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OF
THE
INDIAN MUTINY
OF
1857-8.

EDITED BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

VOL. II.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I., F.R.S.

CABINET EDITION.

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LONDON:
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I SHOULD HAVE DEDICATED
THESE VOLUMES
TO
LORD CANNING,
HAD HE LIVED;
I NOW INSCRIBE THEM REVERENTIALLY
TO HIS MEMORY.

. . . FOR TO THINK THAT AN HANDFUL OF PEOPLE CAN, WITH THE GREATEST COURAGE AND POLICY IN THE WORLD, EMBRACE TOO LARGE EXTENT OF DOMINION, IT MAY HOLD FOR A TIME, BUT IT WILL FAIL SUDDENLY.—
Bacon.

. . . AS FOR MERCENARY FORCES (WHICH IS THE HELP IN THIS CASE), ALL EXAMPLES SHOW THAT, WHATSOEVER ESTATE, OR PRINCE, DOTR REST UPON THEM, HE MAY SPREAD HIS FEATHERS FOR A TIME, BUT HE WILL MEW THEM SOON AFTER.—*Bacon.*

IF THERE BE FUEL PREPARED, IT IS HARD TO TELL WHENCE THE SPARK SHALL COME THAT SHALL SET IT ON FIRE. THE MATTER OF SEDITIONS IS OF TWO KINDS, MUCH POVERTY AND MUCH DISCONTENTMENT. IT IS CERTAIN, SO MANY OVERTHROWN ESTATES, SO MANY VOTES FOR TROUBLES. . . . THE CAUSES AND MOTIVES FOR SEDITION ARE, INNOVATIONS IN RELIGION, TAXES, ALTERATION OF LAWS AND CUSTOMS, BREAKING OF PRIVILEGES, GENERAL OPPRESSION, ADVANCEMENT OF UNWORTHY PERSONS, STRANGERS, DEATHS, DISBANDED SOLDIERS, FACTIONS GROWN DESPERATE; AND WHATSOEVER IN OFFENDING PEOPLE JOINETH AND KNITTEH THEM IN A COMMON CAUSE.—
Bacon.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE editing of the second volume of Sir John Kaye's History has been regulated on the same principle as was the first. The text has been left intact. In the few instances in which the Editor has believed that the conclusions arrived at by the distinguished author were not warranted by facts, he has intimated his dissent, and his reasons for that dissent, in notes bearing his initials. The Appendix has been somewhat reduced, either by the omission or the abbreviation of matter which seemed superfluous, or by the transfer as notes to the pages indicated of corrections made by the author in editions subsequent to the first. The spelling of proper names has, moreover, been made to conform to the more correct system now happily coming into general use.

Under ordinary circumstances the Editor would have refrained from adding to the above short explanation. It has been represented to him, however, that as the present CABINET EDITION will appeal to a large class who may not have the opportunity of referring to a Gazetteer, it would add considerably to the value of the work if he were to add a short description of the geographical position of the principal places mentioned in each volume. To comply with this suggestion the Editor has compiled, partly from an excellent little work—the very best of its kind—entitled “School Geography of India

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and British Burmah," by the late Professor Blochmann;* and partly from the new edition of "Thornton's Gazetteer;" a list of forty-six places mentioned in this volume. He has also appended, to the chapter to which it refers, an excellent sketch of the Imperial City of Dehli, the original of which was kindly given to him some time since by Mr. Atkinson of the Record Office.

G. B. M.

1 November, 1888.

* Published at Calcutta by the Calcutta Schoolbook Society.

P R E F A C E

By SIR JOHN KAYE.

WHEN the first volume of this book was published, I had little expectation that the second would be so long in course of completion, as the result has shown it to have been. In truth, I had not measured aright the extent of the work before me. But when I came to take account of the wealth of my materials, and to reflect upon the means of converting them into history, I saw clearly that the task I had undertaken was a more arduous and perplexing one than I had originally supposed.

It is not difficult to make the reader understand my perplexities; and I hope that, understanding, he will sympathise with them. The events to be narrated covered a large area of space, but were compressed within a small period of time. Chronologically they moved along parallel lines, but locally they were divergent and distracting. The question was how it was best to deal historically with all these synchronous incidents. To have written according to date, with some approach to fidelity of detail, a number of separate narratives, each illustrative of a particular day, or of a particular week, would have been easy to the writer, and would in some sort have represented the character of the crisis, one of the most distinguishing features of which was derived from the confusion and distraction engendered by the multiplicity of simultaneous outbursts in different parts of the country. This mode of treatment, however, though it might accurately reflect the situation, was not likely to gratify the reader. The multiplicity of personal and local names rapidly succeeding each other would have bewildered him, and no distinct impression would have been left upon his mind. But though the nature of the subject utterly forbade all thought of unity of place and unity of action, with reference to the scope of the entire work,

there was a certain unification of the several parts which was practicable, and which suggested what might be called an episodical treatment of the subject, with such connecting links, or such a general framework or setting, as historical truth might permit. And, in fact, different parts of the country were so cut off from each other when mutiny and rebellion were at their height, that each series of operations for the suppression of local revolt had a separate and a distinct character. Certainly, in the earlier stages of the War, there was no general design—little co-operation or cohesion. Every man did what was best in his eyes to meet with vigour and sagacity an unexpected crisis. The cutting of our telegraph-wires and the interruption of our posts were among the first hostile efforts of the insurgents in all parts of the country. Joint action on a large scale was thus rendered impossible, and at the commencement of the War it would scarcely have been desirable. For our people had to deal promptly with urgent symptoms, and references and consultations would have been fatal to success.

