fort, we were looking at our houses burning sky-high—some hundreds, on all sides; it was most humiliating. Murders and robberies were going on all day and night in the city, and many native Christians were killed. By the papers you will read most of the details, though they won't tell you that I am about as great a beggar as you ever saw. A few shirts and trowsers is all I have with my name, my bed, and my horse. What more can a man want? On the night of the 5th the soldiers shot at every black face that came in sight; so many of our servants who would have come in have been frightened. Among them Raspberry, and the mate-bearer; the former had fever on him some time before the fight. Bengalees are proverbially timid, and I fancy my two were frightened into fits or tumbled down dead. My khitmutgur, the only man who made his appearance, I discovered stealing my rupees, so I kicked him out of the fort; but, fortunately, I had little to look after, and never felt better nor more serene in my life. That Bible I do miss; the one E. C—— bought for me, and you gave me as a boy, and which I have had since I was thirteen years old. I have saved M. A——'s big one, and the Prayer-book you gave me in 1852. May God bless you all, as he has preserved and comforted me lately. I hope you have all been trusting me in the hands of God, and feeling if I am killed it is for good. All the enemy have gone to Delhi, and Agra now is quiet; but we have no houses to go to."

Another letter from the fort, on the 19th of July, says—"Here we are, shut up in this wretched place since the 5th. There are about 4,500 men, women, and children in here now, and they are well packed. I am an assistant executive engineer, under Colonel Glassford. I was appointed by the brigadier on the 28th of June, and have arranged all the quarters in the fort, and put the people in them, and have had great work; but I am sorry that I got the appointment, as it prevented me going to the battle outside. We shelled the fellows from here. Colonel Cotton, of the late 57th, rode my horse, as I was not allowed to keep him here. He got two hits from bullets, but is nearly right now, and will carry me well, I hope, in the next. As soon as we get help we will go out. They have burnt and plundered all the cantonments and civil lines. You never saw such a blaze as it was. They killed a great many trying to come into the fort, stripped them naked, and cut their heads off, and women and children are lying about the roads. We have caught a good many, and hang them up every night; but the authorities are very weak, and do not act half earnestly enough; but when we get a good man, I trust we shall show them that we are not done yet."

A lady, writing from the fort on the 15th of the month, says—"We are all well, thank God! but we have had a great deal of discomfort and fatigue to go through since our arrival here. Some three days after the dispatch of our last letters, all the ladies were warned to leave their rooms and take up their quarters in the fort, in the respective dens assigned for them there; but the gentlemen were still to remain in cantonments in case of an attack from the mutineers outside, who were supposed to be collected in vast numbers near Agra. Well, we obeyed orders, and a few days after our arrival every spare nook in the fort was occupied; and one Sunday (the 5th) the European soldiers and militia were likewise sent in—at least a few of them, the rest remaining on the plain with all the officers fit for duty; and at twelve o'clock that day, on news being received that the mutineers' force was within six miles of Agra, the brigadier determined on our few Europeans of the 3rd and the militia going out to meet the enemy at once. There are numbers of officers here now, fugitives from the different stations, and, of course, they had also to attend. They met the enemy at three o'clock, and oh! it was dreadful to hear the booming of the cannon, and the incessant firing, which continued for upwards of three hours. You may well imagine the state of anxiety we were all in, knowing how many must have fallen during the action. Captain Campbell, who was on duty in the fort, took Mrs. Proctor and myself to the Flagstaff bastion, where we saw a great deal of what was passing below—not the action, but the position of the enemy. At first news was brought that we had been quite victorious; but, alas! this was not true. Two of our tumbrils blew up; and, for want of ammunition, our men had to make a hasty retreat into the fort, with the loss of 130 killed and wounded. Oh! it was a sad sight to see the poor wounded men coming into the fort. We could all see distinctly the retreat of our troops. Then, immediately they were compelled to return, the released prisoners (some 4,000 in number), and all the bad men in the city, besides sowars and sepoys, commenced burning the civil lines; and by one o'clock that morning the whole of the Agra cantonments and civil lines were in flames. It was a most appalling sight. R—— and J—— were, of course, in the action, and our feelings of thankfulness can scarcely be imagined when we saw them return in safety. Officers who had been present during almost all the battles in the Sutlej, do not remember being under heavier firing. That night the enemy left Agra for Muttra, and are still hovering about this; but everything is prepared for a six months' sojourn here; and long before that we hope to have reinforcements of European troops. We are leading a very unsettled, ship-like kind of life; no one is allowed to leave the fort, except bodies of armed men. We are living in a place they call the 'Palace-yard;' it is a square, with a gallery round it, with open arches. Every married couple are allowed two arches; but we have preferred throwing our quarters and M——'s into one. Poor Mrs. Proctor, whose husband was murdered before her in Gwalior, is also living with us. We have just room for our four rope charpoys, and one or two small tables, and find it no easy task to keep the place clean and tidy. We saw Mr. Bannerman for the first time yesterday. I can scarcely write, there is such a noise all day long. When we can leave this none can tell, and when we are able to leave it we have no houses to go to, as there is scarcely a station standing in this part of India."

