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KAYE'S AND MALLESON'S HISTORY
OF THE
INDIAN MUTINY
OF
1857-8.

EDITED BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

VOL. IV.

BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

CABINET EDITION.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

IN THE HOPE THAT THIS BOOK MAY LIVE,
I DEDICATE IT

TO THE MEMORY OF MY BROTHER-IN-LAW,

Quintin Batty,

OF THE CORPS OF GUIDES,

ONE OF THE FIRST OF THE MANY GALLANT MEN WHO GAVE THEIR
LIVES FOR THEIR COUNTRY ON THE RIDGE BEFORE DELHI.

THE WORDS WHICH HE UTTERED,
WHEN, ON THE 9TH JUNE, 1857, HE RECEIVED THE WOUND WHICH
HE KNEW TO BE MORTAL,

DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI,

WERE CHERISHED

AS A MOST PRECIOUS INHERITANCE BY HIS BROTHER,

Wigram Batty,

WHO, ENTERING THE SERVICE AFTER HIS DEATH,
WAS APPOINTED TO THE SAME REGIMENT, THE CORPS OF GUIDES,
AND BY UNFLINCHING GALLANTRY AND DEVOTION
WON FROM THE STERN FRONTIER MEN WHO COMPOSED IT THE

ESTEEM AND AFFECTION

WHICH THEY HAD BORNE TO QUINTIN.

FOLLOWING THROUGHOUT HIS NOBLE LIFE

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF HIS BROTHER,

HE EMULATED HIM IN THE MANNER OF HIS DEATH,
FOR HE TOO DIED LEADING THE GUIDES IN A GALLANT CHARGE
AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF ENGLAND,
AT FATHABAD, NEAR JALLALABAD, THE 2ND APRIL, 1879.

SIMILAR AS WAS THEIR LIFE,

SIMILAR AS WAS THEIR DEATH,

I WOULD NOT SEPARATE IN THIS DEDICATION

THE TWO GALLANT BROTHERS.

PAR NOBILE FRATREM.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

THE present volume narrates the story of the storming of Dehli, the subsequent clearing of the country in the vicinity of that city, and the march to Agra and Kánhpúr. It proceeds then to deal with Sir Colin Campbell's journey from Calcutta to Kánhpúr; his relief of the garrison of Lakhnao; and his safe escort of the women and children of that garrison to Kánhpúr. It devotes then a chapter to the attack of the Gwáliár contingent on that central point, and to Windham's consequent action; another, to Colin Campbell's reply to their daring aggression. Narrating, then, the movements of the several columns of Walpole and Seaton, and of the main body under Sir Colin, in the North-West; the action of the Nipál troops under Jang Bahádur; and of the columns under Rowcroft and Franks in the Ázamgarh district and in eastern Oudh; it proceeds to describe the four months' defence of the Álambágh by the illustrious Outram; then, the last movements which preceded Sir Colin's attack on Lakhnao; then, the storming of that city. From this point the narrative returns to the Bengal Presidency proper, and describes the outbreaks in eastern Bengal, in eastern Bihár, in Chutiá Nagpúr, and their repression; deals then with the difficulties caused mainly by the suicidal action of the Government in western Bihár; gives in full detail the splendid action of Lord Mark Kery in the relief of Ázamgarh, one of the two instances* on record in which a surprised army defeated the surprisers; proceeds then to the campaign of Lugard, Douglas, and their lieutenants, against Kunwar Singh and his brother Amar Singh, in western Bihár; describes the gallantry of Middleton, and the fertility of resource of, and striking success achieved by, Sir Henry Havelock.

* The other was that of Clive at Káveripák, February 23, 1752.

Returning to the North-West, it describes the campaigns in Rohilkhand and north-western Oudh, detailing the skilful movements of Hope Grant, of John Coke, and of Jones; the fatal incapacity of Walpole; the useless sacrifice of life before Ruiyá, culminating in the death of Adrian Hope; the gallantry of Ross-Graves, of Cafe, of Willoughby, of Cureton, of Sam Browne, of Hanna, and of many others; the all but successful daring and the death of the famous Maulavi; and the untimely end of Venables and of the great William Peel. The last chapter deals with the manner in which George St. Patrick Lawrence, one of four noble brothers, succeeded, amid great difficulties, in retaining British hold upon Rájputáná.

In the preface to the first edition to this volume, published nearly ten years ago (August 1879), I acknowledged the generous reception which its immediate predecessor had met with both in this country, in the Colonies, and in America. "It was not possible," I added, "writing of events, many actors in which survive, and to some of whom a record of their performances cannot be palatable, that I should absolutely escape hostile criticism." But the reception accorded to that volume did not surpass the welcome which the same generous public gave to that of which the present volume is something more than a reprint. Large as was the edition printed, within three weeks I was called upon to prepare a second, and I am informed that the demand for it has continued to the present day.

This new edition has been thoroughly revised. I have not only gone through it step by step with the original authorities, but I have compared the text with the information I have received since its first publication from several actors in the drama. In this way I have acquired additional information of a valuable character. The whole of this has been carefully utilised. I have, in consequence, not only made additions to the original text, but have re-written several portions of it. The result of the fresh information I have received has been, in almost every instance, to confirm the opinions regarding individuals recorded in the original edition. With respect to Hodson of Hodson's Horse, whilst I still hold to the views previously expressed, I have thought it only fair to the memory of that great soldier to present the other side of the shield. A distinguished officer who served throughout the siege of Dehli, to whom I communicated my intention in this respect, thus wrote in reply: "I am glad to read what you tell me about Hodson's case. I

can never understand why the other side should always make him out such a bloodthirsty character. We may have heard other things against his character; but I don't remember that at the time he was looked upon by us as more bloodthirsty than any one else. It should be remembered that it was a fight without quarter; there was no love lost on one side or the other. His shooting of the princes (who, if brought in alive at the time, were as safe to have been hung or shot as when I saw their dead bodies lying in front of the Kotwáli), must, to say the least of it, have removed, very considerably, any chance of rising among thousands of discontented ruffians then around us."