Thus circumstanced with respect to the component parts of this History, I could not easily determine to what particular events it would be best to give priority of narration. One thing soon became unpleasantly apparent to me. I had made a mistake in forecasting the plan of the entire work, in an "Advertisement" prefixed to the First Volume. It was impossible to write adequately, in this instalment of my book, of all the operations which I had originally intended to record. With materials of such great interest before me, it would have been unwise to starve the narrative; so I thought it best to make confession of error, and expunge my too-hasty promises from subsequent editions of the work. In pursuance of this revised scheme, I was compelled to put aside much that I had written for this Second Volume, and though this has necessarily retarded its publication, it has placed me so much in advance with the work to be accomplished, that I hope to be able to produce the next volume after a much shorter interval of time.

The selection made for this volume from the chapters which I had written may not perhaps be the best, but it is at least sufficiently intelligible. After describing the earlier incidents of the mutiny, as at Mirath and Dehli, at Banáras and Alláhábád, and at different stations in the Panjáb, I have narrated, up to a

certain point, those two great series of operations—the one expedition starting from Bengal with troops drawn from the Littoral, the other from the North-Western Frontier, with forces derived from the Hill Stations and the Panjáb—which were consummated in the capture of Dehli and the first relief of Lakhnao. In the one I have traced the movements of Neill and Havelock, under the direction of Lord Canning, and in the other of Anson, Barnard, Wilson, and Nicholson, with the aid and inspiration of Sir John Lawrence. It is by thus following the fortunes of individuals that we may best arrive at a just conception of the general action of the whole. For it was by the energies of individual men, acting mostly on their own responsibility, that little by little rebellion was trodden down, and the supremacy of the English firmly re-established. It will be seen that I have adhered very closely to pure narrative. The volume, indeed, is a volume of fact, not of controversy and speculation; and as it relates to the earlier scenes of the great struggle for the Empire, it is mostly an account of military revolt and its suppression.

Dealing with the large mass of facts, which are reproduced in the chapters now published, and in those which, though written, I have been compelled to reserve for future publication, I have consulted and collated vast piles of contemporary correspondence, and entered largely into communication, by personal intercourse or by letter, with men who have been individually connected with the events described. For every page published in this volume some ten pages have been written and compiled in aid of the narrative; and if I have failed in the one great object of my ambition, to tell the truth, without exaggeration on the one hand or reservation on the other, it has not been for want of earnest and laborious inquiry or of conscientious endeavour to turn my opportunities to the best account, and to lay before the public an honest exposition of the historical facts as they have been unfolded before me.

Still it is probable that the accuracy of some of the details in this volume, especially those of personal incident, may be questioned, perhaps contradicted, notwithstanding, I was about to say, all the care that I have taken to investigate them, but I believe that I should rather say “by reason of that very care.” Such questionings or contradictions should not be too readily accepted; for, although the authority of the questioner may be good, there may be still better authority on the other side. I

have often had to choose between very conflicting statements; and I have sometimes found my informants to be wrong, though apparently with the best opportunities of being right, and have been compelled to reject, as convincing proof, even the overwhelming assertion, "But, I was there." Men who are personally engaged in stirring events are often too much occupied to know what is going on beyond the little spot of ground which holds them at the time, and often from this restricted stand-point they see through a glass darkly. It is hard to disbelieve a man of honour when he tells you what he himself did; but every writer, long engaged in historical inquiry, has had before him instances in which men, after even a brief lapse of time, have confounded in their minds the thought of doing, or the intent to do, a certain thing, with the fact of having actually done it. Indeed, in the commonest affairs of daily life, we often find the intent mistaken for the act, in the retrospect.

The case of Captain Rosser's alleged offer to take a Squadron of Dragoons and a troop of Horse Artillery to Dehli on the night of the 10th of May (illustrated in the Appendix)* may be regarded as an instance of this confusion. I could cite other instances. One will suffice:—A military officer of high rank, of stainless honour, with a great historical reputation, invited me some years ago to meet him, for the express purpose of making to me a most important statement, with reference to one of the most interesting episodes of the Sipáhi War. The statement was a very striking one; and I was referred, in confirmation of it, to another officer, who has since become illustrious in our national history. Immediately on leaving my informant, I wrote down as nearly as possible his very words. It was not until after his death that I was able orally to consult the friend to whom he had referred me, as being personally cognisant of the alleged fact—the only witness, indeed, of the scene described. The answer was that he had heard the story before, but that nothing of the kind had ever happened. The asserted incident was one, as I ventured to tell the man who had described it to me at the time, that did not cast additional lustre on his reputation; and it would have been obvious, even if he had rejoiced in a less unblemished reputation, that

* [Transferred in sufficient detail as a footnote to the page in which the transaction is recorded.—G. B. M.]

it was not for self-glorification, but in obedience to an irrepressible desire to declare the truth, that he told me what afterwards appeared to be not an accomplished fact, but an intention unfulfilled. Experiences of this kind render the historical inquirer very sceptical even of information supposed to be on "the best possible authority." Truly, it is very disheartening to find that the nearer one approaches the fountain-head of truth, the further off we may find ourselves from it.*

But, notwithstanding such discouraging instances of the difficulty of extracting the truth, even from the testimony of truthful men, who have been actors in the scenes to be described, I cannot but admit the general value of such testimony to the writer of contemporary history. And, indeed, there need be some advantages in writing of events still fresh in the memory of men to compensate for its manifest disadvantages. These disadvantages, however, ought always to be felt by the writer rather than by the reader. It has been often said to me, in reply to my inquiries, "Yes, it is perfectly true. But these men are still living, and the truth cannot be told." To this my answer has been: "To the historian all men are dead." If a writer of contemporary history is not prepared to treat the living and the dead alike—to speak as freely and as truthfully of the former as of the latter, with no more reservation in the one case than in the other—he has altogether mistaken his vocation, and should look for a subject in prehistoric times. There are some actors in the scenes here described of whom I do not know whether they be living or whether they be dead. Some have passed away from the sphere of worldly exploits whilst this volume has been slowly taking shape beneath my pen. But if this has in any way influenced the character of my writing, it has only been by imparting increased tenderness to my judgment of men who can no longer defend themselves or explain their conduct to the world. Even this offence, if it be one against historical truth, I am not conscious of having actually committed.