A letter from the fort, dated the 27th of August, says—"Here we are, still cooped up in the fort. As yet we have not been attacked. The rains are pretty nearly over now; so I presume, unless we speedily get reinforcements, we must expect to be beleaguered by the Gwalior and Indore forces, who are all at Gwalior, about eighty miles from here. I trust that the authorities in England are at last satisfied that it is a serious matter, and not to be quelled by four extra regiments. It is a general rising in or of India, promoted by Mussulmans doubtless, but largely participated in by the Hindoos. The sepoys' plea of religion is 'bosh;' it is a war of race—'Asiatic against European.' Nothing can quell it but deluging the whole land with the blood of these dastardly women-and-children murderers. Hitherto the Hindoos have been equally culpable with the Moslems; but I think they have been much misled by the Mohammedans. I hear that already dissension is rising among them, and they are beginning to see their error (the Hindoos); but they have gone too far in their cowardly atrocities, and no mercy can be shown them. We have about 500 regular soldiers in this fort able for duty, besides some 400 officers, gentlemen, and *kerranies* (*Anglice*, government writers), some 2,500 women and children, and a few hundred native servants, traitors in their hearts, who, in the event of a siege, would require strict watching. We made (about fifty of us) a raid to Futtehpore about three weeks ago, and dislodged about 500 *newatties* (thieves.) We killed a lot, and only got one of ours wounded, so we returned in great spirits. I have been laid up ever since with cold and liver-complaint from the hardships we endured, sleeping on the ground, &c.; but, thank God, I am all right again, and fit for nigger killing with the best of them. I believe, if we are besieged, we can hold this fort against any number of niggers; but their shells I fear would kill very many women and children. The number of common men (adventurers as they call them in India) who are ruined by this revolution is very great. I think, myself, we shall get compensation from government. At any rate, I'll try hard. I don't possess sixpence in the world at present. Three months ago I consider I represented from £12,000 to £15,000 in timber, cash, &c., besides a good stud, carriage, furniture, &c.; but *nil. desp.* If I live, I feel certain I shall get on somehow. If this country is properly and vigorously handled, no one has any conception of its resources and capabilities. At any rate, I have never seen one equal to it, and I've tried my luck in a good many. Two days ago a detachment went out from this, and killed about 300 niggers. Very satisfactory this. I told you in a former letter about our battle at Futtehpore Sikree. We were under very heavy artillery fire for two hours and a-half. The enemy were ten to one, and intrenched. We killed heaps of them, but suffered much ourselves. I was there as one of the escort to our guns. The brigadier expressed his satisfaction at my conduct in the field."

Whatever might have been the positive inconveniences attending a forced sojourn in the crowded fort for a space of some months, with an enemy incessantly prowling under its walls, and without any immediate prospect of succour, it would seem that, closely packed as our countrymen and their brave defenders must have been, they kept in good heart, and were at no loss for amusement amidst the difficulties that surrounded them. If the reports in some of the letters are entitled to credence, it would appear, that "such, indeed, was at one time the exuberance of their mirth, that it was found necessary to promulgate a general order condemnatory of singing, and playing on flutes and cornopeans."

About 1,500 mutinous sepoys were afterwards known to have been among the insurgents in the action of the 5th of July. The rebel force was commanded by Sirdharee Sing, of Untabeg, recently a subahdar in the 1st light cavalry. The enemy had twelve guns on the ground, and a host of Goojurs followed the troops with the sole object of plundering the city and cantonments, and murdering such Europeans as might fall in their way.

JHELUM.—Among the seats of disaffection that were avowing themselves, about the beginning of July, by acts of decided hostility to the government, the town of Jhelum,* in the Punjab, has a claim to notice. At this place the 14th regiment of native

* Jhelum, or Jhylum, is a small town and military cantonment, situate on the east bank of the river from which it derives its name—the *Hydaspes* of the Greeks; which is a tributary to the Indus, and the most western of the five rivers of the Punjab. The town has no particular claim to notice on the score of its buildings or manufactures; but it is exceptionally clean, although, for the most part, the streets

infantry was in cantonment; and from indications of a mutinous tendency on the part of the corps that could not be mistaken, it was deemed requisite, by the authorities at Lahore, that it should be disarmed; and three companies of her majesty's 24th regiment, with five officers, under the command of Colonel Ellice, were dispatched on the 1st of July, from their quarters at Rawul Pindee (seventy miles distant), for the purpose of effecting the object. The troops arrived at Jhelum on the morning of the 7th, and happened to march into the lines at the time the men of the 14th were drawn up on the parade-ground. The instant the latter observed the approach of the Europeans, they appeared to be seized by an uncontrollable frenzy, and, as by one impulse, loaded their muskets, and having fired at their officers (fortunately without effect), they rushed towards the shelter of their huts. Colonel Ellice instantly gave the order to follow the mutineers; but the latter having gained cover, shot down the troops as they approached, without injury to themselves. They were, however, after a hand-to-hand struggle, driven from their hiding-places, and fled to an adjacent village, where for a time the cover was equally advantageous for them. From this position, also, they were ejected, though with a great sacrifice on the part of the 24th regiment, the sepoys fighting with desperate courage, and disputing every inch of ground. Unfortunately, no cavalry was at hand to pursue the flying rebels, most of whom escaped into the jungle with their arms and ammunition. The loss on our side, in this hasty affair, was—one officer, two sergeants, and twenty-three men killed; and three officers, four corporals, and forty-three men wounded.