I have dealt with this last argument in the text. It is unnecessary, therefore, to repeat it here. It would seem that, whilst the general consensus of opinion outside the camp of the force which assailed Dehli was, and is, against Hodson in the matter of the slaughter of the princes, his comrades on the spot saw in the deed only an additional security for a small body of men occupying but half of the city, the defences of which had been stormed with great loss of life.

I wish to say, before I conclude, that no one is so thoroughly aware as I am of the many imperfections and shortcomings of this volume. Distant myself from the scene of action, for I was at Calcutta attached to the Audit department of the Government of India throughout the period of the Mutiny, I have had but one desire, and that has been, to tell the truth, the whole truth, without respect of persons. I believe I have succeeded in unearthing some gallant deeds which no previous writer had recorded; which had not even found their way into the despatches; and, by dint of earnest and patient inquiry, accompanied by much sifting of evidence, I have also been able, in some instances, to transfer the credit for a gallant achievement from the wrong to the right man. How difficult this is, no one can know who has not attempted the task. I recollect well, that just before the first edition of this volume appeared, whilst, in fact, I was engaged in examining the last proofs in galleys, I met in the street a distinguished actor in the scenes I had attempted to describe. He asked me when the volume would appear. I replied that it was on the eve of publication, and I should be greatly pleased if he would come to my rooms and read the chapter in which his own gallant achievements were specially recorded. He acceded at once to

the request, came to my rooms, and sat down to read the sheets, having first asked my permission to make pencil notes in the margin. He sat reading six hours that day and two of the day following. He then handed back the sheets, expressing his general approval, but adding that I should find in the margin a few notes which might be useful. When he had left me I looked at the notes. The chapter was one in which I had taken all the pains in my power to unearth the deeds of brave men. The reader will imagine my surprise when, on looking at the notes written by my visitor in the margin, I saw attached to my description of every one of the gallant deeds enumerated, these words: "This is a mistake: I did this." For the contention to have been true my visitor must have been ubiquitous, for some of the deeds occurred on different parts of the field, almost at the same moment. Yet my visitor was an officer of the highest character, a great stickler for truth, and who would not knowingly have deviated from the straight line for a moment. But his imagination had overpowered him. The campaigns of 1857-8 had been the great event of his life. By degrees he had come to regard them as the only event. And, his mind constantly dwelling on the subject, he had come to regard himself as the only actor. This, I admit, is the worst case I met with; but I have had other experiences almost as curious.

Perhaps the reader will pardon me if I mention another fact personal to myself, which may perhaps serve to point a moral. Stationed as I have said, at Calcutta in 1857, I had viewed with the greatest indignation the tardy measures of repression adopted by the Government early in that year. I had but recently come down from Kánhpúr, where, as officer in charge of the commissariat department, I had witnessed the dissatisfaction of the sipáhis of the regiments there stationed, when, in the dead of night, Sir James Outram crossed the Ganges for the purpose of annexing Oudh. I stated, at the time, to the authorities all I had seen, and when the outbreak took place at Barbámpúr I did my best in my small way—for I was still only a subaltern—to convince them that the disaffection was general. But, apparently deaf to evidence, they pursued their own course, in the manner I have attempted to describe in the third volume. I kept my indignation within bounds until Lord Canning went down to the Legislative Council, and in two hours passed a Gagging Act for the press. Re-

garding this as a deliberate attempt to prevent the truth, hitherto well set forth by the Calcutta newspapers, from reaching England, I sat down to write a true record of the proceedings and events. A portion of this record appeared in England in, I think, August of the same year, in the form of a pamphlet, entitled, "The Mutiny of the Bengal Army." This pamphlet at once attracted attention; was quoted by the late Lord Derby in the House of Lords; and obtained, on that occasion, the name of the "Red Pamphlet," by which it is still remembered. I completed it up to the fall of Dehli the same year, and the second part had a sale almost equal to the first. I could not carry it on further because I was wrecked off the coast of Ceylon in February 1858, and lost all the materials I had collected. It happened that, many years later, in 1871, I made the acquaintance of the late Sir John Kaye. We speedily became intimate, and we had many discussions over the events of 1857-8. One day he told me that when my "Red Pamphlet" had appeared he had regarded it with horror; and that one of the secret objects he had in his mind when he undertook to write the history of the Mutiny, was to prove that the "Red Pamphlet" was not to be trusted. "But," he added, "having since gone over the same ground, I am bound to tell you, that, however I may still differ from some of your conclusions, I have found your facts accurate throughout, and I shall state the fact in my preface to my third volume." I returned to India the following year, and I suppose Sir John forgot his intention, for in his third volume the promised testimony did not appear. I only mention it here to show how the truth of my narrative forced conviction even upon the mind of a man deeply prejudiced against my book the moment he himself had occasion to examine the sources whence its statements had been derived.

The sons of Great Britain have, during the building up of their vast and magnificent empire, accomplished wonders. But of all the marvels they have achieved there is not one that can compare with the re-conquest, with small means, of the great inheritance which had suddenly, as if by the wave of a magician's wand, slipped from their grasp. They were called upon at a moment's notice, without any previous warning, that is rather, without any symptom which their clouded vision would accept as a warning, to attempt, on the instant, a task which it had taken the valour of Clive, the sagacity of Warren

Hastings, and the genius of Wellesley, half a century to accomplish. Not for a second did they flinch from the seemingly unequal struggle. They held out, they persevered, they pressed forward, they wore down their enemies, and they won. It was the greatest achievement the world has ever seen.

