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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. VI.

BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

WITH AN ANALYTICAL INDEX,

By FREDERIC PINCOTT,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

AND A MAP.

CABINET EDITION.

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I WOULD DEDICATE THIS VOLUME TO THE MEMORY OF
SAMUEL WAUCHOPE, C.B.,
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE IN CALCUTTA DURING THE MUTINY OF 1857
AS A SMALL TESTIMONY
TO HIS MANY EXCELLENT QUALITIES AS A MAN
AND AS AN OFFICIAL.

PREFACE TO THE SIXTH VOLUME.

IN the original edition of this work I attached to the fifth—in that styled the third—volume an account in detail of the events of the Mutiny in five civil districts. There was no special reason why five districts only should be selected, and my publishers yielded readily to a suggestion I made them that in this complete edition, a short sketch should be given of the occurrences in other civil stations in which mutiny was rampant. I have endeavoured to accomplish this task amid many difficulties, for during the ten years which have elapsed since the first edition appeared, many of the actors have been removed, leaving no journals and no record of the scenes through which they passed. The reader, however, will, I think, find in this volume much information, which, if not altogether new, is now, for the first time, allotted its proper place in a history of the Mutiny.

I have been specially glad to bring more prominently to notice the services of men whose splendid conduct had been more or less overshadowed, in the preceding volumes, by the glare of the military operations. Prominently amongst these I would mention the conduct of Major (now Sir Orfeur) Cavenagh, and of the late Mr. Samuel Wauchope, of the Civil Service, in Calcutta; of Mr. Frederick Gubbins, of Mr. Lind, and of Mr. Jenkinson, at Banáras; of Major Court at Alláhábád; of Mr. Sherer at Káuhpúr; of Mr. Wynyard at Gorákhpúr; of Mr. Robert Spankie and of Mr. Robertson, at Saháránpúr; of Mr. Dunlop at Míráth; of Mr. Thornhill at Mathurá; of Mr. Allen and Mr. Cockburn in eastern Bengal; and of Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere, in Sindh. There are many others, whose deeds, so far as I have been able to collate them, are recorded in this volume. My only fear is lest I should have omitted many details which, from the interest of the occurrences and from the long-suffering and gallantry of the actors,

ought to be recorded. I shall hope, if such should prove to be the case, to have an opportunity hereafter of remedying the short-coming.

I have thought it desirable, moreover, in justice to the splendid administration of British India by our countrymen, in the past and in the present, to add to this volume a sketch of the actual conduct in the most trying crisis India has experienced under British rule, of the several native chiefs who occupied semi-independent positions throughout the peninsula, under the protection of Great Britain. Many details giving ample evidence of their attachment to their overlord on the part of the chiefest among them have been given in preceding volumes. But I thought that a short survey of the conduct of those who, in central India, in Rajpútáná, in western and in southern India, had an opportunity, such as their ancestors at the beginning of the present century would have eagerly clutched at, of rooting out the sway of the western foreigner, would tell, more eloquently than a laboured defence, the secret of the success of the British rule. When the Mutiny broke out, not forty years had elapsed since the forces of Holkar had been ranged against the British at Mehidpúr; and since the Peshwá had struck his last blow for independence. Not fourteen had passed since the troops of Sindhiá encountered their final defeat at Mahárájpúr; not fifteen since Sindh had been conquered; not eight since the Sikhs had been arrayed against Lord Gough at Chilianwálá and Gujrát. On each and all of these occasions, the successful blow struck by the British had been followed by a policy so lenient, so restorative, so inspiring of confidence in British justice, that when the Mutiny broke out, and the Sipáhis, the landowners in the provinces of the North-West, the Tálúkdars of Oudh, and the King of Delhi, made common cause against the British, the latter found their strongest adherents in the Sindhiá, whose ancestors had vowed their destruction; in the Sikhs, who had given them a very hard nut to crack in 1849-50; in the Rajpútáná which they had rescued thirty-nine years before; in the Haidarábád, which, since the time of Clive, had never deviated from its fidelity; and in the Sindh, held together by the powerful grasp of Mr. Frere. These are facts more eloquent than words. No more complete justification for the presence in India of the foreign islanders, who base their rule on justice and toleration of the widest character, could possibly be given. Within fourteen years of the last war in

India south of the Satlaj, the Pretorians of the paramount power suddenly rose in revolt. The native princes, whom we had first conquered, then protected, far from making common cause with the revolters, hastened to huddle together round the scattered remnants of that paramount power, and aiding it with all their resources, helped to maintain it, until it should receive renewed strength from its island home. It is hard to say, indeed, how the British would have fared, if Sindhiá—second in descent from the Sindhiá who had fought Wellesley and Lake, and third from the Mádhájí who died just as his plans for a Maráthá empire had ripened—had moved against us in June and July, 1857.

I would crave leave to add a few words regarding the spelling I adopted when writing of places in India. My system has been cavilled at by some, has been supported by others. I have been glad to find that whilst among the former are retired Indians, disinclined to break with the haphazard system dear to them from long connection, the modern school has ranged itself on my side. How, indeed, in this age of progress and enlightenment, could it be otherwise? I have simply spelt names as those names are written in the vernacular language of the country to which those names belong. It is the more necessary that this system should be adopted, as, in India, every name has a meaning, and that meaning would be utterly lost, if the no-system, originated by men ignorant of the native languages, and blindly accepted by their successors, were adhered to. I will add another reason for adopting the Indian nomenclature, which, to my mind, is unanswerable. That nomenclature is adopted now, with a few exceptions, which I regret, by the Government of India in its official Gazette. It is to a great extent adopted, with the same exceptions, by the press of India; and it is adopted by the Guide-Books and Gazetteers, which constitute the principal sources of information regarding the country to the tourist. In these days the number of tourists who visit India in the winter is increasing. Let us take the case of one or more of these intending travellers. Before starting on their tour they buy a Murray's Handbook, and possibly a Forbes's Guide to Conversation. Certainly, Murray's Handbook is indispensable, for the descriptions, especially in the Handbook for Bengal, which includes the North-Western Provinces and Delhi, are just what the traveller requires. Probably he begins to read the Handbook before he sets out, or, certainly, on the

journey, and becomes familiarized with the names. Now, Captain Eastwick, who wrote Murray's Handbook, is a very purist in the way of spelling. All his places are spelt as the natives write them. They are spelt so, likewise, in Forbes's Manual, and in his dictionary; so, generally, though not absolutely, in the new and revised edition of Thornton's Gazetteer. When the traveller lands in India, and, speaking to natives, pronounces names and things as he has found them spelt in the Guide-Book he has studied, he finds he is understood. He sees, on the other hand, that the native can with difficulty comprehend those who pronounce native names as the adherents of the time-honoured indeed, but utterly haphazard, system spell them. That system may, I am thankful to say, be numbered with the past. No polished writer of the present day who has any knowledge of India and its people would dream of using it. It is dying out, and will shortly disappear. Future generations will wonder that a people who call themselves enlightened should have tolerated the barbarism so long.

In conclusion, I would with great respect lay the last volume of this work before the public as the concluding words of an attempt to describe, faithfully and without prejudice, the most marvellous episode of modern times. There had been nothing to equal it in the world's history before. I repeat here, what I have said in a previous volume, that no harder task was ever suddenly thrown upon a nation than that cast upon the British in 1857. In achieving it, they literally "conquered the impossible": that is, they performed a task which, I believe, no other people in the world could have accomplished. They conquered, because, in the darkest hour, they never despaired; because, "believing in their own energies, they dared to be great."