A letter from an officer of the 24th, dated from the camp at Goojerat, July 15th, refers to the skirmish thus:—"I regret to say that we lost one officer in this affair, Captain Spring. Colonel Ellice was dangerously wounded through the chest while gallantly leading the charge. Poor young Streathfield, the bravest of the brave, got a bullet through both knees, smashing the right one to atoms, and going through the other. The right leg was amputated at the thigh, and he is now progressing, I hope and trust satisfactorily. Chichester was shot through the left arm, but is doing well. De Montmorency got off with a bullet through his trowsers, another shooting away his scabbard; but he was not hurt himself. Sam Burns has his cheek grazed by a ball. The other officer, Captain Macpherson, got off scot-free. The officers here named were the only ones present at Jhelum at the time. Captain Spring was dâking from Roorkee, and had arrived at Jhelum only on the morning of the mutiny: twenty-four men were buried with him on the 9th. Poor Ellice is dreadfully wounded, having, in addition to the wound through his chest, got a ball through his left leg; he, Streathfield, and Chichester, have been taken to a large house in Jhelum, where they are well taken care of. Government has offered a reward of thirty rupees per head (about £3) for every fugitive sepoy. We had the satisfaction of shooting forty-eight of them on the evening of the 8th; and, the following day, we blew twenty-five away from the cannon's mouth. The odds in numbers were dreadfully against us; the sepoys were 702 in number, and our three companies only mustered 247 men."

RAWUL PINDEE.—On the same day the above affair occurred at Jhelum, the 58th native infantry were ordered to be disarmed at this place,* and the remaining companies of the 24th regiment, with the horse artillery at the station, were charged with the duty of enforcing the order. The troops were accordingly paraded, having the guns in the centre, and the 58th were marched upon the ground. As soon as the latter became aware of the object of the demonstration, they hesitated for a moment, and then breaking from their ranks, they fled like frightened sheep from the parade-ground; the Europeans being with difficulty restrained by their officers from firing at the disorderly rabble. The sepoys were then surrounded in their lines, and being sensible that resistance would involve their immediate destruction, they made a virtue of necessity, and surrendered their arms. That mischief had been intended, was evi-

are narrow and intricate. The river is here generally fordable, and, on that account, Jhelum is supposed, by Sir A. Burnes, to have been the scene of conflict between Alexander the Great and Porus, and to occupy the site of the city founded by the conqueror.—*Vide* Introduction, p. 17.)

* Rawul Pindee is a large fortified town of the Punjab, forty-seven miles E.S.E. of Attock: it consists chiefly of flat-roofed earthern houses, with the remains of a palace built by Shah Soojah; a bazaar and some mosques, &c. It still possesses a considerable transit trade with Affghanistan, &c.

dent from the fact, that when the muskets were handed over to the magazine officers, 200 of them were found loaded with ball cartridge. Happily, the affair ended without bloodshed on either side.

SAUGOR.—The mutiny of the native troops at this station* appears to have been attended with some peculiar circumstances. The brigade in cantonments, at the beginning of July, consisted of the 31st and 42nd regiments of native infantry, and the 3rd irregular cavalry. From some indications of a mutinous spirit among the troops, Brigadier Sage, commanding the district, considered it advisable to secure the public treasure and magazine, and to call the whole of the European residents within the fort, to which also he summoned the European officers belonging to the three corps. This arrangement was carried into effect on the 28th and 29th of June; and the evil-inclined men of the 42nd, and 3rd cavalry, no sooner found themselves relieved from the presence of their officers, than they began to plunder the cantonments. This outrage was discountenanced by the native officers and men of the 31st regiment, and by some few troopers of the 3rd cavalry, and the result of their interference was a serious quarrel and a fight. On the 11th of the month, the officer commanding at Allahabad telegraphed to the governor-general as follows:—

"Received by dâk letters from Brigadier Sage (Saugor, 3rd instant), that on 29th ultimo, the artillery, with magazine, ladies, and children, moved into the fort where civilians and all were; that while writing, the 3rd irregular cavalry, 41st, and part of 31st, are looting cantonments; that he could not move out to drive them away, having no infantry; that the fort could not hold out if attacked, having only ninety men and officers, and the walls will fall from concussion of guns; asking for a European regiment, or a wing, to be sent sharp to his relief."