* It may be mentioned here (though not directly in confirmation of the above) as a curious illustration of the difficulty of discerning between truth and error, that the only statement seriously impugned in a former work of history by the author of this book, was the only one which he had made as the result of his own personal knowledge—the only fact which he had witnessed with his own eyes.

I have but a few more words to say, but because I say them last it must not be thought that I feel them least. I am painfully sensible that in this narrative I have failed to do justice to the courage and constancy of many brave men, whose good deeds deserved special illustration in this narrative, and would have received it, but for the exigencies of time and space, which have forbidden an ampler record. This, perhaps, may be more apparent in other volumes than in this. But, whatever may be the omissions in this respect, I do not think that they will be attributed to any want of appreciation of the gallantry and fortitude of my countrymen in doing and in suffering. No one could rejoice more in the privilege of illustrating their heroic deeds than the author of these volumes. It is one of the best compensations of historical labour to be suffered to write of exploits reflecting so much honour upon the character of the nation.

J. W. K.

LIST AND SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME.

- RA OF ÁGRAH**, on the river Jamnah, formerly a village, made by Sikandar Lodi the Capital of India. It continued as such till the reign of Sháh Jahán. The fort, built during the reign of Akbar, contains a palace and several beautiful buildings. It is now the head-quarters of the civil division of the same name. In 1857 the population of the city was about 140,000.
- ALLÁHÁBÁD**, formerly called Prayága, situated at the confluence of the Jamnah and the Ganges. The fort, resting on the Jamnah, was built by Akbar. Alláhábád is now the seat of the Government of the North-West Provinces, and is the centre of the railway system of Northern India.
- AMBÁLAH**, capital of Sirhind, situated on an open plain, three miles east of the river Chaghar, fifty-five miles north of Karnál, sixty-nine miles south-east of Lodiáná.
- AMRTSAR**, chief town of the division of the same name, is the sacred capital of the Sikhs. The district is bounded on the north-west by the river Rávi, on the north-east by the district of Gurdáspúr, and on the south-west by the district of Láhor.
- ÁZANGARH**, chief town of the district of the same name, in the Banáras division. It was founded by Azam Khán, an officer of Sháh Jahán.
- BALANDSHAHR** (from the Persian *baland*, high, and *shahr*, town), chief town of the district of the same name in the Mírath division.
- BANÁRAS**, also called Káshí, on the Ganges, a holy city of the Hindus, famous for its ghauts, its temples, its minarets, and the observatory of Rájah Jai Singh of Jaipúr. It is the head-quarters of the division of the same name.
- BARRACKPÚR**, or the city of barracks, fifteen miles from Calcutta, on the left bank of the Húglí: selected more than a hundred years ago as the site for the troops to protect the capital.
- BARHÁMPÚR**, a station in the Murshidábád district, south of the city of that name, formerly the capital of Bengal. Barhám-púr is a civil station.
- CHANÁR**, an ancient fortress in the Mírzápúr district of the Banáras division; twenty-six miles from Banáras, and twenty from Mírzápúr.
- DAMDAMAH**, incorrectly written Dumdum, formerly the head-quarters of Artillery, now a suburb of Calcutta, from which it is distant four and a-half miles.

- DEHLI**, written also *Dihlí* and *Dilli*, a city on a branch of the *Jannah*. The present city was built by *Sháh Jahán*, and was called by the *Mughl* Court, in consequence, *Sháhjahánábád*. The neighbourhood about in historical recollections. In 1857, it had a population of about 150,000.
- DEHRÁ DŪN**, a district in the *Mírath* division, at the foot of the *Himálay* of which *Dehrá*, the head-quarters of the 2nd *Gurkha* Regiment, is its capital.
- DERÁJÁT**, a division in the *Panjáb*, comprising the *Trans-Indus* territory and the *Sindh Ságar Duáb*, north of *Muzaffargarh* district.
- FAIZÁBÁD**, in *Oudh*, chief town of the district and division of the same name on the *Ghágghrá*: famous as the birthplace of *Rám*.
- FARRUKHÁBÁD**, on the *Ganges*, chief town of a district in the *Ágra* division. The English civil station is called *Fathgarh*.
- FATHGARH**, incorrectly spelt *Futtehgarh*, three miles from *Farrukhábád* (q. v.).
- FATHPŪR**, sometimes but incorrectly spelt *Futtehpore*, chief town of the district of the same name in the *Alláhábád* division: seventeen miles north-west of *Alláhábád*, and fifty south-east of *Kánhpŭr*.
- FIRŪZPŪR**, south of the river *Satlaj*, a military and civil station in the *Láhor* division of the *Panjáb*.
- GOVINDGARH**, a fort built at *Amritsár* (q. v.) by *Banjít Singh* to overawe the *Sikh* pilgrims.
- GURDÁSPŪR**, the capital of a district in the *Amritsár* division of the *Panjáb*, bounded on the north by *Kashmír*, on the east by *Kángrah*, on the south by the *Amritsar*, and on the west by the *Siálkot*, district.
- HAZÁRAH**, on the left side of the *Indus*, north of *Ráwalpindí*. This district forms the northernmost part of *British India*, running between the *Indus* and the *Jhelam*, and then passing in long but narrow strips, called *Kághán*, along the north-western frontier of *Kashmír*. It is watered by the *Nainsukh* river, a tributary of the *Jhelam*.
- HISÁR**, a division, now forming part of the *Panjáb*, west of *Dehli*. In this division is the town of *Hánsí*, famous in the history of the decline of the *Mughluls*.
- HOTI MARDÁN**, a cantonment in the *Pesháwar* division, the head-quarters of the famous *Corps of Guides*. It lies on the right bank of the *Chalpan* river, and is thirty-three miles north-east of *Pesháwar*.
- HÚGLÍ** (name derived from *hogla*, marsh reeds), is a town in the district of the same name, in the division *Bardwán*, in *Western Bengal*. It was one of the earliest English settlements. *Húglí* is also the name of the branch of the *Ganges* on which *Calcutta* is built.
- JÁLÁNDEHAR**, a division of the *Panjáb* comprising the districts of *Jálandhar*, *Hoshiárpŭr*, and *Kángrah*.
- JAUNPŪR**, a town on the *Gumti*, formerly capital of the ancient kingdom of *Jaunpŭr*, and now chief town of the district of the same name in the *Banárás* division. It is famous for a bridge over the *Gumti*, built by a general of the famous *Akbar*, in 1573.