G. B. MALLESON.

27, WEST CROMWELL ROAD,
1st October, 1889.

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HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

BOOK XVIII.—THE CIVIL DISTRICTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TERRITORIES UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

I PURPOSE, in this final volume, to place on record the deeds of those Englishmen in India, not necessarily soldiers, who, placed in most difficult circumstances, with no support but that afforded by their own brave hearts, living in the midst of a population surging around them, exposed to imminent danger, not only from the revolted Sipáhis, but from the prisoners whom they had sentenced now broken loose from the gaols, and from the miscreants whom they had once controlled but who had now become the leaders in slaughter and outrage, never lost their nerve, never ceased to bear themselves proudly, never forgot what was due to their own honour and their reputation as Britons. The glorious action of these men in the stations, which were also military stations, has been recorded in the five preceding volumes. Whenever it may be necessary to return to those stations to recount, as in the case of Kánhpúr, the civil measures which followed military retribution, I shall ask the reader to accompany me thither. But my main object, in this volume, is to tell the story of the stations which were not military stations, in which the civilian, isolated from his fellows, uncheered by the society of any one, save, perhaps, of a stray planter or an assistant, or, as in some cases, having upon him the responsibility for the lives of women and children, had no aid but that afforded by his trust in God, by his own stout heart, and by a fixed determination, that, happen what might, he, at least, would show himself not unworthy of the land

Plan of this
volume.

which gave him birth, that to the very last hour, however terrible the trial, he would do his duty. The record will show that the Civil Service of India possessed, as I believe it still possesses, many such men, heroes in the truest sense of the term. Of the dangers to which such men were exposed, of the trials they endured, of the resolution and gallantry with which they fought their way to ultimate triumph, this volume will, I hope, be a permanent record.

I propose to take the subject in its geographical arrangement, constituting each Governorship, each Lieutenant-Governorship and each Chief Commissionership the initial unit, parcelling out then each unit into its several particles called divisions or commissionerships, each division into its several districts, each district into its several stations. In this manner I shall take the reader to every spot in British India in which there was tumult or outbreak during the period of the revolt of the Sipáhis.

I begin with the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, called sometimes the Lower Provinces, lay* between longitude 82° and 97°, the most westerly portion being Bhokár in the Chutiá Nágpúr Commissionership, and the most easterly point, that of Sadiá in Upper Ásám, and between latitude 20° and 28°, the most southerly point being the Chilká Lake in Orisá, and the most northern points Tirhút and Sadiá. These territories were bounded to the north by Nipál, Sikkim, Bhután, and the lands occupied by the Áká, Duffá, Míri, and Mishmí tribes; to the east, by Burmah; to the south by Burmah, the Bay of Bengal, and the Madras Presidency; to the west, by the Central Provinces, Rewá, and the North-Western Provinces. The area of these territories was estimated at 280,200 square miles, the population at sixty-five millions. The races constituting this population are more various than those of any other part of India. The Hindu population contains all the castes of the Hindus with many subdivisions. Of these the Kayaths, proceeding from a Kshatriya father and a Sudrá, or low-caste, mother, are the most numerous. These supply the clerks and

* I use the past tense because since the events of 1857-8 Ásám and some outlying districts were severed from the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and formed into a separate Chief Commissionership. This occurred in 1874.

copyists, of whom Bengal is so prolific. The Brahmans trace their origin to Brahmans who immigrated from Kanáuj when that famous city felt the tyranny of the Muhammadan invader. The Muhammadan population, which is most numerous in the south-eastern parts of Bengal, consists of descendants from Afghans and a large number of converts from low Hindu, Arakanese, and aboriginal tribes. Aboriginal tribes, who cling to their old customs, are chiefly met with in the mountainous parts of Ásám, in eastern Bengal, in Orisá, in Chutiá Nágpúr, and in the Rajmahall hills. Immigrants from these tribes are freely employed in the tea districts of Ásám. The languages spoken are as various as the populations. In Bengal there is Bengálí with its several dialects; in Orisá, Uriyá; in Ásám, Ásámese; in Bihár, Hindi and Hindustáni. I am unable to enumerate all the languages spoken by the aborigines.

In the time of Clive these territories were spoken of as the provinces of Bengal, Bihár, and Orisá; but at the present day this division is purely geographical. The territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal were, in 1857, divided into divisions or commissionerships, and these again were subdivided into districts, that is, every Commissioner of a division had under his control a certain number of districts under an officer responsible primarily to himself. These districts combined went to form the division.

Modern nomenclature of these territories.

In 1857 the number of divisions was eleven. They were Orisá, containing three districts, Katak, Púrí, and Báleshwar; Bardwán; Western Bengal, with its five districts, Bardwán, Bánkurá, Bírbhúm, Húglí and Haurah, and Midnapúr; the Presidency, with Calcutta and the twenty-four parganahs, Nadiá, and Jessor; Rájsháhi, with its seven districts, Murshidábád, Dinájpúr, Máldá, Rájsháhi, Rangpúr Bagurá, and Pabná; Koch Bihár, with Dárjiling, Jalpaiguri, and the tributary state of Koch Bihár; Dhákah, with its six districts, Dhákah, Faridpúr, Bákirganj, Maimansingh, Silhat, and Kachhar; Chitragáo, with Chitragáo and the hill tracts, Bhaluá (Noakháli), Tiparah and Hill Tiparah; Ásám, with its nine districts, Goálpárá, Kámrup (Gauhatti), Durang, Naugaón, Síbságar, Lakkhimpur, the Gáo hills, the Khasiá and Jaintiá hills, the Nágá hills; Patná, or, more correctly, Western Bihár, with its six districts, Patná, Gayá, Sháhábád, Sáran, Champáran, and Tirhút; Eastern Bihár, with Munger, Bhágalpúr, Púrniá, and the Santál par-

Names and numbers of the divisions and districts.

ganahs; Chutiá Nágpúr (the south-west frontier Agency), with Lohárdágá, Hazáribágh, Singhbhúm, Mánbúhm, and certain tributary Mahalls, such as Bhokár, Koreá, Sirgújá, Udaipúr, Jashpúr, Gangpúr, Bonai, Sarúndá, and others equally small, covering altogether an area of 12,881 square miles,

I begin with Orisá with its three districts, Katak, Púri or Jagannáth, and Báleshwar* and its nineteen tributary Mahalls. Until 1803 Orisá had belonged to the Maráthá family called the Bhonslá, which ruled in central India, with Nágpúr as its capital. But in that year Marquess Wellesley and his illustrious brother had wrested the province, as it was then called, from the Bhonslá, and it has since remained an integral part of the British dominions in India. The majority of the inhabitants are called Uriyás, but the term is often applied to indicate the lower classes only. The chief classes among the Hindus are the Brahmans, the Karans, the Khandaits (swordsmen); there are also Talingás and Bargís, descendants of the Maráthás. The Musalmáns of this division are chiefly descended from the Patháns, who, under Sulaimán Kararání, King of Bengal, and his general, Kálápahár, defeated, in 1567, Mukund Deo, the last Hindu king of Orisá. In the tributary Mahalls are still to be found aboriginal tribes, some of whom, such as the Konds, were in the habit, within the experience of living men, of sacrificing human beings. These aboriginal tribes speak a language differing from Uriyá, which is the general language of the division.