It appeared further by the telegram, that no assistance could be sent from Allahabad, and, in fact, none could have arrived in time to prevent the consummation of the mutiny. The greater portion of the 31st regiment were yet loyal, and their comrades were impatient of the check imposed upon them by such fidelity. This, in a short time, led to a second quarrel between the men of the several corps, who, on the 7th and 8th of July, were again engaged in open conflict. The result of the fight was the entire defeat of the mutineers, who were driven from the cantonments with considerable loss of life, but taking with them the signal-gun of the station, and a number of commissariat elephants. On the 9th the 31st pursued the discomfited rebels, who abandoned the gun and elephants; and their flight then became so rapid, that their pursuers were not able to come up with them and inflict further chastisement. During all this fighting between the native troops, it is to be remarked, that no European officers were present with the corps to which they belonged, the whole of them being shut up in the fort, and retained there by the order of Brigadier Sage, as we have already noticed. The intimation of the fact by telegram from Allahabad, was the first communication received by government on the subject, and it naturally excited great astonishment. On the 18th of the month, the secretary to the government addressed the deputy adjutant-general of the forces as follows:—

"Fort William, July 18th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed to request that you will move the commander-in-chief to call upon Brigadier Sage, commanding the Saugor district, for an explanation of his conduct in retiring to the fort at Saugor with all the European officers, leaving the native regiments without their officers. I am desired to add, that it appears from messages by telegraph, that the 31st native regiment behaved loyally after the officers had retired to the fort. Brigadier Sage should be called upon to give a full detail of all the circumstances connected with his quitting the cantonments, and of the subsequent proceedings at Saugor.—I am &c.—R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

The following appears to be the explanatory statement of the brigadier, in regard to this extraordinary and isolated case:—

"In all the mutinies that have flooded the military stations with blood, one line of conduct appears to have been pursued; the officers trusting their men against conviction—or rather what ought to have been conviction—and common sense; sleeping in the lines with their men, and sleeping on, until the men had matured their plans, and the officers were shot down, or had their

* Saugor is a town of Central India, about ninety-two miles north-east of Bhopal: it is only important as a military station.

throats cut. I had two regiments of infantry (sepoys) and one regiment of native cavalry, and only sixty-eight European gunners. I had the fort, magazine, and battering train at one end of the cantonments, and what is called the Artillery-hill at the other; distance between the two, three miles and a quarter. I could not keep both; if I kept the hill, in all probability I should lose the fort, the magazine, and the key of the Saugor district. At the hill I had no provisions, and no room to store them, and water had to be brought from below. Things were in this state—the sepoys had the treasury and the fort; in fact, we were all at their mercy; and men of the three regiments met every night, and talked openly of what they intended to do. In this state of affairs an application came from Lullutpore (on the north of Saugor) for assistance. Two guns and ammunition were asked for. I sent one company and one troop of each regiment, and two 9-pounders; and the question was, would they march or not? They did march; and, at the first halt, conspired to murder their officers and return: the 42nd proposed this; the 31st would not agree; so they made a second march. Four men of the 42nd sent a message to the detachment to come back, as a European regiment was coming to punish them. 'It is conscience that makes cowards of us all.' I arrested the messenger and the four sepoys, and tried them by a drum-head court-martial. They were sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour at 6 P.M., and were on their way to Hosungabad gaol, in irons, at twelve at midnight, where they now are. At Lullutpore the troops mutinied, and the rajah of Baudpore took the country. Major G——, who commanded the detachment, wrote for reinforcements. I sent 400 infantry and 100 cavalry. The night before these men were to march was chosen by the mutineers for a strike. I made them march in the day, and kept on the watch. An attempt was now made on Colonel Dalzell's life, who commands the 42nd; his assailant was put fast in gaol. The alarm was great; and there was a hue-and-cry that I took no care of the lives of the Europeans, particularly ladies and children. I waited for an overt act of unmistakable mutiny before I would throw down the gauntlet. It came soon enough. A small fort (Balabet) was stormed, and captured by Major G——'s detachment, and sixteen prisoners were taken; the men of the 31st and 42nd—*i.e.*, portions of them—insisted on Major G—— releasing the prisoners, which he did. The Baudpore rajah, to whom these prisoners belonged, wrote into camp, offering the sepoys twelve rupees a-month if they would leave their officers and go over with their arms and ammunition. Here was no mistake. I might have the rebel rajah and the mutineers of the camp in rear of the artillery, and my sixty-eight Europeans at any hour of the day, as Matthone, where the camp was, is not more than thirty-seven miles from Saugor; then the mutineers of the cantonments would be in our front, and the 3rd irregular cavalry on our flank. The position was compromised, and I began operations. First I removed the treasure into the fort, then emptied the expense magazine, and the artillery magazine; removed the women, children, and baggage of the artillery company into the fort; and then I went down to the fort and relieved the sepoy guard at the gate with a guard of Europeans. Thus by one stroke I won the fort, the magazine, and the treasure. Then I put in all the ladies and children; and the next day, being Sunday, sent in some necessary articles of furniture, clothes, &c. On Monday morning, while the grand guard-mounting was going on, I marched the company of artillery and No. 4 light field-battery into the fort; all Christians had been ordered to come in also; and all was safe. I then sent for all the native officers, and told them of the mutinies that had taken place; that they, being the greater number, and according to their own statement good and loyal men, looked on and did nothing; that if they chose to allow bad men to destroy their honour and ruin their regiments, I would place no confidence in them; and that I would not trust any European officers with men who had forfeited my esteem and my confidence. If they wished to preserve their honour and their regiments, they must seize the mutineers and deliver them up to me. There was a scene. I was firm, and they promised everything. The next day I had a similar conference with the native officers of the 3rd irregular cavalry, and with the same result as to promises; but mark the faith and honour of Mohammedans! The next morning, after muster, Captain Mayne came to me, saying his men had sharpened their swords and gone to pray at the mosque, and he