- JHELAM**, a district of the Ráwalpindí division. Its chief town, a military station in 1857, bears the same name. Jhelam is also the name of one of the five great rivers of the Panjáb. It has a length of about 450 miles.
- KÁNHĀPŪR** (sometimes illogically written Cawnpore), is derived from two words: "Káñh," a name of Krishna, and "Púr," a city. It lies on the right bank of the Ganges, 628 miles from Calcutta, and 130 from Alláhábád.
- KARNÁL**, the chief town of a district in the Dehli division, formerly a military station. It is on the high road between Dehli and Ambálah.
- KASHMÍR**, as now constituted, is bounded on the north-west by the district of Hazárah; on the west by the districts of Hazárah, Ráwalpindí, and Jhelam, the river Jhelam forming the boundary; to the south by the districts of Gujrát, Siálkot, Gurdáspúr, and Kángrah; by the States of Chambá, Láhul, and Spiti; to the east by the Chinese empire; and to the north by the Karákoram range.
- KOHÁT**, capital of district of same name, lies on the road from Pesháwar to Kalábágh. It is thirty-seven miles south of Pesháwar.
- LÁHOR**, on the Rávi, is chief town of the division of the same name, and capital of the Panjáb.
- LAKHNAO**: *vide* OUDH.
- LODIÁNÁ**, chief town of the district of the same name in the Ambálah division. Lodiáná was built by some generals of Sikandar Lodi, and was named after that prince. The town is eight miles south of the Satlaj.
- MIAN-MÍR**, the cantonment of Láhor, three miles distant from the civil station. It derives its name from a famous saint.
- MÍRATH**, the chief town of a district and division of the same name, sometimes incorrectly spelt Meerut, is on the river Kálinadí; it is twenty-five miles from the Jamnah, and twenty-nine from the Ganges.
- NAOSHÁHRA**, a village and cantonment in the Pesháwar district, twenty-six miles east of Pesháwar, on the Kábul river.
- OUDH**, a province bounded on the north by Nipál, and on the three other sides by the north-western provinces of India. The principal stations in Oudh are Lakhnao, the capital; Barahbankí, Unao, Rái-Baréí, Sultánpúr, Partábgarh, Faizábád, Gondah, Báhraich, Sitápúr, Harduí, and Khéri. The total area is 23,992 square miles, and the population, in 1857, amounted to nearly eleven millions.
- PÁNÍPAT**, a town in the Karnál district of the Dehli division, famous for the decisive battles fought there, and for the turbulent character of its people.
- PANJÁB**, the—the land, as its name signifies, of five rivers—is bounded in the north by Kábul and Sawád (commonly Swat), Kashmír, Thibet; to the east by Thibet, the Jamnah, and the North-West Provinces; to the south by the same Provinces, by Bikánír and Jaisalmír in Rájputáná, and by Sindh; to the west, by the Sulaimáni range and Afghanistan. In 1857, the Dehli division was not included in the Panjáb territory.

- PESHÁWAR**, more correctly Pasháwar, (it was formerly spelt Pársháwar), is the chief town of the division of the same name. It lies near the left bank of the Bára stream, thirteen and a half miles south-east of the junction of the Sawád and Kábul rivers, and ten and a half from the fort of Jamrud at the entrance of the Khaibar Pass. It is 276 miles from Láhor and 190 from Kábul.
- PHILUR**, a town in the Jálándhar division, on the right bank of the Satlaj, eight miles north-north-west of Lodiána.
- RÁWALPINDÍ**, the chief station of the division of the same name in the Panjáb. The division comprises the district also called Ráwalpindí, the fort of Atak, on the Indus, built by Akbar in 1583, and the districts Jhelam, Gujrat, and Sháh-púr.
- RÚRKÍ**, a cantonment for sappers and British troops in the Mirath division. The Thomason Engineering College is here. Rúrkí is twenty-two miles east of Saháranpúr.
- SIÁLKOT**, chief town of a district in the Amritsar division of the Panjáb. It is seventy-two miles north-east of Láhor.
- SERÁMPÚR**, on the Húglí, opposite Barrackpúr. Noted for the labours of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, in missionary enterprise. Was formerly incorrectly called Serampore.

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SERVICES OF SALAD MÍR KHÁN.—Page 52.

"The Sirdar Bahádur, Saiad Mir Khán Sáhib, a pensioner receiving six hundred rupees a month, for aid rendered to the Kábul prisoners and good conduct in Afghanistan, who had, on hearing the disturbance, immediately joined the Commissioner, and offered to escort him to the European lines; but it was decided that there was no hope of the lady escaping through the crowd. He then went out to hold back the mob, and was shot through the thigh, and his horse mortally wounded. This fine Afghan was obliged to retire to the city. He came to the Damdamah the next morning in spite of his wound, and was at the battles of the Hindans. When the mob attacked the house, the Commissioner and his wife, with the wife of one of the residents of the station, retired to the roof; when asked where their master and mistress were, the servants said that they had gone to church: though drawn swords were put to his throat, the Jámadar, Guláb Singh, persisted in this statement, and the other servants were faithfully silent regarding their master's presence."—*Report of Mr. Commissioner Williams.*

THE MURDER OF MR. FRASER.—Page 60.