Katak is in one respect the principal district of Orisá, for its capital, also called Katak† forms the headquarters of the division. This town is built on the apex of the delta of the Mahánadí river, which rising in the Raipúr district of the central provinces, and running a course of 529 miles, pours down upon the delta through the narrow gorge of Naráj, seven miles west of the town, and, dividing into two streams,

* Báleshwar is generally spelt by the English "Balasore." The spelling is barbarous and incorrect. Nothing can be clearer than the derivation and meaning of the name as correctly written. Báleshwar means "Young Lord," and is applied in the Hindi writings to Krishna. The name commemorates the visit of the incarnate deity to the district.

† The word "Katak," written improperly in English "Cuttack," and wrongly accented on the last syllable, means, in Sanskrit, "a royal metropolis," "a city," and also "an army." The people of Orisá adopt the first meaning. *Vide Murray's Bengal.*

encircles Katak on the north and east, and by its branch, the Kátjurí, on the west. The town contains fifty thousand inhabitants. In 1856 the officers, to whom was confided the charge of the division of Orisá, were the commissioner, Mr. G. F. Cockburn; the judge of Katak, Mr. J. J. Ward; the magistrates, of Katak, Mr. R. N. Shore; of Púrí, Mr. A. S. Annand; of Báleshwar, Mr. H. M. Reid; and the deputy collector at Púrí, Mr. C. Jenkins.

But few signs of disaffection occurred in this division in the early days of the general revolt. In his narrative of events the Secretary to the Government of Bengal was almost invariably able to give the happy assurance that "the public peace has remained undisturbed in this district and the tributary Mahalls." So undisturbed did that peace continue that, as related,* the Government were able to direct that the Madras troops there located should march to a part of the country where their service would be more useful. The Sipáhis of that army had resisted the suggestions made to them by some malcontents that it would be to their advantage to take the law into their own hands, as European troops were coming to disarm them and then to march them hundreds of miles away, and had continued faithful to their salt. A slight variation from the customary favourable report took place in November 1857, by the mention of the fact that the Rájah of Bamnughátí was apprehensive of an outbreak amongst the Dharuahs, one of the aboriginal tribes of the division. But under the influence of events which occurred at no great distance from the scene of apprehended disaffection about this period, notably the defeat of the rebels by Major English at Chatrá,† in Chutiá Nágpúr, the Dharuahs changed their minds, and did not venture to disturb the public peace. Nor after this period was there any suggestion of disturbance in the province of Orisá, save that which may have been occasionally caused by passing bodies of fugitive Sipáhis. It will be seen in the course of the narrative that this comparative tranquillity in his own district had the effect of impelling Mr. Cockburn, the commissioner, to work with untiring energy and success for the maintenance or restoration of order in districts which were not so fortunate.

From the division of Orisá we proceed to that of Bardwán. This division is bounded on the East by the river Húglí, to

Peacefulness
of the Orisá
division.

* Vol. IV. page 98.

† Vol. IV. page 100.

the north by the Santál Parganahs, to the west by Chutiá Nágpúr, and to the south by Orisá. Its principal inhabitants are Hindus of all castes with a proportion of Muhammadans. The languages spoken are Bengálí and Hindustání. The division, which is also called the division of western Bengal, is subdivided into five disticts, viz., Bardwán, Bánkura, Birbhúm, Húglí and Haurah, and Midnapúr: to this last pertained, in 1857, the salt stations of Tamlúk and Híjlí. The chief station of the division is Bardwán. In 1857 the officers stationed in this division were the Commissioner, Mr. W. H. Elliott; four judges, Mr. J. H. Young, Mr. P. Taylor, Mr. H. V. Bayley, and Mr. G. P. Leycester; the magistrates, Mr. H. B. Lawford, Mr. A. J. Elliott, Mr. J. J. Grey, and Mr. G. Bright; the collectors, Mr. P. H. Schalch and Mr. W. H. Broadhurst; the deputy collector, Mr. H. C. Raikes.

The division of Bardwán was fortunate in having no history during the time of the great Mutiny. It had, no doubt, its alarms and its occasional episodes of interest. Thus it was at Haurah that, as recounted in the second volume,* Neill astonished the station-master by forcibly detaining the train till his troops should reach the right bank of the river. It was from Chinsurah, in the Húglí district, that the Highlanders marched to disarm the Barrackpúr brigade. But there was no outbreak. The fate of the Bardwán division was linked with that of the Presidency, and the fate of both depended on the turn affairs should take in Calcutta, at Barrackpúr, at Jalpaiguri, in the two Bihárs, and in eastern Bengal.

The division next to that of Bardwán is called the Presidency division. It comprises the capital, Calcutta, and the twenty-four Parganahs, Nadiá, Jessor, and the Sundarban,† a marshy district south of the twenty-four parganahs, intersected by many branches of the Ganges and rivers such as the Matlá, the Kapadak, the Mollinchi, the Marjatá, and the Haringhátá. It is unnecessary to name all the officers, civil and military, of this division. Those upon whom lay the greatest weight of responsibility, and who contributed the most to ensure the safety of the capital, will be mentioned in the following pages.

* Pages 98-9.

† The word "Sundarban" is derived from "sundar," beautiful, and "ban," a forest.

The political events which occurred in Calcutta and the neighbourhood during the memorable years 1857-8 have been recounted with sufficient fulness in the preceding volumes. It has been abundantly proved that the members of the British mercantile and trading communities were not only free from panic, but that they discerned the signs of the times and the proper method of dealing with the difficulties of the hour far more clearly than did the officials who surrounded Lord Canning. To that noblemen I have endeavoured to render full justice. In 1857 he was yet new to India, and he dealt with the sudden emergency on the advice of the officials he had inherited from his predecessor; hence his early mistakes. It is not too much to affirm that on every one of the points on which he differed from the non-official community he was wrong, and the members of the non-official community were right. I need only mention (1) the first refusal to accept the offer of the European community to form a volunteer corps; (2) the slowness in dealing with the mutiny at Barhampúr, and the mode of dealing with it; (3) the delay in depriving the native troops at Barrackpúr of their arms—a delay which caused the memorable panic of the 14th of June, a panic which did not reach the members of the mercantile community nor the European residents of Calcutta generally, but which drove many of the highly-placed officials to take refuge or to send their families to take refuge on board the ships lying in the river, and thousands of Eurasians to scour in terror the plain leading to Fort William. Of this I was an eyewitness.* The fourth matter in which the mercantile community showed greater prescience than the ruling power, was in the earnestness with which they pressed disarming of the regiments at Dánápúr. In the famous interview their leaders had with Lord Canning at a moment, be it remembered, when

* For making this statement in the *Red Pamphlet*, written on the spot and with the most complete knowledge of the events, I incurred the lasting enmity of the men who either went themselves, or sent their families, to take refuge on board the ships in the river. When, some ten or twelve years ago, my name came up for selection to the "Athenæum Club," one of these, a member of the committee, declared that even if I were elected by every one present, he would exercise his right of veto. He subsequently explained that he had no personal dislike to me, but that he had felt so keenly the statements made in the *Red Pamphlet*—which, I may add, have never been denied and are absolutely true—that he had vowed that its author should never be enrolled in the club to the membership of which literary men naturally aspire.

that nobleman had in hand a sufficient number of troops for the purpose, and when those troops were being sent off daily by the river route which would take them by Dánápúr, they foretold all the evils which would happen if the Government should fail to display a lack of firmness and decision. Attached at the time to the Military Audit Department of the Government of India, I naturally was not present at the interview, but I received an account of what happened there within half an hour of its conclusion from the lips of the principal spokesman and leader of the mercantile community, Mr. Daniel Mackinlay.