had been advised to fly for his life. This officer was certain his men were true and loyal, and would stay with them instead of coming into the fort. The 42nd joined the 3rd irregular cavalry; but the 31st held aloof. The bungalows and bazaar were plundered: but having not one company I could trust to flank my guns, I would not risk them. On the 7th a trooper fired at a sepoy of the 31st; the sepoy, in return, shot the trooper dead, and a fight ensued between the 42nd and 3rd on one side, and the 31st on the other. The 31st sent for assistance. I gave the sixty cavalry, who had remained true, and there was a good deal of firing. Forty men of the 1st company of the 31st joined the mutineers. In the evening they sent to me again for two guns. I sent them word it was too late, but in the morning I would send them victory. The mutineers got hold of this, and fled in the night, the 31st and sixty troopers pursuing them for some miles. When the men in camp heard this, they seized the guns, and marched for cantonments; but having the river Dussein to cross, they found a body of infantry and cavalry ready to receive them. On this, the mutineers went off in the night; almost all the cavalry, the native officers and men of the 42nd, and six of the 31st; and here ended the mutiny—at least I hope so. Since then I have had detachments out at Dumah and Benaicka, both of which have been successful, and we are strengthening the fort every day. We have provisions for six months, medical stores, and doctors; but the enemy (the cholera) has visited us for all that. You will observe, I have, with God's blessing, saved all my officers, and made the good men drive out the mutineers."

The result of this explanation does not appear in any subsequent official correspondence, and, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that it was satisfactory.

SEALKOTE.—The disturbances at this station—a town of the Punjab, about sixty-five miles E.N.E. of Lahore—commenced with a mutinous outbreak of the men of the 46th regiment of native infantry, and of the 9th Bengal light cavalry, on the morning of Thursday, the 9th of July. The first intimation of disorder was given by a number of mounted troopers, who rode furiously into the infantry lines about half-past four in the morning, shouting "Deen! Deen!" and calling upon the soldiers to "get ready." The alarm given in the cantonments soon spread to the town, and the European residents were aroused from their beds by cries of "The force has mutinied!—fly! fly for safety!" Meantime the troops, responding to the call to get ready, rushed to the bells of arms, which they took possession of, and commenced firing at their officers as fast as they came within sight. The fort in the city was the only place to which the terrified women and children of the European families could fly for protection, and thither they proceeded; but many of them, on the way, fell a sacrifice to the mad fury of the soldiers, who thronged the streets, and, in their blind excitement, shot down their officers and any Europeans that came within range, not sparing even their own people whom they suspected were favourable to the *sahib log*. Brigadier-colonel Frederick Brind, of the Bengal artillery, who at this time held the command at Sealkote, was an officer universally esteemed for his soldierly bearing; but, unfortunately, he had too much confidence in the loyalty of the troops under his command, and became himself the first victim of their perfidy. The example afforded by his murderers was quickly imitated; and while one portion of the rebel force was occupied in searching the place for Europeans to massacre, others were busily engaged in the work of plunder and destruction, carrying off whatever was convenient, and burning or otherwise destroying what they could not remove. After spending several hours in riotous excess and wanton mischief, the rebels, sated with their orgies, marched from the station, leaving it a complete ruin, and many of its surviving inhabitants heart-crushed and desolate. Being aware that General Nicholson's movable column was in the neighbourhood of Umritsir, the mutineers proceeded in the direction of Goordaspore, where there was but little to oppose so large a force; most probably feeling confident of carrying with them the 2nd irregular cavalry, and further swelling their numbers by alienating the 4th native infantry, at Noorpoor, from their loyalty. However, in both these they were deceived. General Nicholson, hearing of the mutiny on Friday the 10th, instantly moved his force (consisting of Dawe's troop of horse artillery, Bourchier's battery, her majesty's 52nd light infantry, a detachment of Punjab irregular infantry, and some newly-raised