[The following is the evidence of Bakhtáwass, or Bakhtáwar Singh Chaprási, as given at the trial of the King of Dehli.]

"I was the servant on duty supervising the repairs of the Fort ditch, and was going with the account book for Captain Douglas' inspection. I was on my way, when a trooper came galloping up from the direction of the Calcutta Gate. The trooper had not reached the Palace Gate when I observed that Captain Douglas was standing there. I saw Captain Douglas speaking to the man; but before I reached the Palace Gate myself the trooper turned his horse and rode off. Captain Douglas told me to go up to his apartments, and said that he was going to the interior of the Palace and should return immediately. Captain Douglas did so, and I stayed at the gate, Makhan, King Siahnsh and others accompanied him. Captain Douglas had hardly gone when Mr. Fraser arrived in his buggy and inquired for him. Mr. Fraser alighted and walked on through the covered way up to the opening. He then said to me he was going to the Calcutta Gate, and that I was to tell Captain Douglas so on his return. I then

myself proceeded in the direction of the King's apartments, and met Captain Douglas returning in a state of excitement. I gave him Mr. Fraser's message. Captain Douglas went to the Láhor Gate of the Palace, and told the Native officer on guard there to close it, which was done. Captain Douglas at the same time gave orders that no crowd was to be allowed to assemble on the bridge leading into the Palace. Just about this time an officer of the King's, styled a captain, also came there from the direction of the main street of Dehli. The gate had been closed and Captain Douglas' buggy was inside, so he directed me to ask this Native officer for his buggy that he might go in it as far as the Calcutta Gate, whither Captain Douglas proceeded in it, I occupying the seat behind. At the Calcutta Gate we found Mr. Fraser, Mr. Nixon, head clerk, and four or five other gentlemen. The gate was closed after a short time. Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas got into the buggy together, and were returning to the Palace accompanied by the other gentlemen on horseback, but had not proceeded far when four or five troopers came galloping up at full speed from the direction of the Ellenborough Tank. About this time, there was a general cry that the troopers had come. On reaching the party of gentlemen, one of the troopers wounded Mr. Hutchinson in the arm with a pistol shot; the others also fired, but without effect. On this Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas both got out of the buggy and went out of the way of the mutineers, and stood by the guard-room of the Constabulary Force at the gate: two more gentlemen joined them there. Mr. Fraser got a musket from the Constabulary Force, and shot one of the troopers. This checked the others, and they turned and fled. A great crowd had by this time collected, and Captain Douglas and another gentleman jumped into the Fort ditch, along which they came on to the Palace Gate, Mr. Fraser and others coming by the road; but there was such confusion at the time, I can't say how. Captain Douglas was in a fainting state from the injuries he had received from jumping into the ditch, and we accordingly laid him on a bed in the Kalaiat Kháná. In a short time Mr. Jennings, the clergyman, came down, and at his suggestion Captain Douglas was taken up to the apartments above the gate, where he was placed on a bed, Mr. Jennings sending the servants away, and telling them not to crowd about the place. We then received an order to go for the King's physician, Abdúláh Chaprási fetched him accordingly. The physician, Ashan Ulláh Khán, had just left, when we servants who were sitting there saw some five Muhammadans, King's servants, coming along the covered way calling out, 'Dín, dín!' Just at this time Mr. Fraser happened to come down to the foot of the stairs, and these men immediately attacked him and killed him with their swords. While this was happening on the north side of the gate, a mixed crowd, armed with swords, bludgeons, &c., ran up the stairs on the south side, and gained the apartments above, those assembled on the north side joining them there."

REMOVAL OF CAPTAIN HODSON FROM THE GUIDE CORPS.—Page 136.

[The following passage from a letter written to Hodson's biographer by the Military Secretary to the Panjáb Commissioner, explains fully the circumstances referred to in the text. After speaking of the question of the regimental accounts and the action of the Court of Inquiry, the writer proceeds to say :—]

“Still, in so far as the inquiry was concerned, Major H., had he survived, might perhaps have commanded the Guides to this day. His removal was entirely another affair. In addition to the command of the Guides, Lieutenant H. held the office of Accountant Commissioner in civil charge of Yúsufzai. Lieutenant Godby, of the Guides, was severely wounded by an assassin at Mardán, the Guide Corps station, in December, 1853. The assassin was cut to pieces upon the spot by some men of the corps. His body was identified, but all efforts to discover the motives of the miscreant or his abettors proved fruitless. Lieutenant Hodson's suspicions, however, fell upon Kádar Khán, the Malik of Túrú (four miles distant from Mardán), the most wealthy and influential chief in Yúsufzai. He even further entertained the hope of being able to convict this Kádar Khán of having caused the murder of the late Colonel Mackeson; but finally, and after a lengthened imprisonment of seven months in the Pesháwar gaol, Kádar Khán was arraigned by him in the Commissioner's Court on one charge only, viz., that of having instigated the attack upon Lieutenant Godby. The case completely broke down, and the trial ended in a full acquittal. Lieutenant Hodson's proceedings were strongly condemned by Lord Dalhousie, who directed his dismissal from civil employ, and that he should not retain command of the Guides, it being incompatible with the public interests that he should ever again hold any position of authority in the district of Yúsufzai, and that his getting another command thereafter should depend upon the result of the Military Court of Inquiry. The inquiry had not, however, closed so far as to produce any result, when the Court of Directors took notice of the trial of Kádar Khán of Túrú, and in conveying their approval of the Governor-General's decision upon it, they added their ‘desire’ that Lieutenant Hodson should not ‘again be entrusted with any command whatever.’”

 PROCLAMATIONS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NÁNÁ SÁHIB.

Page 256.