How did they do it? The one ambition of my life yet remaining to me is to answer that question; to tell who really were the men who thus conquered the impossible. I have spared no pains to relate the story clearly, truly, and without favour. Proud of being an Englishman, I desire to place on a record that shall be permanent the great deeds of my countrymen. Lord Beaconsfield never wrote more truly than when he said that everything depends on "race." Other races have accomplished great things under exceptional circumstances. They have been aided by the genius of their leader, by the inferiority of their opponents, by a combination of events in their favour. But the race which inhabits these islands has known how to triumph, not only unaided, but when heavily handicapped by Fortune. It has triumphed, often despite the mediocrity of its leaders; despite enormous superiority of numbers against it; and when circumstances around seemed combined to overwhelm its representatives. As these have triumphed before, so will they triumph again. Their invincibility is due to the fact that, never knowing when they are beaten, they persevere long after the period when races, less persistent, would have abandoned the contest in sheer despair.

G. B. MALLESON.

27, *West Cromwell Road.*
May 1st, 1889.

CHITRAGÁON, incorrectly spelt Chittagong, is a hilly division in eastern Bengal, between the Phení and Náp rivers. It comprises the districts of Chitragón (called Islámábád by the Emperor Aurangzib), of Noákháí, or Bhajúá, and of Tiparah and Hill Tiparah. The district of Chitragáon is bounded to the west by the sea.

DHÁKAH, strangely called Dacca by the early settlers, despite the fact that there is no letter "c," except in combination with an "h," in the language of the country of which it is a town, derives its name from Dhák, the *Butea frondosa*. It lies on the Vurí Gangá river, and is the chief town of the district and division of the same name. The division is bounded on the north by the Gáro hills, on the east by the Silhat district and Hill Tiparah, on the south by the Noákháí district and the Bay of Bengal, and on the west by the Jasar, Patná, Bogará, and Raugpúr districts.

DÁRJÍLING, a mountain sanitarium in the division of Koch Bihár, near Sikkim. The sanitarium lies about 7000 feet above the sea. The distance from Calcutta is 246 miles, the whole of which can be travelled on a rail and steam-tramway.

DILKUSHÁ, The, literally "the heart-expanding; the exhilarating," is a villa outside the city of Lakhnao, built by Saadat Áí Khán, in the centre of an extensive deer-park. It stands about three-quarters of a mile S.S.E. of the Martinière. The building is now used as a hospital.

FARHAT BAKSH PALACE, the, was the royal palace in Lakhnao from the time of Saadat Áí Khán II. till 1850. It stands to the east of the Observatory and overlooks the river. The throne-room, known as the Kas-rí-Sultán, or Lál Bárahdarí, was set apart for Royal Durbárs. The gaol, considered the healthiest gaol in India, adjoins this palace to the south.

GANDAK, The. There are three rivers of this name—the Great, the Lesser, and the Little. The Great Gandak rises in the Nipál hills, and flows through the districts of Gorákhpúr, Champáran, Muzaffarpúr, Sáran, and Patná, near which city it falls into the Ganges. The Lesser Gandak rises also in the Nipál hills, and flows through the districts of Gorákhpúr and Sáran, uniting in the latter district with the Ghághrá. The Little Gandak rises on the northern boundary of the Sáran district, flows in a south-easterly direction for about 120 miles, then enters the Tirhút district, traverses it in the same direction for about seventy miles, where it joins the Bághmatí, which, in its turn, falls into the Great Gandak.

GHÁGHRÁ, The, also called Gogra, the chief river of Oudh, rises in the Nipál hills, traverses in Oudh the districts of Kherí, Bahráich, Gondah, Bárah Bankí, and Faizábád; then, in the north-west provinces, those of Bastí, Gorákhpúr, and Azamgarh; then, in western Bihár, the district of Sáran. It falls into the Ganges at Chaprá, after a course of about 600 miles.

GHÁZÍPÚR, chief town of the district of the same name in the Banáras division, so called after its founder, Málík Saiyid Masúd Ghází, in A.D. 1330. Lord Cornwallis, who succeeded Marquess Wellesley as Governor-General of India, died here in 1805. The district is bounded

on the north by the Ázamgarh and Sáran districts; on the west by those of Jaunpúr and Banáras, on the south by that of Sháhábád. Its chief rivers are the Ganges, the Ghághrá, the Sárgú, and the Gúmtí.

GORÁKHPÚR. The division thus called is bounded to the north by Nipál, to the east by the Gandak, to the south by the Ghághrá, and to the west by Oudh. The capital, also called Gorákhpúr, is on the left bank of the Ráptí. It has an imámbárah (a kind of mosque) built by one of the rulers of Oudh, and near it is the temple of Gorákhnath, worshipped by the Jains. The means of communication in this district still leave much to be desired.

GÚMTÍ, The, rises in the mountains north of the Sháhjahánpúr district. It flows through the districts of Kherí, Lakhnao, and Sultánpúr, in Oudh, and through those of Jaunpúr and Banáras, in the North-West Provinces, falling into the Ganges seventeen miles north-east of Banáras. The length of its course is about 500 miles.

GWÁLÍAR, the capital of the dominions of Sindhiá. It lies on the Subanrekhá river, sixty-six miles south of Ágra. Within its limits may be comprehended the famous hill fort on an isolated rock 300 feet high, and about three miles in circumference; the *Lashkar*, or standing camp of the Máharájah, extending several miles from the north-west end of the rock; the old town along its eastern base; and the cantonment of Morár, on the Chambal, to the north, occupied, before the Mutiny, by the Gwáliár contingent, officered by British officers.