Sikh cavalry) towards Goordaspore, which place he reached on Saturday, at 2 P.M., having made the march (forty miles) with but one halt, and that for half-an-hour only. The scouts sent out to watch the enemy saw their cavalry all night long endeavouring to ford the Ravee, but in vain; and the boats having previously been sunk, they were prevented crossing in any other way. On Sunday, the 12th, about half-past 8 A.M., it was reported that the force had discovered a ford at Trimmoo, a distance of seven miles from camp, and were crossing. The general at once moved out; and on coming up to the enemy, about a mile and a-half from the river, it was found they had secured an excellent position amongst brushwood and the dry bed of a nullah. About five companies were extended in skirmishing order, the remainder drawn up in column, and the whole flanked by cavalry. Our guns were taken up to within 300 yards, under a most murderous fire, and then opened with grape. In an instant after, the cavalry charged from either flank, and got into the rear of the guns, when there ensued much pistolling and hand-to-hand encounters; till the cavalry, finding they had decidedly got into the wrong place, galloped back again, but not before they had paid for their temerity by heavy loss. The steady and well-directed fire of the old 52nd and the gallant Sikhs, told fearfully amongst the enemy, who came down skirmishing to within thirty yards of the guns, kneeled, and fired; many of them, whilst in the act of firing, were laid low by the shower of grape poured into them. This considerably disconcerted them, and they fled, closely pursued; many were bayoneted, and more were drowned in recrossing the river. On coming up to the river's bank, the mutineers opened on their pursuers from the opposite side with a 12-pounder gun; this, however, did not save their camp. It was painfully amusing to see the things they had brought with them in the shape of plunder: amongst other matters were ladies' lace collars, Bibles, eau-de-cologne, lockets with hair, and an overland letter. The loss on the English side was but small—five killed and fifty wounded; the latter chiefly native troops. The enemy's loss was about 400 killed. Thus ended the 12th, and with it the hopes of the mutineers—in the morning a strong force, confident of success; at night, a broken and dispirited rabble, flying for safety. The 13th and 14th passed quietly, bands of mutineers being brought in by the villagers, having previously thrown away their arms and accoutrements to expedite their flight, and render capture less certain. On the 15th, the general, hearing that some 300 of them had taken possession of an island in the Ravee, about five miles in length, and had placed their guns in an intrenched position, moved a portion of the force, and effected a landing on the island. After exchanging a few shots with those about the gun, the men gave a cheer and rushed on, and, in a moment, the gun was taken. Then commenced a disorderly flight, the 52nd and Sikhs close in pursuit, bayoneting them down to the water's edge. All who could took to the water, where many were shot, whilst more were drowned in attempting to cross. Their discomfiture was complete. About 200 who fled after the action of the 12th, made their way into the territories of the Maharajah Gholab Sing, where they were captured, and delivered over to the authorities.

The following graphic detail of this affair is from a civil officer of rank with General Nicholson's force:—

"Goordaspore, 16th July, 11.30 A.M.

"I have this moment galloped in from Trimmoo, after witnessing the complete discomfiture of the remnant of the Sealkote mutineers, the capture of their gun, and their dispersion into the Ravee. The mutineers had their gun in a breastwork on the very margin of the island; Bourchier's howitzer and two 9-pounders were placed on the very margin of the mainland on this side, the intervening distance being at least 1,150 yards.

"At daybreak, this morning, the 52nd began to be crossed over to the island, about three-quarters of a mile below, where the rebel gun was. There being only two small boats, the operation was a tedious one. While this was going on, Bourchier had some very pretty practice with round shot and shrapnel at the enemy's gun, which replied very well indeed with round shot, but only indifferently with grape. One round shot knocked over four of Bourchier's horses. Not a man was touched. About seven o'clock, when the greater portion of the infantry had crossed, Nicholson himself went over and advanced, attended by half-a-dozen sowars, only to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He then went back and brought up the infantry. The skirmishers of her majesty's 52nd led, and I think there

were two lines of the 52nd in support. It was uncommonly pretty to watch the advance from this side. Poor Brigadier Brind's khansumah, who is said to have been the chief artilleryist of the enemy, now turned his big gun round to bear upon the approaching infantry. Bourchier and Colonel Dawe, who now brought two of their horse artillery guns to bear, plied the enemy with round shot and shrapnel: he heeded it not, but gave our infantry two, if not three, rounds of grape. The skirmishers doubled, and in a minute had taken the gun. It was helter-skelter with the mutineers. A few stood at the gun, or were under the bank near it; these were speedily disposed of. The rest ran to the head of the island, were followed up by our fellows, and took to the water; many must have been drowned; numbers were like mud-larks on sand-banks and small islands; and how *poor* Pandy is to get out of it, I know not. There is deep water on the other side, and the villagers are up. There are only one or two places on this side where they can cross; these are watched, and the zemindars are all alive. I rode about two miles up the left bank with Boswell's Shere Dhils. The congratulations of the people were sincere. 'Moobaruk-bad' was said heartily. Lots more of carriages and buggies, camp equipage, &c., were found on the island. Nicholson left Adams to collect everything. The accounts vary as to the number of fighting-men on the island. There were a great number of camp-followers. All agree that at least eighty mutineers were killed this morning. Our loss is, I rejoice to say, not more than four men of the 52nd wounded. The thing was right-well planned, and right-well executed. My first and very brief campaign is over. It is more exciting and interesting a good deal than hearing appeals. But I must get back to the old dry work. I will see that all is kept going for securing the runaways, and then purpose making the best of my way back to Lahore. The Sealkote mutineers have indeed been frustrated in their plan. They fully believed that we had nothing but a few irregulars and police to meet them, and they were confident of breaking through. Their discomfiture is complete."