Sound views
of the
mercantile
community.

From him I learnt that Lord Canning was very curt, and very downright in his refusal; that, after he had listened with firmly-pressed lips to the prayer of the deputation to the effect that they had vast interests in western Bihár, that those interests would be seriously imperilled if the earliest opportunity were not taken to disarm the native regiments at Dánápúr, and that such an opportunity now presented itself; he replied in the fewest possible words that these troops should not be disarmed. The actual instructions which the Government gave on the occasion*—the thrusting of the responsibility which properly belonged to them on to the shoulders of an old officer at the station itself—have been related in the third volume. The four subjects I have referred to indicate the measure of foresight and capacity which characterised the men whom Lord Canning had inherited from his predecessor as the advisers whom he could trust. They were the unsafest of guides. Their advice was always wrong. In every instance they had to retrace their steps, and to do that which they had publicly declared they would not do. But their incapacity to arrive at a right decision, to act on that decision after it had by accident been arrived at, marked them out as most unfortunate advisers to a Governor-General new to India and her traditions. A Wellesley, indeed, would have swept them aside with a contemptuous wave of his hand; but Lord Canning, though a brave, conscientious, and, in many respects, an able man, was not a

* Regarding this, Lord Dalhousie, the immediate predecessor of Lord Canning, wrote at the time: "The last business of Dánápúr exceeds all powers of imagination. General Lloyd, it is said, put undue faith in the Sipáhis; but why was it left to General Lloyd, or to General or Mr. Anybody, to order the measures so obviously necessary to safety?"—Trotter's "Dalhousie," pages 205-6.

Wellesley. When, then, one of these men advances the claim, as one of them has done, to have been "the right hand of Lord Canning" during the earlier stages of the revolt, and whilst that Lord was yet in Calcutta, he prefers a claim which his opponents may well admit, for it is absolutely condemnatory of himself.

To the general feebleness and incapacity of the counsellors and staff-officers of the Governor-General there were exceptions. To one of these, Mr. J. P. Grant, I have made special reference in the third volume. Mr. Grant was a man of remarkable ability. He pointed out to Lord Canning in vigorous words the dangers of the situation. To his penetrating glance, Mr. Beadon's line of six hundred miles was all "moonshine." He was constantly urging action, and action in the right direction. Had Mr. Grant's advice been followed matters would have progressed far more satisfactorily. But Mr. Grant was not a soldier; and there were two soldiers in the Supreme Council, Sir John Low and Sir Patrick Grant. The latter had come up on special call from Madras, because, from his previous acquaintance with the Bengal Army, of which he had been Adjutant-General, he was supposed to possess the knowledge requisite to enable the Government to deal successfully with the situation. It was but natural then that on military matters Lord Canning should prefer the advice of this experienced soldier to the counsels of his civilian namesake. Of the proceedings of Sir Patrick Grant in Calcutta two stand revealed. There are, in fact, no others of moment.

On reading what these two proceedings were, one is tempted to inquire whether, to obtain such advice as he gave, it was worth the trouble and the expense to send for Sir P. Grant from Madras. The first of these refers to his reasons for not taking the field in person: * the second to his thrusting on the shoulders of General Lloyd the responsibility of disarming or of not disarming the Sipáhis at Dánápúr.† It may be urged that Sir Patrick knew General Lloyd, and that a commander-in-chief is justified in casting a portion of his responsibility on a subordinate whom he knows and trusts. The result proved that Sir Patrick's action was a mere shifting of responsibility to a man who, if Sir Patrick knew him at all, he must have known was not strong enough to bear the burden. The occasion was eminently one in which a strong man would have said: "The

Mr. J. P.
Grant.

Sir Patrick
Grant.

* Vol. III. pages 20-21.

† Vol. III. page 40 and note.

times are critical; everything, possibly the very safety of Calcutta, depends upon the prompt disarming of the three Sipáhi regiments at Dánápúr. We have troops at hand who will pass that station. I will warn General Lloyd and tell him he must take the first opportunity to deprive these men of their muskets. The disarming will not then detain the regiments more than twenty-four hours at the utmost. A great danger will then be removed. I will at once issue the necessary orders." A strong man, I repeat, would have argued in that way. Sir Patrick Grant did not. He, I repeat, was content to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of General Lloyd. But though he shifted it for the moment, the real responsibility of the non-disarming of the Sipáhís and of the consequent horrors and bloodshed rests, and will rest, on the shoulders of Sir Patrick Grant.

I can fancy some of my readers exclaiming in words similar to those employed by Sir John Kaye when the evidence in favour of the Government was too weak for him to express an unexplained approval of its policy: "It is so easy to be wise after the event."*

But my contention is that Mr. Mackinlay and the mercantile community were wise at the time. They pressed the policy, now admitted to be the right policy, upon Lord Canning and Sir Patrick Grant. Their vision, at least was clear. It was the Government of India which was blind and deaf at the time and became wise only after the event. The mercantile community possessed the prescience in which the Government was deficient.

Some of the members of the Government have, indeed, since admitted that on one point at least the Government were wrong, and those whom the Government persecuted were right.† And I have no doubt whatever but that they have made the same admission with respect to other instances. I am sure that Lord Canning would have done so. His conduct after he had shaken off his Calcutta advisers presents a marked contrast to his conduct during the time he was under their influence.

An officer who rendered marked service to the Governor-General in Calcutta during the early days of the mutiny, and indeed to the very end, was the Town-Major, Major, now Sir Orfeur, Cavenagh. Major

Major Orfeur
Cavenagh

Cavenagh was a very gallant officer, who, attached to the Irregular cavalry, had lost his leg at the battle of Maharájpúr, had afterwards been appointed to accompany Jang Bahádúr during his tour in Europe, and had at a later period been appointed Town-Major of Fort William, then under the direct authority of the Governor-General. He had returned from Europe only in the November of the year preceding, 1856. During his journey to Calcutta from Bombay he had learned from loyal natives, and had himself noticed, the great change which had taken place in the feelings of the people towards his countrymen. Disaffection to the British rule, he was told, was very general throughout the country, and had even extended to the soldiery. Major Cavenagh was not much surprised at this last statement, for the tendency of the centralising system in the army, for many years in progress, had been, he knew and had deplored, to deprive commanding officers of their powers, and reduce them to the status of mere cyphers, with but slight interest in their work or in their men.

Major Cavenagh had returned but little more than two months when the symptoms which he had noticed began to develop. On the 26th of January, 1857, the telegraph-house was fired at Barrackpúr. The same day one of the sergeants attached to the fort related to Cavenagh a remarkable conversation he had overheard between two Sipáhis. It was to effect that the Europeans in the garrison were entirely in the hands of the Sipáhis; that the arsenal and magazines could be easily mastered; the Europeans surprised in their sleep and murdered; that then it would be easy to seize Fort William. They added that the programme had been begun by the firing on the previous evening of the telegraph bungalow at Barrackpúr.

The story did not come as an absolute surprise to Cavenagh, and he at once took steps to guard against the threatened mischief. As soon as he had completed the necessary preparations, which, he truly says in his autobiography,* "in all human probability saved Fort William and Calcutta, and possibly our Indian Empire," he drove to Government House, saw Lord Canning, and gave him a full account of all that had happened, and of the measures he had taken. Lord Canning expressed

discovers the plot of the Sipáhis in January, 1857.

baffles it.

obtains Lord Canning's approval.