[The following extracts from the correspondence of Dundu Pant, Náná Sáhí, illustrate the means by which he endeavoured by a succession of boastful lies to stimulate the animosity and to sustain the courage of his followers. These papers were sent in by Náná Narain Ráo, of whom mention is made in the text, and placed in the hands of General Neill, who commissioned Major Gordon to translate them. The following is from the journal of that officer :—]

“A relative of the Náná sent in a quantity of the Náná’s property and ten of his horses from Bithur this morning, and came himself and called on General Neill in the forenoon. He had been confined by the Náná. In the evening two boxes were brought in containing the whole of the Náná’s correspondence, and his letter-book containing copies of all his orders, written in the Persian language. They have been made over to me, which is a rich treat; and I sat poring over these letters until eleven o’clock at night, and finished with the one in which he ordered the destruction of all Europeans who left in boats.”

PROCLAMATION DATED JULY 6TH.

“A traveller just arrived at Kánhpúr from Calcutta, had heard that, previous to the distribution of the cartridges, a council had been held for the purpose of depriving the Hindústanis of their faith and religion. The members of the council came to the decision, since it was a matter affecting religion, it would be right to have seven or eight thousand European soldiers that fifty thousand Hindústanis might be destroyed, and all (the rest) become Christians. This resolution was sent to Queen Victoria, and received her approval. Again another council was held, at which the English merchants assisted. It was here determined that the European force should be made equal to the Hindústáni army (in numbers) so that when the contest took place there should be no fear of failure. When this representation (from the council) was read in England, thirty-five thousand soldiers were embarked in all haste and despatched to India, and the news of their departure has reached Calcutta. The Sáhíbs of Calcutta ordered the distribution of the cartridges with the especial object of making Christians of the Native army, so that when the army became Christians there would be no delay in making Christians of the ryots. These cartridges were rubbed over with the fat of pigs and cows. This fact has been asserted by Bangális who were employed in the manufacture of the cartridges, and of those who related this, one has been executed and all the rest put into confinement. They (the Sáhíbs) made their arrangements here. This is the news from thence (Europe). The Turkish Ambassador wrote from London to the Sultan to inform him that thirty-five thousand men had been despatched to Hindustan for the purpose of making Christians of the Hindustanis. The Sultan of Rúm—may God perpetuate his sovereignty!—despatched a Firmán to the Pasha of Egypt to this effect: ‘You are an ally of Queen Victoria. But this is not the season for amity, inasmuch as my Ambassador writes that thirty-five thousand soldiers have been despatched to Hindustan for the purpose of making Christians of the Native ryots and troops. Therefore, in this case, whilst a remedy is in my power, if I should be negligent, how shall I show my face to God? And this day (*i.e.* conjuncture) may some time or other be my own [meaning this may some day be his own case] since, if the English make the Hindústanis Christians, they will make an attempt on my dominions.’

commander at their head, and advanced full upon the quarter-guard. The attack was a gallant and successful one; the quarter-guard was carried, and the Sipáhis then vacated their huts and fell back upon the empty lines of the 39th, from which they were driven by the bursting of a well-directed shell to a village on the left of the cantonment.

By this time the noon-day sun was beating fiercely down upon our exhausted people. Colonel Ellice had been carried from the field dangerously wounded. Captain Spring had been shot dead,* and we had lost many men and many horses in the encounter. Our troops had been marching from the hour of midnight, and had been actively engaged since sunrise. Nature demanded rest; and it was sound discretion at such a time to pause in our offensive operations. It would have been well, perhaps, if the pause had been longer and the renewed operations more carefully matured. At four in the afternoon, when the heat was still great, an attack on the village was ordered. Colonel Gerrard, of the 14th, took command of the Force that went out to destroy the mutinous regiment, in whose fidelity he had once trusted. The result was disastrous. Again the Sipáhis had good cover, and we found ourselves entangled in streets, in which we suffered much, but could do little. The guns were brought up within too short a range, and the musketry of the enemy told with deadly effect upon the gunners. The Europeans, partly from fatigue, and partly, perhaps, from the stimulants which they had taken to reinvigorate themselves and the effect of the slant rays of the afternoon sun, are said to have "staggered" up to the village, and to have been easily repulsed. The retreat was sounded, and our troops were withdrawn. Two guns were carried back, but a third, in spite of the gallant efforts of Lieutenant Battye, with a party of Mounted Police, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was turned against our retreating people.

Nothing more could be done on that evening. At dawn on the morrow the conflict was to be renewed. Both July 8. forces had bivouacked on the plain. But when day broke it was found that the mutineers had evacuated their position and fled. Many had been killed in the two engage-

* He had left Rurki, as previously stated, with Baird Smith, on the 29th of June (*ante*, page 424), and had only just joined his regiment when his career was thus closed on the battle-field.

bravery and gallantry has given me great pleasure, 'much praise be yours, thus should you ever act, thus let men act.' Here (Kánhpúr) this day 4th Zikad (27th June), the white faces have fought with us. The whole of them, by the grace of God, and the destroying fortune of the Jing, have entered hell. A salute in honour of this event has been fired as usual. It behoves you also to celebrate this victory with rejoicings and peals of artillery. Moreover, your request for permission to fight with the infidels has given me great satisfaction. In a few days, when order shall have been restored in this district, the victorious force which has now swelled to a large army, still daily increasing, will cross the Ganges, continue to hem in the infidels until the arrival of my camp. This event will take place shortly; and then display all your valour. Bear in mind that the people pertain to both faiths. They must be neither molested nor injured in any way. Have a care to protect them, collect supplies, and keep them in readiness.

"Dated 4th Zikad St. 1273, 27th June, 1857."

"TO HOLAS SINGH, KOTWÁL.

"Whereas, by the grace of God and fortune of the king, all the English at Puná and in Panna have been slain and sent to hell, and five thousand English who were at Dehli have been put to the sword by the royal troops. The Government is now everywhere victorious; you are, therefore, ordered to proclaim these glad tidings in all cities and villages by beat of drum, that all may rejoice on hearing them. All cause for apprehension is now removed.

"Dated 8th Zikad, 1st July, 1857."