The subjoined extracts from correspondence referring to the outrages at Sealkote, afford vivid reminiscences of the tragedy enacted at that station. The letters from which the passages have been selected appear to be well authenticated. Dr. J. H. Butler, 9th light cavalry, in a letter dated from Sealcote, July 13th, says—"We had hoped that all was right with our brigade. But, alas! on the night of the 8th of July they laid their plans to rise in mutiny on the following morning, the 9th. At a quarter past 4 A.M. I was called up to see the sowars, who were in open mutiny, riding about the cantonments, shooting all they could of the male sex having a European garb. No intimation from any of the authorities was given us, but we had previously arranged with Mr. and Mrs. Saunders to have our carriages in readiness in case of an outbreak, and a few things in carpet bags to take with us: this was all done, and we were about to start, when a trooper, with his carbine pointed, came into the compound and cleared it of our servants and carriages, and brought up the sepoys of the 46th native infantry, to surround the house and massacre us. We were now a party of sixteen—fourteen Europeans and two natives (female servants.) We bolted and barred the doors, and silently awaited the approach of the murderers. Of the fourteen Europeans three only were men, all congregated in the drawing-room, whence the ladies retreated to the bathing-room, and then into a small lumber-room (in a private part of the house, to which is attached a side-door); in this room there were fortunately two small windows, one open; and in the door some grating, which afforded ventilation.

"The party of sepoys brought to the house by the sound of the bugle were now within the house, and had followed us to the bathing-room, but, seeing my pistol presented at them, they went off. This enabled us to make good our retreat to the lumber-room, into which we got, and fastened the door with a strong bar of wood. No sooner had we done this than one of the villains came and fired into the room, but missed hitting any one; they then began to plunder, after firing promiscuously into every room they came to, with the hope of killing every one in the house. We were for nearly six hours kept in a terrible state of suspense and alarm, expecting every moment would be our last. At 11 A.M. the *chowkedar* (or watchman) came and brought us some water, and said our only security was in keeping quiet—that the house was being plundered. The yells were frightful. We

heard the sowars, from time to time, riding about the compound, anxious to get hold of us, but the chowkedar told them we were gone. When the mutineers blew up the magazine, we thought they were blowing up the side of our hiding-place, to induce us to come out, to massacre us. One thief tried to break-in our door, and looked in at the grating; I took a steady aim and shot him dead: this saved us from further molestation from the plunderers, deterring others from approaching our hiding-place. The watchman came again at two o'clock, and told us the troops were going away, and that in the evening it would be safe to make our way to the fort, a distance of a mile and a quarter. We were reported killed. At one time, thinking there was no hope, we made over our youngest boy, an infant at the breast, to the native nurse, and she promised to screen him. She took him out under the charge of the watchman, but was unable to leave the compound till we ourselves left. She did not come to the fort that night; but I sent for her the next day, and she brought our babe to us in safety. We are anxiously looking for assistance from home. Public news you will see in the papers. We have been plundered of everything; property of every description lost—houses, carriages, furniture, and wearing apparel."

The next extract is from the letter of a clergyman, who dates from the fort Sealkote, July 14th:—"On the morning of the 8th of July I rode to the post-office, where many of us assembled every day for tidings from Delhi. The mail brought no news, but an order from Sir John Lawrence for me to join the movable column. I also received a friendly note from Mr. Jones, assistant-commissioner, to go out to Mr. Moncton's (civil service) to breakfast, and dine at Inglis's house (civil lines.) I did not go to breakfast, but returned to my bungalow, packed up, and arranged my affairs; settled everything as far as I could for my departure next day, which was to have been at 3 A.M., in company with a missionary and his wife and child (now, alas! no more.) With them I was to have gone as far as Goojeranwalla, and then to strike off for Umritsir. At two I drove out to Moncton's, and dined; and when rising to come away at eight o'clock, Jones said to me, 'You are not to return to-night; you must sleep here.' I remonstrated, having yet so much to do. 'No matter; here you must stay!' I asked, why? 'The brigadier has bound us to secrecy.' Of course, I at once saw something was wrong, so settled to stay. The brigadier, from the first, has made wonderful mistakes. He never disarmed the force, and for two months we have been as it were waiting the pleasure of these brutal devils to put us to death. When the brigadier heard of the mutiny at Jhelum, and of the escape of the survivors of the 14th, he became alarmed, but not before having miraculously maintained confidence in the sepoys. When the danger was hinted at, I could no longer contain myself. 'The brigadier's policy, from the first,' said I, 'was wrong. He has put too much faith in the villains. He ought to have made a stand against all the Queen's troops being taken away from us by the authorities. Before they went, the sepoys should at least have been disarmed. I was aware,' I said, 'he did not approve; but that was not enough; he ought to have made a stand; and I now assert, and if he and I live shall repeat it, that he alone will be responsible for all the blood that, in my opinion, will be shed to-morrow.' After thinking and cooling down as became, I hope, my clerical character, I said to Jones, 'Good God! are the women and children to be butchered; are the valuable lives of God's creatures to be lost—lost without one word of caution? Must no hint be given? Cannot they be brought away in the night to the fort?' 'No; the suspicions of the sepoys are not to be raised, and the brigadier wishes all to be kept quiet.' Oh! my dear wife, I could fill sheets were I to tell you of the awful doings all around us. I remained and took my watch on guard from midnight to 3 A.M., when I was relieved by Mr. M'Mahon. About four o'clock Mr. M'Mahon roused me—'Get up; it is all up; the row has begun. Let us shut ourselves up here—Inglis's house' (one mile and a-half from cantonment, and about two miles from the fort.) 'No,' said I; 'here there can be no hope; let us off to the fort.' I must here tell you the missionary and his family had been warned to get away. They were in Raikes's house, where our Edward was ill; so I ran down with Moncton to send them to the fort. Our, or rather the, civil guard (Punjabees), I believe capital fellows, were roused up by Jones and Mr. M'Mahon, and they all made for the fort together. We afterwards found the poor missionary and his wife and child had been brutally mur-