* *Reminiscences of an Indian Official*, by Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, page 202.

his entire approval, and, at Cavenagh's suggestion, sanctioned the transfer of an additional company of the 53rd Foot to Fort William.

The precaution taken by Cavenagh baffled the mutineers for the moment. Two days later, however, as he was walking in his garden he was accosted by the non-commissioned officer of his Sipáhi guard. This man told him that the Sipáhis, especially the old soldiers, whilst gratefully recollecting the benefits the Government had showered upon them during their period of service, were really afraid that an attempt was about to be made, by means of the new cartridges, to take away their caste; that it was reported among them that those cartridges were being prepared with hog's lard and beef suet, and that the best way of proving to the men that their suspicions were unfounded would be to appoint a high-caste Hindu and Muhammadan to superintend the preparation of them in the arsenal. Cavenagh listened attentively to the man's talk and then told him that he must be perfectly aware that neither the Government nor their officers would sanction any plan detrimental to their religious tenets, adding that it would be easy, he thought, to arrange that they should witness the manufacture of the cartridges. This opinion, repeated to the men, and followed by the granting of the required permission, seemed to remove all doubts from their minds. "Unfortunately," adds Cavenagh, "the arsenal authorities objected to the arrangement, and the permission was afterwards withdrawn."

For more than a month nothing further occurred to rouse the suspicions of the Town-Major. But in March, the ruler of Gwáliár, Maharájah Sindhiá, visited Calcutta. The story of the *fête* contemplated to be given in his honour at the Botanical Gardens on the 10th of the month, and its postponement, has already been told.* That the Sipáhis really contemplated the seizure of the Fort and the massacre of the Europeans whilst the *élite* of the British population should be separated from them by the breadth of the unbridged Húglí, is, I think, abundantly clear. The postponement of the *fête* led their guilty minds to suspect that the plot had been betrayed, and that the postponement was the

Fear of the Sipáhis.

The Botanical Gardens plot

is baffled by the postponement of the *fête*.

* Vol. I. pages 388-9.

consequence of that betrayal. Various circumstances combined to fix this idea in their minds: none more so than the sudden return of Cavenagh to the fort when he had given out that he was about to cross the river.* Disconcerted by a change of programme, the reason of which seemed so apparent, the Sipáhis in and out of the fort resolved to continue to feign loyalty, and actually made prisoners of a body of their own comrades, who, unaware that the plot had been postponed, were carrying out their part of it. These men were brought to trial and were sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude. Cavenagh took advantage of the parade of the troops of the garrison for the purpose of witnessing the placing of the condemned men in irons, to give a warning and exhortation to the assembled Sipáhis. They listened with apparently respectful attention. But after the parade had been dismissed, a circumstance happened which must, in the light of the events which were shortly to happen, be regarded as, at least, very curious. "A native officer," writes Cavenagh, "who was a member of the court-martial, observed to me, in the course of conversation, that we did not know how to treat Orientals; that when I had satisfied myself of the guilt of the prisoners, instead of convening a court-martial, and thus delaying their punishment, I ought to have ordered a parade the next morning, and caused them to be blown away from guns, as such a measure would have had a beneficial effect in deterring others from following their example." It is more than probable that this very man was one of the plotters.

Naive remark
of a Native
officer to
Cavenagh.

Shortly afterwards, the mutiny broke out at Mírath, and the alarm spread all over the country. Cavenagh, responsible for the safety of a large fortress, to guard which he had but one wing of an English regiment, redoubled his precautions. The native brigade at Barrackpúr still remained armed, and it was known that the Sipáhis composing it were for the most thoroughly disaffected. Ten days after the news of the events at Mírath and Dehli reached the Presidency, there fell the anniversary

The celebra-
tion of the
Queen's
birthday.

* The postponement of the *fête* had not, by accident, been communicated to Cavenagh, and he had proceeded as far as Garden Reach before he became acquainted with the fact. His return to the Fort was, then, as great a surprise to himself as it was to the Sipáhis.

of the Queen's birthday. The Queen's birthday is always a great day in India, and when the Viceroy is in Calcutta, he gives a state ball in honour of the occasion. The troubled condition of affairs in 1857 did not permit of any deviation from this practice, and the invitations were issued for the 25th May. But the feeling of insecurity was very widely spread. The reticence of the Government; the knowledge that Fort William was but slenderly held; that the public buildings throughout the city were guarded by troops, believed, and believed with reason, to be steeped to the eyes in mutiny; that four regiments of Sipáhis were within three hours' march of Government House; and the possibility that those troops, those in the fort, and those on duty at the public establishments, thoroughly conversant with the habits of the English on the celebration of the birthday of the Queen, might take the opportunity to make a clean sweep of the assembled guests at Government House* on the night of the 25th of May, justified a suspicion that the celebration of the Queen's birthday might be made the occasion for a tumult, and warranted the Government in taking precautions to meet the possible danger. It devolved on the Town-Major to make or at least to suggest the precautions that should be taken. The birthday, for some good reason, was I have said, kept on the 25th May. Major Cavenagh tells that he waited on the Governor-General on the 24th May to take his orders as to the parade which was always held in honour of the occasion. He proposed "that the balled ammunition in pouch with the native troops, which would, as usual, be exchanged for the blank cartridges required for the *feu de joie*, should not be returned to them." True to his policy, or rather to the policy of his advisers, of feigning confidence even when they felt none, Lord Canning would not sanction this arrangement "unless any symptoms of disaffection were displayed." In vain did Cavenagh plead that whilst there was not the slightest chance of any overt act being committed on parade, yet that if

Cavenagh
suggests
precautions,

* There was much reason in these forebodings. They were founded on the practice of the Sipáhis elsewhere. Only a fortnight before, at Mirath, they had chosen the day on which they knew that the European troops would be at church with their side-arms only, to rise; and, in Calcutta itself, only a short time before, they had fixed as their day of rising that on which all English Calcutta would be assembled in the Botanical Gardens, separated from the city by the river Hugli.

any disturbance were to arise in Calcutta, the fact that the Sipáhis were in possession of several rounds of service cartridges, would make a considerable difference in the strength of the detachment he would send from the fort for its repression. "The argument," he tells us, "was not deemed convincing." The Sipáhis, then, retained their ballled cartridges. The parade and the ball passed off quietly; but, in the light of after events, there can be no doubt but that a great risk was deliberately encountered, and encountered on sentimental grounds only.

which are not sanctioned.

A few days later, the 4th June, a soldier of the Sikh nation suggested in conversation with the Town-Major, a mode of strengthening the resources of the Government at which the fertile mind of Cavenagh eagerly caught. The Sikh represented that there were in his regiment quartered at Barrackpúr about a hundred of his countrymen untrammelled by the religious prejudices of the Hindus, ready to go anywhere and do anything, and that they would be glad to be incorporated in a distinct corps. Cavenagh brought the matter to the notice of Lord Canning, and, a little later, the suggestion of the Sikh soldier became an accomplished fact. The Sikhs were carefully taken from all the regiments at Barrackpúr, formed into a separate body, and employed with excellent effect in guarding the important post of Rániganj, the then terminus of the railway.

Formation of a Sikh battalion.

Four days later the danger of feigning a confidence which was not felt having been brought home to Lord Canning and his advisers, Cavenagh was directed to replace the native guards at the Treasury, the Bank, and the Mint, by European details. Cavenagh carried out the instructions which he received on this head with remarkable tact and discretion. In this way, one great danger was averted.