The dominions of Sindhiá, known under the generic term "Gwáliár," consist of several detached districts, covering an area of 29,067 square miles, and having a population of 3,115,857 souls. Of the districts so detached, the principal is bounded on the north-east by the Chambal, which divides it from the British districts of Ágra and Itáwah; on the east, in a very tortuous line, by Bundelkhand and the Ságar districts; on the south by the native states of Bhopál and Dhár; on the west by those of Bájgarh, Jháláwar, and Kotá; and on the north-west by the Chambal, which separates it from the states of Karaulí and Dholpúr. The chief rivers are the Chambal, which receives the Chumblá, the Síprí, the Chota Kálá Sind, the Niwáj, and the Párvatí, the Narbadá, and the Sind.

IMÁMBÁRAH, The great, in Lakhnao, is a kind of mosque, built by one of the kings of Oudh, formerly contiguous to, now incorporated in, the Machhí Bhawan. Its central hall, 163 feet long, 53 feet broad, and 49½ feet high, has an arched roof without supports. The curve of the arch is 68 feet, and the wall is 16 feet thick. The Imámbárah is 303 feet long from east to west, 160 feet broad, and 62½ feet high. The reader will find an admirable description of this building, and of the other buildings in the great northern cities of India, in Murray's *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency*, compiled on the spot by Captain Edward Eastwick.

ITÁWAH, the chief town of the district of the same name, lies on the left bank of the Jamnah. The district forms part of the Ágra division. It is bounded to the north by the Mainpúrí and Farrukhábád districts; to the west by the Ágra district, from which it is separated by the

Jamnah, and the Gwáliár state; to the south by the Jamnah; and to the east by the Kanhpúr district. The town lies sixty-three miles south-east from Ágra.

JAGDISPÚR, a town in the Sháhábád district of the Patná division (western Bibár), ninety miles east of Banáras. About it, in and prior to 1857, were the ancestral estates of Kúnwar Singh.

JAIPÚR, capital of the state of the same name in Rájputáná. The state has an area of 15,250 square miles, and a population of two millions. It is bounded on the north by Bakánir and Hisár; on the east by Alwar and Bhasalpúr; on the south by Karaulí, Gwáliár, Búndi, Tonk, Mewár, and Ajmír; in the west by Kishngarh, Márwár and Bikánir. The centre is an elevated tableland, 1500 feet above the sea. The capital of the same name was founded by Rájah Jai Singh II. in 1723, and partially rebuilt and beautified by Rájah Rám Singh in 1843-6. It lies 140 miles west from Ágra, 150 south-west from Dehlí, and 400 north-west from Alláhábád.

JODHPÚR, or **MÁRWÁR**, is a native state in Rájputáná, lying to the east of Jaisalmir and Bikánir, having an area of 37,000 square miles, and a population of a million and three quarters. Its principal river is the Lúni. The capital, Jodhpúr, is a town surrounded by a wall, in which are seventy gates, each named after the place to which it leads. A fort, built on a rock 800 feet above the level of the court at its base, commands the city.

KADAM RASÚL, a brick building in Lakhnao, about 300 yards to the east of the Sháh Najaf. The literal meaning of its name is "the foot of the prophet."

KAISARBÁGH, the, a palace in Lakhnao built by the last of the kings of Oudh, Wájid Alf Sháh. It was begun in 1848 and finished in 1850, at a cost, including furniture and decorations, of £800,000. It includes the Bádsháh Manzil, built by Saadat Ali II., previously the private residence of the King. The ladies used to occupy apartments round the magnificent square beyond the Lákhi gate, so called from having cost a lakh of rupees. For a detailed description *vide* Murray's *Bengal*.

KALFÍ, a town in the Jalán district, N.W.P., on the right bank of the Jamnah, was a very important place under Muhammadan rule. It lies forty-five miles south-west of Kanhpúr.

KÁNAUJ, a town on the Kálí Nadí, near its confluence with the Ganges, in the Furrúkhabád district. Before the Muhammadan invasion it was the most famous city in India. It is now too ruinous for the ordinary geographer to do it reverence. Yet it was mentioned by Ptolemy (A.D. 140). Here Humáyun was finally defeated by Sher Sháh, in May, 1540.

KATAK, a town and district in Orísá, strangely miscalled by the barbarians who first visited it "Cutlack," which misnomer has been as barbarously perpetuated and retained. The district, covering an area of 3178 square miles, and watered by the Mahánadí, and its branch, the Katjuri; by the Brahmaní, and its branch, the Kharsúá; and by the Baitaráni: is hilly in its western, and low and swampy in its eastern sections. The

population is about a million and a half. The town of the same name, also called Katak Banáras, lies on the right bank of the Mahánadí. It was built, 1200 A.D., by Anang Bhím Deo, King of Orisá.

MOZÍ MAHALL, THE, includes three buildings in Lakhnao. That, properly called by the name, is at the north end of the enclosure. It was built by Saadat Ali Khán. Along the river face Ghází u'd dín built the Muhárák Manzil to the east of the old bridge of boats, and the Sháh Manzil close to the bridge. In this latter used to take place the wild beast fights so dear to the rulers of Oudh.

MULTÁN, the chief town and fortress of the district of the same name, lying between the Satlej, the Chináb, and the Ráyi, and having a population of over half a million. The town lies four miles from the left bank of the Chináb. It is one of the bulwarks of India.

NIPÁL, an independent state in the mountainous range to the north of Bihár and Oudh. It is 500 miles long from east to west, and about 160 broad. It is mostly mountainous; but behind the lower range of the Himálays are long, narrow, fertile valleys, about 4000 feet above the level of the sea, well watered and cultivated. The population numbers two millions. Of these 270,000 are aboriginal, called Newárs, Buddhists. The remainder are Gurkhás, who conquered the Newárs about the year 1700 A.D.

ORISÁ, once a kingdom, then a province; now a division, comprising the districts of Katak, Púri, or Jagannáth, Báleswar, sometimes, but incorrectly called Balasor, and nineteen tributary Mahalls. The division is bounded on the north and north-east by Chutíá Nágpur and Bengal; on the east and south-east by the Bay of Bengal; on the south by the Madras Presidency; and on the west by the Central Provinces. Exclusive of the Tributary Mahalls, it has an area of 9053 square miles, and a population of nearly four millions. Consult Murray's *Handbook to Bengal* for a graphic account of the journey from Calcutta to Púri and Katak.