dered near the Cutcherry. I outran Moncton, and after looking through Raikes's house, was left by myself among trees in the grounds, peeping out to see how near the wretches came: after staying and occasionally moving and again hiding, I made up my mind to take to my heels across the plain. How I got to the fort I hardly know even now, but I did overtake Jones and the guard, more dead than alive. It was truly a run for dear life, for you, and our children. God supported me, and I marched into the fort, after what everybody calls a most miraculous escape, for I was less than a quarter of a mile from the troopers, riding hither and thither; I saw them, and if they had seen me I should have been a dead man. I have nothing but the clothes on my back. Our house was plundered: the walls remain, but all is gone. Your doctor (Graham), on hearing the disturbance, flew with his daughter to their buggy; and, unfortunately, they took the public road to the fort. The cavalry met them, and shot him dead. She was brought to the fort, and her anguish on that awful day is past an attempt even to describe. Staff Graham, wife, and two ladies, also made their escape in their carriage to the fort; he was shot down; the ladies got away in the carriage to the fort, taking the public road. Bishop was killed, the ladies unharmed. Brigadier Brind met with a mortal wound, and has since died here. The deeds of blood ceased with the brigadier's death; but then began those of destruction. Cutcherries, magazines, all burnt. I stood on the north bastion of the fort for hours, watching all they did; and when the artillery magazine blew up, it was grand and fearful. They then collected all our carriages, horses, buggies, and loaded them with the spoils of our bungalows. They then mustered the government camels, and loaded them; and at four o'clock, the hour we were to have started, they took the road I was to have taken for Goojeranwalla, passing along by the fort, and so affording us a full view. They took away our dear Edward's pony, and my only companion, the dog Charlie.

"I went yesterday to the house; the walls and rooms are uninjured; but a sad scene met my eye: windows broken, furniture toppled over and damaged, papers torn and scattered about, books in all directions, but not a stitch of clothing to be found: yet we have suffered less than others; for in some houses not even a scrap of furniture was left, or anything that was not literally smashed to pieces, and the houses ruined; and why they suffered ours to escape differently I know not. Our servants decamped, of course. The communion plate is gone with our own. I have not one single article left, not even a steel fork; but no matter; by God's providence I am saved. The movable column has met the rascals, and thrashed them. In the midst of all this anxiety, discomfort, dirt, and alarm, I am, thank God, quite well. Miss Graham is quite calm. She is entirely and completely my charge now, and is, poor girl, bearing her loss well. Make my little ones join you in offering thanks to Almighty God for their father's delivery and safety, whose life, under God, he owes to Moncton."

A young officer (lieutenant), of the 9th cavalry, writes thus from Goojeranwalla, July 14th:—"On Wednesday night it was my turn for duty at the guard, and accordingly I went down after mess, went through the lines, and, having found all quiet, took off my jacket, and lighted a cheroot. I had a long talk with the native officer and troopers on guard, who were all very cheerful; after which I turned-in and went to sleep. I was called at 4 o'clock A.M. on Thursday, the 9th; got on my horse—went home and took off my uniform, intending to go for my morning ride. When I was half-dressed I went into ——'s room to ask him to accompany me, but did not find him. I went into the verandah to ask his bearer where he was; his bearer seemed much excited, and said that the brigadier had sent for him urgently. I waited outside to find out what it was about, and presently B—— came running into the compound, and told me to put on my uniform immediately, while he did the same, as there was a row in the lines. When I was dressed and armed, I came out and asked him what I was to do. He said that there was a disturbance in the lines—the sergeant-major had been shot; and that I was to go at once and see what it was about, while he went to the brigadier's. I jumped upon my own horse, and galloped down and went close by the 3rd troop lines. I met a trooper, who told me for God's sake not to go down alone; that the men were saddling their horses, and that if I went further I should be shot. I looked about: seeing this was true, and that a trooper was