The Sipáhi guards are replaced by Europeans.

Regarding the formation of the Volunteer Corps, or as it was called, the Volunteer Guards, which rendered such efficient service in Calcutta, and, there can be no doubt, averted many dangers, Cavenagh was consulted by the Governor-General on the 11th of June. The idea had presented itself spontaneously to the Europeans in Calcutta some time before, and had been received by the Government with a refusal which was regarded, and I think justly regarded, as insulting. They were told by the Secretary to Government.

The Volunteer Guards.

in words which have been often quoted in the preceding volumes, and which cannot be referred to too often, conclusive as they are of the blindness of the Government even so late as the 25th of May, that "everything is quiet within six hundred miles of the capital. The mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has already been arrested; and there is every reason to hope that in the course of a few days tranquillity and confidence will be restored throughout the Presidency." In conclusion, the Home Secretary contemptuously told the applicants that if they felt any alarm they might apply to the Commissioner of Police, who, it transpired, had received orders to supply them with clubs.

But the interval between the 25th of May and the 11th of June had, by the latter date, brought the intelligence of the members of the Government of India to the level which the intellect of the mercantile community had reached on the former date. On the 11th of June, Lord Canning sent for the Town-Major to consult with him as to the conditions under which he should grant the prayer which he had rejected on the 25th of May. The advice given by Cavenagh was characterised by his usual practical good sense. He gave his opinion that

Cavenagh's
advice as to
the formation
of the
Volunteers

"the corps should not be highly drilled, but sufficiently so to enable the men to act together and to use their arms; that it should consist both of cavalry and infantry; that the former should be employed chiefly in patrols, and the latter stationed as pickets at the most important buildings in the town, so as to form places of rendezvous upon which others might concentrate; that the uniform should be brown holland or blue flannel; that old army non-commissioned officers (pensioners and time-expired men) should be attached, to instil into them some notions of discipline, and that the corps should be regularly divided into troops and companies, each man being, as far as possible, posted to the troop or company composed of persons living in his own neighbourhood." Cavenagh's suggestions were generally adopted, and the corps was at once formed. Subsequently, a battery of artillery was added to it.

It is impossible to leave the Calcutta Volunteer Guards without a few lines as to the men who composed the corps. They were men of all classes; men in the civil services, covenanted and uncovenanted; officers on the staff of the

Government, bound to stay in Calcutta; merchants, traders, tradesmen, clerks; Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, all bound together by the determination to preserve the position of the European in the country of his temporary adoption, in times of extraordinary danger. The best fellowship ruled amongst all nationalities and all professions. The regiment attained a very high proficiency in drill. Seen on parade the men earned and deserved admiration. Every man gave his heart to the service; and the result was in all respects most satisfactory. To the Government, until the reinforcements arrived, and even later, the Volunteer Guards were a tower of strength.

The personnel of the Volunteer Guards.

A few lines as to some of the men who composed the corps. The commandant of the cavalry was Colonel Montagu Turnbull, a splendid specimen of a cavalry officer. He belonged to the old Bengal cavalry, and, at the time, held the appointment of Government Agent for Army Clothing. Not only was he "every inch a soldier," possessing an inspiring presence and most genial manners, but he was loved by all with whom he came in contact. I never heard a single man speak ill of him, nor do I believe that he had an enemy. He was the man of all others to secure the confidence and affection of the men of the classes forming the cavalry of the Volunteers, and he secured both.*

Montagu Turnbull,

The first commandant of the infantry was Major John Strachey, of the Engineers, now a General and a member of the Indian Council. He did not hold the post long, as when Mr. Grant proceeded to the Central Provinces in the capacity of Lieutenant-Governor, he selected Major Strachey as the Secretary to his administration. Major Davies, a thoroughly competent and efficient officer, succeeded him. Would that I were able to name all the good men and true who gave to the movement their hearty and efficient support. Some of them were men who have since made their mark. There was George Kellner, then a clerk in the Financial Office, who subsequently became Sir George Kellner, K.C.M.G., the confidential *employé* of Cabinet ministers. There were several

John Strachey,

Major Davies,

George Kellner,

* Colonel Turnbull was a great supporter of the Turf. His horse, "Hermit," obtained in India almost as great a distinction as did his namesake in England.

young members of the Civil Service, some of whom have since risen to distinction. There was the merchant, Fred. Goodenough, bearing a name illustrious both in the army and the navy. There were the Americans, Wilmer and Tuckerman, both trusty soldiers and boon companions; the German, Von Ernsthausen, one of the noblest and best of men; the Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, Robert Simson; the Solicitor, Henry Berners, one of the most popular men of his day; the barristers, Richard Doyne and Arthur Macpherson; the Advocate-General, William Ritchie, conspicuous on his big black horse; his companions in the cavalry, the merchants, Kilburn and George Brown, and many others whose names are difficult to recall, but who did their duty manfully and well. These men never forgot that, in the strictest sense of the term, they were volunteers; volunteers for the maintenance of peace and order when the staff of authority had broken in the hands of the Government which wielded it; nor, on their side, will the community of Calcutta, of which they were the noble representatives, ever fail to remember with pride the great services which their forerunners voluntarily rendered during an unprecedented crisis.

It may be profitable here to record the opinion as to the formation of the Volunteer Guards of the officer who, more than any other individual in Calcutta, was instrumental, by counsel and by action, in maintaining public order in Calcutta during the early days of the mutiny. "After the first offer of their services," writes Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, "and the refusal to accept it, they certainly had little confidence in the Government, which they believed, and believed rightly, had failed in the first instance to recognize the extent of the danger with which our empire in the East was threatened. Hence, previous to the formation of the volunteer corps, there can be little doubt than an anxious feeling existed, a feeling that was not at all unnatural, considering that the European garrison in the fort, which consisted of only one weak regiment, would have been utterly unable, in the event of an outbreak, to afford adequate protection to the scattered inhabitants of a large town . . . From the instant, however, that the corps was embodied, this feeling completely disappeared. They felt that arrangements had been made to utilise their courage and energy, and confidence was restored."

Wilmer,
Tuckerman,
Von Ernst-
hausen,
Robert
Simson,
Ritchie.

Cavenagh
and the
Volunteers.

Indeed, so relieved was Major Cavenagh, who, be it remembered, was responsible, under Lord Canning, for the public security, that very shortly after the formation of the corps he was able to spare four hundred English soldiers to be sent to the Upper Provinces, and this, despite the fact that the anniversary of the Muharram, a Muhammadan festival, attended, even in peaceful times, with danger, was close at hand.

On the 13th of June, the day immediately preceding that known as "panic Sunday," Cavenagh discovered an intrigue hatched by a spy, acting professedly on the part of the King of Oudh; then residing at Garden Reach, a suburb of Calcutta, and the mutinous Sipáhis. He had the spy imprisoned. That same night he received information from General Hearsey, commanding at Barrackpúr, to the effect that there was every probability of an immediate rising of the troops at that station; further, a despatch from the Military Secretary, directing him to issue orders for the march of a wing of the 37th Regiment, just arrived from Ceylon, to Cox's bungalow*; to despatch steamers to Srírampúr to bring over the 78th Highlanders from Chinsurah; to despatch tents to Barrackpúr for their accommodation, and, if possible, to send some cavalry to patrol the Barrackpúr road. These orders were received some time after midnight.

The eve of
"panic
Sunday."