PÚRNÍÁ, a district in Eastern Bihár (q. v.) between Bhágálpúr and Nipál, with an area of 4957 square miles, and a population of a million and three quarters. The chief station, also called Púrníá, lies on both banks of the Little Kusí river, 78 miles to the north-east of Bhágálpur; 233 miles north-west of Calcutta; and 98 miles south-west from Dárjiling.

RAJPUTÁNÁ, a tract of Western India, so called from its being inhabited mainly by Rájputs. It is bounded on the north-east by the Panjáb and North-Western Provinces; on the south-east by the Indúr and Gwáliár states; on the south-west by Barodah and the districts of Bombay; on the west by Sindh; and on the north-west by the state of Baháwalpúr. It has an area of 129,750 square miles, and a population slightly in excess of ten millions. The states within it, all of which are under British protection, are, Bikánúr, east of Baháwalpúr; Jaisalmir, south-west of Bikánúr; Kishungarh, between Ajmír and Jaipúr; Karauli, between Jaipúr and Dholpúr; Alwar, north of Jaipúr and west of Mathurá; Tonk; Dholpúr; Udaipúr or Mewár, south of Ajmír; Dongapúr; Bánswára, south-east of Dongapúr; Partabgarh, north of Bánswára; Jaipúr; Jodhpúr, or Márwár; Bharatpúr; Bundi; Kotá; Jháláwar; and Sirohí.

RÁMGANGÁ, the eastern, a river of the Kumáun district rising on the southern declivity of the main chain of the Himálayas, at an elevation of 9000 feet. It holds a course generally south-easterly for about fifty-five miles, to Ramésar (in the Kumáun district, 1500 feet above the sea-level), where it unites with the Surjá.

RÁMGANGÁ, the western, rises in the southern declivity of the slopes of the Himálayas, not far from the eastern river of the same name; runs for twenty miles in a south-easterly direction; then becomes south-westerly, and so continues to its exit from the hills, ninety miles from its source. Ten miles further on it takes a southerly direction, holds it for fifteen miles, then receives, on its right, the waters of the Koh, and a little further on, on its left, those of the Sunká. Sixty miles lower it is augmented by the waters of the Deohá or Gárah. Ten miles below this last confluence it falls into the Ganges nearly opposite the ancient city of Kanáuj (q. v.). Its whole course is about 373 miles.

ROHILKHAND, a division of the North-West Provinces, bounded by the Ganges, by Oudh, and by Kumáun, and watered by the Rám-gangá, the Kosilá, the Ganges, and the Ghághrá. It has an area of 10,882 square miles and a population slightly in excess of five millions. It is divided into the districts of Bijnáur, Murádábád, Badáun, Baráli, Sháhjahánpúr, and the Taráí Parganahs. It includes also the territory of the Nawáb of Rámpúr.

RÁPTÍ, The, rises in the sub-Himálayan ranges of Nipál, and, after many windings, enters the plains of Oudh, which it traverses in a south-easterly direction for ninety miles, passing through the Bahráich and Gondah districts. After running 400 miles it falls into the Ghághrá shortly before that river joins the Ganges. Its tributary, the Burha Ráptí, has a course of 134 miles.

SHÁH NAJAF, The, a palace built in Lakhnao by Ghází u'd dín Haidar, the first king of Oudh, in memory of a town in Arabia, where Ali, the successor of the Prophet, was buried. It stands about 350 yards to the east of the Motí Mahall, and 180 yards south of the west bank of the Gúmí. It is a white mosque of scanty elevation, with an enormous dome.

SILHAT, sometimes but barbarously spelt "Sylhet," is a district in the Dhákah division, having an area of 5440 square miles, and a population of over 1,700,000 souls. The northern, eastern, and southern parts of the district are hilly. Its principal river, on the banks of which lies the chief station, also called Silhat, is the Surmá, which rises in Kachhár and falls into the Bráhmaputrá. Its chief products are lime, timber, oranges, ginger, and tea.

SÓN, The, rises in the elevated table-land of Amarkautak in the Bilásápúr district of the central provinces, at about 3500 feet above the sea level, and flows northerly through an intricate chain of hills till it strikes the Kaimur range, the dividing range between the Jabalpúr and Sháhábád districts. From this point it takes an easterly course till it falls into the Ganges, about ten miles above Dánápúr, having meandered about 465 miles. In its lower section, of upwards of 160 miles, it first flows across the British district of Mirzápúr, and then, passing into western

Bihár, separates Sháhábád from Gayá and Patná. The Són is crossed by the grand trunk road from Calcutta to the north-west on a stone causeway, and lower down, near Koelnár, the East India railway has been carried across it on a lattice girder bridge.

TÁRÁ, or TÁRÁWÁLÍ, KOTHÍ, The, the observatory, or star house, at Lakhnao, was built by Násir u'd dín Haidar under the superintendence of Colonel Wilcox, Astronomer Royal. In 1857 the famous Maulavi, Ahmad Ullah, of Faizábád, had his head-quarters here, and here were held the councils of war.

TIRHÚT, a district in western Bihár, between Nipál and the Ganges, with an area of 6343 square miles and a population of four and a half millions. It is watered by the Ganges, the Gandak, and the Bághmatí. To the north of it are the swampy forests of the Tarái. It comprises the towns of Muzaffanpúr, Hájpúr; near it, Sonpúr, famous for its fair, and Darbanghá, the seat of the Tirhút Rájahs. The district produces indigo, cereals, sugar, tobacco, opium, and saltpetre.