"TO BÁBU RAMBAKSH, TÁLUKÐAR, DHONDIA KHÉRA, OUDH.

"Greeting.—Your petition dated 6th Zikad (29th June), reporting the slaughter of the English, and the deaths in battle of your brother Sudhainan Singh, with two officers, and also begging for my favour as a reward for your self-devotion, has been perused. You are hereby informed, that I also am grieved at your loss, but the will of God must be submitted to. Moreover, this event (the death of his brother) has happened in the cause of Government, and you will ever remain the object of my protection. Have no manner of fear, Government will certainly befriend you.

"Dated 10th Zikad, or 3rd July, 1857."

of preparation. On the morning of the 9th everything was ready.

Siálkot was a large, and had been an important military station. In quiet times European troops had been stationed there in large numbers, with the usual results. There were good barracks and commodious houses and pleasant gardens, and more than the wonted number of English gentlewomen and young children. There were a church and a chapel, and other indications of the progress of western civilisation. When, therefore, the storm burst, there was much that lay at the mercy of the enemy, and on our side no possible means of defence.

July 6. Before the sound of the morning gun had been heard throughout the cantonment, and our people, according to their wont, had mounted their horses or entered their carriages, to proceed to their wonted duties, or to take the air before the sun was high above the horizon, the Sipáhis had planted picquets all round the place, to prevent the escape of the Faringhís. And presently the din and uproar of rebellion announced to our people, just waking from their slumbers, that the Sipáhis had risen. Our officers were soon mounted and on their way to the parade-ground. The truth was then only too apparent. The troopers of the 9th were already in their saddles, and the 46th were under arms. Our people were suddenly brought face to face with mutiny in its worst form. All circumstances and conditions were in the last degree unfavourable to the English. Siálkot was one of the great stations at which there had been a gathering of detachments from different regiments for the new rifle practice, and, therefore, great opportunities of conspiracy. It lay in proximity to the Jammú territory of the Máharájah of Kashmir, who the Sipáhis believed, and our authorities feared, would, in the hour of danger, forsake his alliance; and it was utterly without any defence of European troops. So when the hour came to strike, the confidence and audacity of the enemy had everything to foster and encourage them.

As ever, the Cavalry were foremost in the work of mutiny—foremost in their greed for blood. Mounted on good chargers, they could ride with rapidity from place to place, and follow the white men on horseback or in their carriages, and shoot them down as they rode. For weeks the outburst had been expected, and every English inhabitant of Siálkot had thought painfully over the coming crisis, and had calculated the best means of

performed a great deed, and I am highly pleased with your conduct. Persevere in your devotion to the Government cause. This order is sent you as a mark of favour. Your petition, with which a European was sent in, has also reached me. The European has been sent to hell, thus adding to my satisfaction.

“Dated 16th Zikad, or 9th July, 1857.”

“TO THE THANADAR OF SIRSUL.

“The victorious army of Government had marched towards Alláhábád to oppose the Europeans, and it has now been reported that the latter have deceived the Government troops, attacked and scattered them. Some troops are said to remain there; you are, therefore, ordered to instruct the landholders in your jurisdiction and in Fathpúr, that every brave man should join heart and hand to defend his faith, to put the Europeans to the sword, and send them to hell. Conciliate all ancient influential landholders, and persuade them to unite in the cause of their religion to slay and send to hell all the infidels. Moreover, tell them that Government will give every man his due, and that those who assist it shall be rewarded.

“Dated 20th Zikad, 13th July, 1857.”

“TO THE BAHÁDURS AND OFFICERS OF CAVALRY, ARTILLERY, AND INFANTRY AT LAENAO.

“Greeting.—A force of one thousand British, with several guns, were marching towards Kánhpúr from Alláhábád. To arrest and slay these men an army was despatched. The British are advancing rapidly. On both sides men fall wounded and killed. The Europeans are now within seven koss of Kánhpúr, and the field of battle is warmly contested. It is reported that Europeans are coming up the river in steamers, and strong defences have consequently been constructed without the town of Kánhpúr. Here my troops are prepared, and at a distance the battle rages; you are, therefore, informed that the aforesaid British are opposite the district of Baiswára, on this bank of the river. It is very probable that they may attempt to cross the Ganges. You must, for this reason, send some troops into the Baiswára country to shut them in on that side. My force will press them from this direction, and by this combined action the slaughter of the infidels may be achieved, as is most desirable.

“Should these people not be destroyed, there can be no doubt they will press on to Dehli. Between Kánhpúr and Dehli there is no one that could stand against them. We must without fail combine to destroy them root and branch.

“It is also said that the British may cross the Ganges; some English

still remain in the Bailey Guard and maintain the fight, whereas here there is not a living English person left. Send troops immediately across the river, at Shéorájpúr, to surround and cut up the Europeans.

“Dated 23rd Zikad, or 16th July, 1857.”

[This is the last of the series. On that same evening Havelock's force encamped near Kánhpúr, and whilst victory was being proclaimed by the Náná's order in the city, he himself was flying for his life, and his followers were being dispersed in all directions.]

RECRUITING AT PESHÁWAR.—Page 371.