The Town-Major, notwithstanding the largeness of the requirements and the lateness of the hour, was equal to the occasion, and carried out to the letter the instructions he received. The last order was that which tried him the most, for he had no cavalry at his disposal except the volunteers who had been embodied but two days before, and who, although one troop of them had received their arms, had not had a single day's drill. To the captain of that troop, however, Cavenagh applied in his difficulty. The captain responded with alacrity, summoned his men, who replied with equal zeal, and these men performed with energy the duty required of them.

The 14th and
15th June.

Then followed "panic Sunday," and the day following the arrest of the King of Oudh. These events have been so fully described in a previous volume† that it is not necessary to

* Cox's bungalow was a locality used as a hunting-meet, a few miles from Calcutta.

† See Vol. III, pages 15-17, and note to page 17. I have there related what

repeat the story here. I will only mention that the spy who had been discovered tampering with the Sipáhis, and whom Cavenagh had imprisoned, escaped in a mysterious manner.

Throughout the month of July reports were very prevalent in Calcutta as to an intended rising on the occasion of the 'Íd.* It would seem as though the panic had spread to the Muhammadans, for we find Cavenagh relating how a Muhammadan in a respectable position asked an officer to afford him shelter in the fort during the festival, on the plea "that, owing to his well-known English proclivities, he was sure to become one of the first victims of his co-religionists in the event of an outbreak." That some mischief was intended was clear. Cavenagh relates the arrest of three Muhammadans who were believed to be actively engaged in the conspiracy, and the skill which the principal of them displayed in parrying inconvenient questions, and in shaping his replies so as to ascertain exactly how much the Government did know. "It was clear," he adds, "from the expression of his countenance, that a great internal struggle was taking place between his fears and his feeling of honour and fidelity to his companions." Eventually the latter feeling prevailed, for he revealed nothing.

An incident during the same month proved that though at this period (July 1857) the fortunes of the British appeared to be very low, all the Sipáhis were not traitors. Two native plotters, who had endeavoured to seduce some men on guard in Calcutta from their allegiance—the one by revealing a plot which he had actually arranged, but which subsequently failed in execution, for blowing up a river-steamer laden with ammunition for the upper provinces; the other, who tried, by inducements of higher pay, to bring

I actually saw. What I saw Dr. Mouat also saw and recorded. My house was in Chauringhi, facing the Maidán. Standing at my gate, I and others saw the Maidán covered with fugitives, making their way, some on foot, some in carriages of sorts, towards the fort. It was a sight never to be forgotten. Cavenagh states that on his return home he found his quarters in the fort besieged by a crowd of persons "seeking shelter in the fort, and full of rumours of the worst description," but otherwise noted nothing particular. It is evident from his narrative that he was not on the Chauringhi side of the fort.

* The 'Íd, properly called 'Íd-i-azhá or 'Íd-i-kurbán, is a Muhammadan festival held to commemorate the offering up, by Ibráhím (Abraham) of his son Ishmáíl (Isaac).

Apprehensions regarding the 'Íd.

Some loyal Sipáhis.

the Sipáhis to declare for the King of Dehli—were apprehended by the Sipáhis to whom they had addressed themselves, and handed by them to justice.

Up to the 29th of the month (July) a guard of Sipáhis had been on duty at Government House, the residence of the Governor-General. That the representative of British authority in India should, at such a crisis, be at the mercy, practically, of a guard of native troops, appeared to the Town-Major to be fraught with danger. The subject was a delicate one on which to address Lord Canning, for the lofty courage of that nobleman had always discountenanced any arrangement having for its object the safety of his own person. Cavenagh, therefore, solicited and obtained the intervention of Mr. Halliday and Sir Patrick Grant. The intervention produced the desired effect, and from the 1st August a European guard was detailed for night duty at Government House.

The guard
over Govern-
ment House.

But there was another guard equally liable to suspicion, some of the soldiers of which attended daily at Government House, and accompanied the Governor-General on all his movements out of doors. This was the body-guard, a regiment formed mainly of Muham-madans, well armed and well mounted. On the 4th August Lord Canning spoke to Cavenagh as to the advisability of disarming these men, and Cavenagh, with his usual alacrity, took the matter in hand, engaging to report how it could best be carried out. But then a curious circumstance occurred. I will relate it in Cavenagh's own words. "As the Báliganj lines" (the location of the body-guard) "were a little beyond the limits of my ordinary rides, and I thought it advisable to study the ground before moving down with troops in the darkness of the night, the next morning I rode to the lines, and after conversing with the native officers, and taking the opportunity of scanning the locality, so as to enable me to decide on the plan to be pursued in the event of my receiving the order to disarm the corps, I proceeded onwards as if merely taking my usual morning exercise. Previous to returning to the fort, however, I called at the residence of the commanding officer, which was upwards of a mile from the lines, to mention to him the subject of my conversation with Lord Canning, when he stated that the native officers had been with him just before my arrival, and recommended that the corps should be disarmed,

The Body-
Guard

and he believed that the work was then being carried on. This actually proved to be the case. As I had to visit some barracks in another quarter of the town, to ascertain whether the wants of some troops that had been landed that morning had been provided for, it was late when I reached my quarters, where I found an urgent summons awaiting me to proceed to Government House. The troopers of the body-guard on duty had made their appearance without their arms, and the Governor-General was naturally under the impression that I had taken it upon myself to anticipate his orders; but when I explained that the men had voluntarily given up their arms, and despatched them under an escort to the arsenal, where they had been received just as I was leaving the fort, he was much pleased, being evidently glad to have been relieved of the responsibility of having to decide the question." It is clear from this circumstance, and from the splendid conduct of sections of the native regiments at Lakhnáo, that there were many men in those regiments who had not been contaminated, and whose direst fear was lest their comrades, who had been seduced, should compromise them. About this time another Sipáhi proved his loyalty by handing over to justice a man who had tempted him by showing him a ball of wax, in which was concealed a letter, offering a large reward to any one who would blow up one of the magazines in Fort William. It was designed to throw this to the Sipáhis within the fort.

As affairs took a turn for the better in Bihár and the upper provinces generally, so did the anxiety regarding Calcutta diminish. The festival of the 'Íd passed off without disturbance. In the middle of August Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta, and, shortly after, reinforcements began to pour in. Prior to this Lord Canning had sanctioned the formation of a Yeomanry Corps, that is, of a body of cavalry formed of Europeans who cared to serve temporarily and to proceed north-westward on duty, wherever they should be sent. There happened to arrive at the moment from England Major J. F. Richardson, commandant of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, then quartered at Baréli. Richardson, as strong and brave as a lion, had rendered splendid service in the siege of Multán, and was just the man for the Yeomanry Cavalry. Him, then, Lord Canning selected to command it. Under his orders the regiment

disarm themselves.

The Yeomanry Cavalry.

Major J. F. Richardson.

rendered most useful services in the Gorákhpur and Ázamgarh districts. In addition to, or rather, unconnected with this regiment, Cavenagh had been engaged in enlisting stray, or unemployed Europeans, chiefly sailors, for the public service. These were formed into sections, and despatched to isolated civil stations which would have been otherwise unprotected. There they were found most useful.

Enlistment of sailors.