TÍSTÁ, The, flows from the Chatámu Lake, Thibet, through Sikkim, for about ninety-seven miles, marking the boundary between the Sikkim and Dárjiling districts for some distance till it receives the waters of the Great Ranjít. It then turns southward, and traverses the Dárjiling and Jalpaigurí districts in a south-easterly direction, then the Rangpur district. In the two last-named districts it is navigable, though navigation is often difficult. Finally, after a tortuous course of 313 miles from its source, it falls into the Bráhmaputrá. The Tístá is noted for frequent and violent changes in its course.

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APPENDIX A.

(Vide note to page 60.)

WITH reference to the common saying that Lord Lawrence saved the Panjáb, and thereby saved India, it may be fair to remark that this opinion was not supported by many of the officers who served with the Dehli Field Force during the siege: their views may be shown by the following extracts taken from a letter written by Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull (who served throughout the siege on the personal staff of Sir Henry Burnard, General Reed, and Sir Archdale Wilson) to Mr. Bosworth Smith, with reference to Lord Lawrence's share of credit for the work done at Dehli, as described in that Author's book:—

"The one figure which stands pre-eminently forward in this narrative" (Mr. Bosworth Smith's 'Life of Lord Lawrence') "of the siege of Dehli, is that of Sir John Lawrence. All others sink into insignificance. The terrible anxiety of our generals, receiving constant entreaties (if not more) from Láhor to do something; to take active measures to push on, &c., when it would have been ruinous, if not practically impossible, to do so; the fearful prostration of mind and body by such a strain in a climate reaching sometimes 133 degrees in a headquarters tent, the perpetual knowledge that if nothing were done they might be blamed, and, if anything were done and failed, the blame would be theirs also; more especially as the consequence of any such failure would be the rising of the Panjáb; all this does not seem to have been sufficiently taken into account. It was Sir John Lawrence who urged our instant move on Dehli. When we got there we found ourselves checked, surrounded, and outnumbered. He denuded the Panjáb of troops, and sent them to us, thus enabling us to hold our own, and thus to save the Panjáb, and India. It is hard to see how, with the original responsibility resting on him, he could have done anything less.

"The siege of Dehli has never been sufficiently estimated in England, and for several reasons. No one can know what really went on there except those who were there. The fall of Dehli took place in September. Sir Colin Campbell had arrived in Calcutta the 13th August. From that moment all attention was riveted on him; and, soon after, on Lakhnao. Troops arrived from the Cape by October; the China expedition was directed to India; troops and officers, whose numbers and names had already become well known during the Crimean War, came out; full battalions, one thousand strong, took the place of attenuated regiments of

two hundred and fifty; and last, not least, war-correspondents kept the English public well up in all the minor details of what was then occurring. The natural consequence was, that the recollection of things done at Delhi faded away. The terrible anxieties of the commanders, the gallantry and sufferings of the officers and men, were either passed over, or, if remembered, were soon obliterated by the newspaper descriptions of what was even then going on. One person could not be passed over, and that was Sir John Lawrence. From his constant correspondence with the Government at the Presidency, his work could not be forgotten. The centre of the work above the zone of the Mutiny was the taking of Delhi, so that his name was, in England, more immediately connected with it; and, in the opinion of some, he never used such opportunities as came to his lot afterwards as fully as he might have done in remembering those who were one of the stepping-stones to his advancement."

Colonel Turnbull was a most gallant officer. In his despatch after the battle of Badli-ki-Sarai, Sir Henry Barnard specially mentioned the "daring devotion" of his two aides-de-camp, Captain Turnbull and his own son. The praise was well merited, for both were to the front whenever service was to be rendered and danger to be encountered.

APPENDIX B.

(Page 117 of text.)

FROM SIR JAMES OUTRAM TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE RELIEVING FORCE.

[Along with the following important and deeply interesting letter, Sir James Outram forwarded a plan of the ground intervening between the *Álambágh* and the Residency, together with minute descriptions of every position and building capable of being held by the enemy. The plan was based on the surveys made by the late Captain Morrison prior to the outbreak, the only surveys that had been made of *Lakhsao*. The copy of this plan, which will be found at the end of the volume, should be consulted in the perusal of the following letter. It is Plan No. I.]

My communication of the 14th instant informed you I consider your first operation should be the occupation of the "*Dilkushá*" house and park, by a direct movement to that place from the *Álambágh*. The fort of *Jaláábád*, which is situated a mile or a mile and a half to the right of that route, is said to be occupied by the enemy, with two guns; but it is too distant to interrupt that line of communication, and it is not likely to be maintained after the *Dilkushá*, in addition to *Álambágh*, has been occupied in its rear. I think it hardly worth while, therefore, to waste

time against that place, which at the commencement of the outbreak was little capable of defence, and is not likely since to have been repaired or stored sufficiently to admit of its retention. The guns now there appear to have been sent merely to interrupt the forage parties from Álambágh. (A description of Jalálábád, as it was just before the outbreak, is appended.) Yet it will be prudent, in afterwards communicating with Álambágh, to afford a strong escort until it is known whether or not Jalálábád is evacuated.

The direct advance from Álambágh *viâ* Charbágh, and the main street marked (1) (1) (1) on the plan, should *not* be attempted, very formidable opposition being prepared on the opposite side of the Charbágh bridge, the bridge itself being destroyed, and the passage strongly fortified; besides which, there are two miles of street to pass through, in which every means of obstruction has been prepared, the houses loopholed, and guns in position at various points, with ditches, mines, and other obstacles. For the same reason I would deprecate any attempt to force the street which runs from the junction of the Dilkushá and Martinière roads to the Kaisarbágh, marked (2) (2) (2).

At Dilkushá, it is stated, there are at present only some Rájwára matchlockmen, with cavalry at Bibipur village perhaps, and at the Martinière; but these are almost certain to decamp when you approach, and may perhaps suffer considerably ere they get across the canal, if followed up sharply by cavalry and horse artillery. Two guns were said to be at Dilkushá some days ago, probably those now at Jalálábád. If still there, they would have to be abandoned ere they could be crossed over the canal, if followed up.