[The following is the paragraph in Colonel Edwardes's Mutiny Report, to which reference is made in the text. There is no contribution to the history of the great Crisis in the Panjáb more valuable or more interesting than the document from which this extract is made:]

“Dehli was not to be recovered by a *coup de main*. The Hindu Sipáhis, having mutinied about a cartridge, had nothing to propose for an empire, and fell in of necessity with the only policy that was feasible at the moment, a Muhammadan King of Dehli; and certainly no other policy could have given such life to the coming struggle. Hitherto the question had been purely domestic between the English and their Hindustáni army, a quarrel in which the Afghan tribes would merely desire to be on the conquering side. But a war between the Muslim and the Christian for empire must needs agitate every village in which there was a mosque and a moolah; and the city of Pesháwar in particular, with its sixty thousand inhabitants, had always been a hotbed of intrigue. Humanly speaking, I consider that the border at this critical period was mainly kept under by the levying of a militia. Afghans are fanatical, but avarice is their ruling passion. Every idle vagrant, every professional robber, every truculent student in the mosques, at whose finger-ends fanaticism was beginning to tingle, found a market for his sword. The population of the Pesháwar Valley had never been disarmed. Being liable to raids from their neighbours, they had been allowed to keep arms in their houses; though none but outside villagers might wear arms abroad. It was not difficult, therefore, to collect any number of armed footmen at a short notice. Good horses are not plentiful in this irrigated country; but the head men of every village have two or three hacks, and the enlistment of their farm servants on these rips, attached all the hamlets, one by one, to our cause, and got up quite a hearty feeling, such as certainly I never saw before among them. One can smile now at the scenes that took place morning and evening at the hours of enlistment. It was necessary to sustain the dignity of the Imperial Government even in our distress. Long before the time crowds of candidates for employment thronged the gateways and overflowed into the garden, the jockeys of unconquerably vicious horses endeavouring to reduce them to a show of docility by gal-

loping them furiously about till the critical moment of inspection came. At last, sick at heart from the receipt of a bad telegram from the provinces but endeavouring to look happy, out I used to go, and face some hundreds of the chiefs and yeomen of the country, all eager to gather from the Commissioner Sáhib's countenance how the 'King of Dehli' was getting on. Then the first horseman would be brought up. The beast perhaps would not move. The rider, the owner, and all the neighbours would assail him with whips, sticks, stones, and Pushtú reproaches that might have moved a rock; but nothing would do till the attempt was given up, and the brute's head turned the other way, when he went off at a gallop amid roars of laughter from the Patháns, who have the keenest perception of both fun and vice. No. 2 would make a shift to come up, but every man and boy in the crowd could see that he was lame on two or three legs. Then the argument began, and leg by leg, blemish by blemish, the animal was proved by a multitude of witnesses (who had known him for very many years) to be perfectly sound; and so the enlistment went on from day to day, affording immense occupation, profit, and amusement to the people, and answering a great many good ends. Now and then an orderly of the Hindustani Irregular Cavalry, admirably armed and mounted, would pass the spot, and mark his opinion of the 'levies' by a contemptuous smile. But, nevertheless, he told his comrades in the lines that the country people were all with the English, and it was of no use to desert or to intrigue."

SIR HENRY BARNARD'S LAST LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—
Page 421.

[The following letter was written to Lord Canning by Sir H. Barnard three days before his death. He seems to have desired that, in the event of his demise, its contents should be known to the world:]

"Camp above Delhi, July 2, 1857.

"MY DEAR LORD CANNING;—Ere this reaches you, the business here will have been settled; if successfully, well; if a failure, I should like to leave behind me a brief record of the service of the little force.

"The work of reduction or re-occupation of Dehli was evidently greatly under-estimated. Dehli, when once its gates were shut, and its immense arsenal and magazine in the hands of insurgent troops, became a formidable operation to reduce. When added to this the passions of the people were roused, and the cry raised of a new 'Mughul dynasty,' it became as important as formidable.

"With means totally inadequate, this force was sent against it, reinforced by detachments from Miráth, who were to have provided sappers, gunners, and field implements; when all had formed a junction the force barely arrived at three thousand eight hundred. Miráth sent no gunners, and only a small number of sappers, and these unprovided. On the 8th June we started from Álipur, met the enemy at Badli-ki-Sarai, and from thence drove them from the height above Dehli. Here the Commanding-

Artilleryman and Chief Engineer proposed to commence the attack; batteries were planned and erected, but the distance was too great. After eight days, I found the side of the town which must be silenced before we got approaches quite as alive as ever. The Artilleryman admitted the distance too great, and the Engineer his inability to make batteries, having positively not a single sand-bag! I was promised reinforcements, and for their arrival I determined to wait. They have arrived, and now comes the decisive moment, and I confess to you I never was so puzzled. The force I have amounts to about five thousand, and comprises almost all the Europeans in the Upper Provinces; quite enough, if free, to re-establish the country, but quite insufficient to storm Delhi, guard the camp, and keep open my communications with the rear for supplies, &c. If I succeed in the gambler's throw, well and good, but if I fail the game is up, and all I can expect to be able to do would be to effect an honourable retreat, carrying off sick, wounded, and guns. To add to my distresses, dissatisfaction is proved to exist in the Native troops just arrived, and some have been detected in trying to tamper with the men of Coke's Corps. These fellows are to be hanged to-night; but the 9th Irregular Cavalry and some of the Sipáhi Corps are known to be tainted, and would like an opportunity of doing us any mischief they could. Thus it is, with enemies without, traitors within, and a task before me I cannot in reason feel my force competent to undertake, I am called upon to decide. Much is said about the Native character and aptitude at turning tail, but where the treasure is I fear the heart will be found also, for all these miscreants are laden with plunder they will not abandon, and they know full well that every man's hand is against them. They dare not fly.

"My men are very tired; we have had since the action of Badli-ki-Sarai no less than ten affairs, seven of which employed my whole force, cavalry and infantry; in each we experienced heavy loss, but inflicted greater. The traitors are, or rather were, tired; they openly said it was no use fighting, and that unless assisted they would fly in four days. Yesterday brought them the Baréli people, so we shall have our eleventh to-morrow. After that I think the game is over. The Gwaliás are not coming on, and we shall have defeated them all in turn. But to be useful I must enter the city, and this will, I am fearful, be a sanguinary affair, for it is clear the Sipáhi knows well how to fight behind stone walls.

"I hope to hear of the head of the European columns coming up from Calcutta, and then matters will begin to look up again.

"Pray excuse this scrawl; it is written in a gale of wind. The rain has fallen for two days, but it is again fine.

"Very truly yours,

"H. BARNARD."

END OF VOL. II.