It is possible that some of the so-called Regular Infantry may be sent over to the Dilkushá when they hear of your approach. If so, they will but add to their own confusion and panic flight when you attack, for never by any chance do they stand in the open. Two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, sent out to oppose Major Barston's convoy, fled at his approach without firing a shot; and on every occasion where whole hosts of them were opposed to ourselves it was just the same. The Dilkushá palace cannot be maintained under fire of our artillery, having large windows on every side. If any force of the enemy is assembled there, they must suffer awfully from your guns in escaping across the canal; Or, should they fly to the Martinière, they will be in a similar predicament when you follow them up.

On seeing the Dilkushá occupied by your troops, the enemy would most probably occupy the Martinière. After lodging your baggage in the garden to the rear of, and commanded by, the Dilkushá house (and surrounded by walls without houses, something like Álambágh, and easily defensible), you would proceed against the Martinière through the road marked (3) (3) (3). But it would be well, ere getting within musket-range of the building, to throw a few shells and round shot into it, in case it should be occupied by the enemy, whose fire from the terraced roof might cause much loss ere you get near enough to rush up and blow open

doors for entry. It would be well for you to have some one with you well acquainted with the Martinière building. And it may be a matter for your consideration whether it would not be better, if the place appears strongly fortified, to mask it by encamping your troops between the road (3) (3) and the canal, contenting yourself by bombarding the Martinière during the day and night, which will almost ensure its evacuation before morning. The mound marked (4)* would be a favourable site for a 24-pounder battery, which would command the opposite bank of the canal, where you purpose effecting your passage to protect the sappers in making a road for your guns.

It is possible the bridge leading to the Martinière may not be destroyed, and that you may prefer advancing over it. But, on reconnoitring, you will, I believe, find places where the canal may be crossed without much difficulty further down, towards (6), which would enable you to turn any defensive works the enemy may prepare on the main road (2) (2) (2). If you cross the bridge, therefore, I would recommend you turning to the right after passing it, and making your way through the mud huts (indicated by the brown colour on the plan) until you get into the road running from (6) to (W) (W) (W)—W denotes some deserted and destroyed infantry lines—leaving the houses, marked D D D, on your left, and thus making your way into the road (7) (7), which passes the open front of the enclosure in which the barracks are situated. Should the barrack buildings be occupied (they were precipitately abandoned when we advanced from the same quarter), it may be prudent to throw a few shot and shell ere the infantry advances to the attack. Having large doors, open on both sides, as is customary in European barracks in India, I anticipate little difficulty in your effecting an entry. Staircases lead to the terraced roof from the interior of the centre room. The terrace is considerably raised above, and therefore commands the houses of the Hazratganj), and a few rifles placed there could keep down any musketry fire from thence (Hazratganj), which alone could disturb the party left in occupation of the barracks when you advance further. But it would be necessary to throw up a parapet of sand-bags, or screens of shutters, to protect the riflemen on the roof, as it has no parapet. The south wall of the enclosure is, however, sufficiently high to afford some protection against direct fire.

Should you cross by the bridge, your whole force would, I presume, come that way. And your next operation, after leaving an adequate guard for the barracks (say 300 or 400 infantry, some cavalry, and a couple of guns; or, probably, you might secure a gun, or two guns, which the enemy are said to have there), would be to proceed by the road (7) (7) to the Sikandrabagh (G), which, if held, could easily be breached by 24-

* Sir J. Outram afterwards availed himself of this mound to plant a 24-pounder battery of the *Shannon* Brigade, which effectually kept down the enemy's fire opened on the rear division under his command, when he finally retired to the Alambagh.

or 18-pounders—the wall being only about 2½ feet thick—*vide* enclosed description.* It is said to be occupied by Mán Singh, with some 200 or 300 Rájwáras and two guns; the former are pretty sure to bolt when your guns open upon the place, and two or three shells are thrown into it.

If you cross the canal at (6), the main body of your force should proceed by the road from (6) to (W). A regiment and portion of artillery might, perhaps, make their way by the road which leads direct to the Sikandrabágh (8) (8); but as it is not well defined, it may be more prudent to keep all together till you occupy the barracks.†

Should you have met with opposition, or been delayed much in crossing the canal, the day will be pretty far advanced ere you have occupied the barracks and Sikandrabágh. These might be the limit of your operation that day—encamping your force between, and a little in advance of, those two points, with its right rear on Sikandrabágh, and the barracks on its left rear—thus obtaining a tolerably open plain to encamp on, with almost clear space in front, from which your guns would play upon the buildings which still intervene between your camp and our position, namely, the Sháh Nuja (H), Moti Mahall (K), Mess-house (M), and Tára Kothí (N), which, if held, might be bombarded from both our positions prior to commencing combined operations next morning. You would then decide on the garrisons to occupy the barracks and Sikandrabágh, to maintain communication with Dilkushá, where your baggage would, I trust, be secure in the garden, protected by 200 men occupying the house, and a couple of guns. About the same strength (with convalescents) would suffice for Álambágh, aided by the enemy's guns we have there. And, perhaps, two of our own guns, supported by 100 riflemen, would hold the Martinière, with a small body of cavalry to command the plain down to the canal. A strong picquet also should be placed in the nearest huts to the road by which you cross the canal. You would, perhaps, occupy the houses D D also, as further security for your communications.‡ Another point to which you should turn your attention while

* The Commander-in-Chief's force met with serious opposition at the Sikandrabágh, owing to their having approached it by a cross-road from the rear, whence their breaching guns could not be brought up until the troops had been exposed for some time to a heavy fire. Had they come by the broad *pakka* (macadamised) road leading from the barracks, as suggested, their heavy guns could have opened upon the place while the infantry remained out of musketry fire. A practicable breach would then have been made, or the shelling would have driven the enemy out. As it was, however, the occupants, greatly more numerous than reported, had no means of egress, and *were destroyed to a man*; but our own troops also suffered severely in taking the place.

† Neither the roads (7) (7) or (8) (8) were followed by Sir Colin Campbell's force, which was taken by a more circuitous and intricate road than either, and suffered greatly before its guns could be brought to the front.

‡ All this was carried out, with the exception that the barracks and the

delayed in breaching the Sikandrabágh is the destruction of the bridge of boats some few hundred yards thence.* If a troop of horse artillery and cavalry are sent off rapidly to any point commanding the boats, many men would be destroyed with the boats that would be sunk by your guns; and the destruction of the boats will prevent the enemy's force on the other side of the Gúmtí coming over to molest you at night.

The signal that you are crossing the canal will be my notice to spring certain mines, and storm the posts now held by the enemy in my immediate front (9) (9); and, once in possession of these, I shall open my guns on the buildings above mentioned, and endeavour also to silence the fire of the Kaisarbágh, which commands the open space between us, to favour our junction next morning † when our united batteries could be turned upon the Kaisarbágh. And they would, I hope, in a day or two, effect its capture, which is necessary to ensure th entire submission of the city.

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.—*This extract has been taken from Sir James Outram's General Orders, Despatches, and Correspondence, published in 1860 (Smith, Elder, and Co.). All the notes attached to it were made by the editor of that volume.—G. B. M.*

APPENDIX C.

(Page 393.)

LIEUTENANT CONOLLY thus wrote to Captain Black, regarding his escape: "Such a scene of confusion I never saw; some Sípáhí firing at Bhi's, they shot seven poor wretches on the parade-ground, who, I declare were only looking at the novel scene. During the day we halted. The first day we marched to —, and a greater rabble never crossed country than our once smart legion: not a Sípáhi hardly saluted me. I was taken to Abbás

houses D D were refused in the *advance* to the Sikandrabágh, and had therefore, to be taken afterwards, and (it is believed) at a greater loss than had they been assailed in the first instance.

* The enemy's leaders themselves caused the bridge to be broken up to prevent the flight of their followers.

† This was done. Sir James Outram's troops stormed and took the buildings (9) (9) on the day Sir Colin took the Sikandrabágh. Sir James then opened his batteries on the Mess-house, Kaisarbágh, &c., exactly as here proposed, until the junction was effected; and the Kaisarbágh could have soon after been taken, had it not been determined to withdraw our forces for a time.—(See the despatches of General Havelock, Brigadier Eyre, Colonel Napier, &c., in reference to these operations.)

Alí's tent at —, and the infantry were a little behind, when a tremendous row commenced. Some Minás made a rush at the carts; the infantry thought it was an attack; away went the cavalry to see to matters, cut up a few Bhíls, and, seeing no one else, pulled up to look about them. Another row, and rush towards where I was standing near my saddled horse. I can't say I was desperately alarmed, for all hope of life I had cast aside some hours before, when we marched. The rush towards me was caused by some amiable Sipáhis taking the opportunity to make a run at me. Abbás Alí and his men saw it, and were soon between us; but I cannot enter into details of self; once again they attempted to get at me at Dulá. What made them so mad was, that my strenuous attempts to seduce the cavalry had been made known to Mihrwán Singh, and he swore I should die. At Dulá they had three or four rows—councils they called them—about me. At last, Mihrwán Singh and the other beauties, seeing Abbás Alí would not give me up, said I might go solus. Next morning, they sent again to say, No, I should not go. However, Abbás Alí and his men surrounded my *chárpaí** all night; we none of us slept, and on the morning of the 27th, when the force was ready, the guns were loaded, the infantry shouldered arms, and I was brought up. I was told to ride to the front; poor Dokal Singh the háwaldár-major, and some others, ran out blubbering; Abbás Alí and Abdul Alí rode up on each side, made me low salaams, and told me to ride for it; that not a sawár should be allowed to interfere with my retreat. My three sawárs, who, I have forgotten to say, had stuck to me as if I had been their brother since the very beginning, by a preconcerted plan, were ordered to see me off a little way. I could not help giving a farewell wave of the hand to the infantry in irony; they shouted and laughed, the band struck up, and that is the last I saw of the legion. I rode right into Erinpuram with three sawárs; I came straight here, and the people seemed ready to eat me with joy. The names of the three sawárs are, Nasir-ud-din, second troop; Iláhí Bakhsh, third troop (the man who used to ride my grey); and Momin Khán, first troop. They left everything behind, and, I must say, are three as fine fellows as I wish to see. By the bye, the cavalry said, if I would agree to turn Musalmán, to a man they would follow me. Very kind of them. They offered me money when I was coming away, and also on the march. I took twenty rupees from Abbás Alí; now I wish I had taken my pay; they twice offered it. Now is our time, the legion is divided. Jawan Singh † golandáz, and his party, about seven other golandáz (gunners), will play the infantry a trick if they can. I have told Jawan Singh I will myself give him five hundred rupees if he breaks with the infantry. Abbás Alí, the háwaldár-major, and Abdul Alí, are in danger on my account, and they are kept with their men under the guns night and day. I feel most glad to think I did

* Chárpaí, a bedstead; literally, "of four feet."

† Golandáz, a gunner; literally, "a thrower of balls."

them as much harm as I could. Makhdúm Bakhsh had a musket put to his breast for letting me ride with my sword on. I was a bone of contention. I have this morning sent a sharp *kásid* to Abbás Ali, telling him, for his own sake, to try and communicate with Mason, who, I believe, is at Páli, and to whom I have written to try and communicate with Abbás Ali."

Kásid—a courier.

END OF VOL. IV.