Major Cavenagh continued to render excellent service throughout the troubled period. But the crucial epoch had passed away when the reinforcements arrived. During the earlier eight months of the year the fate of Calcutta had practically depended upon his zeal, energy, and good sense. It was not possible that any man should perform the duties devolving upon him with greater tact and greater success. Cavenagh was a singularly unobtrusive man. He never pushed himself forward. He did his duty quietly and most thoroughly. In the crowd of officers who thronged Government House on State occasions, he was noticeable first by the fact that, in consequence of the loss of his leg at Maharájpúr, he had to use a walking-stick; secondly, by his unvarying calmness and composure. Even when, as it subsequently transpired, the most serious danger threatened Calcutta, a danger of which Cavenagh held the key, no one could have surmised from his face and manner that the town ran the smallest risk. When others were fussy, he was always calm, always cool, always self-possessed. No one appreciated these sterling qualities more than Lord Canning. His confidence in Cavenagh grew till it became rooted. He said little at the time, but he never forgot what Cavenagh had done; and when, two years afterwards, a vacancy occurred in the Government of the Straits Settlements, he selected to fill the post the man whose quick insight and calm courage had been the main cause that Calcutta passed safely through the fiery trial of 1857.

Precis of Major Cavenagh's service and character.

Another officer, to whose tact and energy Calcutta was greatly indebted during the same period, was Mr. Samuel Wauchope, of the Civil Service, Commissioner of Police. Wauchope was—alas! that I should be obliged to write in the past tense—admirably constituted to carry on successfully the duties of his office in trying times. He had already rendered splendid service by clearing

Samuel Wauchope.

Lower Bengal of dákaites (robbers). To a charming manner he united the most wonderful tact; a coolness that was proof against surprise, however sudden; a reticence, when reticence was necessary, that no provocation could disturb; and a very lovable disposition. He, too, was unobtrusive, careful of the feelings of others, the soul of honour, a gentleman of the highest stamp. His office made him acquainted with many episodes of life in Calcutta; but he kept his own counsel, was always cool, never ruffled, reporting what he had to report calmly, and carrying out his orders with tact and discretion. This calmness, which was not assumed, for it was natural to the man, was a main cause of his strength and influence. He was to be seen every morning, riding alone or attended by a police-orderly, in the worst parts of the town, issuing his orders as if no danger were abroad, and often staying to see that they were carried out. If he did not come so prominently before the Governor-General as did Cavenagh, it was because the latter served immediately under the Governor-General, whereas Wauchope owed allegiance to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But it was well indeed for Calcutta that her police arrangements were directed by a man so calm, so cool, possessing so brave a heart, and nerves that no danger could affect. Courteous to all, he was intimate only with a few. But I do not think he had an enemy in the world. For his services he obtained the Companionship of the Bath.

Where all did their duty nobly and thoroughly it may seem invidious to mention two only by name. But to tell of all would be to give a list of all. There was neither flinching nor panic in the European community in those days of trial and suspense. That there prevailed a deep feeling of dissatisfaction with the Government is most true. But that feeling rather spurred on the members of the European community to assist the Government when it admitted that such assistance would be acceptable. In this endeavour it is hard to say that there was a first. Mr. Daniel Mackinlay, a merchant of great energy and determination, spoke indeed the voice of the community, but its other members were, in earnestness and in devotion to duty, in the same line with him. Among the officers and members of the Civil Service there was apparent the same resolute bearing, the same desire to contribute to the utmost extent to the safety of the State.

In prominently mentioning, then, Major Cavenagh and Mr.

All did their duty.

Wauchope, I have mentioned the two men whose positions gave them opportunities which no one else enjoyed.

They were the pivots, more especially was Major Cavenagh the pivot, upon which the machine of British power in Calcutta turned. Had either given way, the machine would have broken.

Cavenagh and Wauchope the main pivots.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Frederick Halliday, lived at Alípúr, one of the suburbs of Calcutta.

I have described his character in a preceding volume.*

Mr. Halliday.

Mr. Halliday theoretically ruled over the eleven divisions which formed Bengal, as Bengal was then constituted. But in the trying times of 1857, supervision was often impossible. Events happened so suddenly, so unexpectedly, that the Commissioner of the division, the magistrate of a district, had seldom time to refer for instructions. He had to act as he judged best, on the spur of the moment. The Lieutenant-Governor's duty was, therefore, mainly confined to the expression of approval or disapproval of an act after it had been accomplished, and in compiling a weekly report of the state of affairs in the several divisions for the supreme government. His own initiative action in western Bihár has been already recorded and commented upon. That in eastern Bengal will be narrated in this chapter.

Of the twenty-four parganahs, it is only necessary to state that they comprise the sub-divisions Diamond Harbour, Alípúr, Damdamah, Bársat, Báserhát, Barrackpúr, Sátkhír, and Barnípúr. Their history in 1857 is closely connected with that of Calcutta. The judge here was Mr. Latour; Mr. F. A. Lushington was the collector; and Mr. Hamilton Ferguson the magistrate.

The twenty-four parganahs.

The same remark applies very much to Nadiá, the second district in the Presidency division: there Mr. R. M. Skinner was the judge; Mr. H. C. Halkett the collector; Mr. F. R. Cockerell the magistrate. With an

Nadiá.

area of 3,400 square miles, and a population of 1,800,000, the Nadiá district is watered by the Bhágirathí river; by the main stream of the Ganges, called Padmá, and its offshoots, the Jalanghí, the Matábhángá; and the branches, Bhairah, Ichamáti, Churní, Gorai, and Pangási or Kumár. Its principal station is Krishnagarh on the Jalanghí. The other stations are

Nadí and Santípúr, both on the Bhágirathí. Not far from Santípúr is the field of Palási, historically known as Plassey.

The third district of the Presidency division is Jessor, called by the natives Jashahar. There, Mr. F. L. Beaufort was the judge; Mr. F. C. Fowle, the collector, Mr. F. B. Lane, the deputy collector. Its stations are Jessor, on the Bhairáb Nadí; Khulná, and Bágherhat. Its tranquillity was not essentially disturbed during the events of 1857.

We come now to the fourth division in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, the division known as Rájsháhí. It comprised the districts Murshidábád, Dinájpúr, Máldá, Rájsháhí, Rangpúr, Bagurá, and Pabná. The commissioner was Mr. F. Gouldsbury; the judges, Mr. D. J. Money, Mr. K. H. Rupell; the collectors Mr. W. T. Taylor, Mr. A. G. Macdonald, Mr. E. E. Woodcock, and Mr. A. Pigou; the magistrates, Mr. A. J. Jackson, Mr. S. F. Davis, and others whose names I have been unable to ascertain.

Murshidábád, the capital of Bengal when Clive landed on the banks of the Húglí to retrieve the fortunes of the British, was still the residence of the descendant of the Mír Jafar whom that great soldier had placed on the *Masnad*. Immediately south of it is Kásimbázár, well known in the earlier history of the East India Company; and five miles below it, on the left bank of the Bhágirathí, is the civil station of Barhámpúr. Barhámpúr, it will be recollected,* was the scene of the mutiny of the 19th regiment of native infantry, the regiment which gave the first overt example to their comrades throughout India. But when that regiment was marched to Barrackpúr, all danger of disturbances in Barhámpúr seemed to vanish. The Nawáb-Názim was loyal, and even had he been inclined otherwise, his power had been so completely shorn that he was incapable of rendering permanent injury. Thenceforth, though there might be occasional uneasiness, caused mainly by mutinying Sawárs or disbanded Sipáhis, there was no permanent danger. The same may be said of the other six districts which went to form the division.

Adjoining the division of Rájsháhí, and, apparently, in 1857, under the orders of the same commissioner, is the division of Koch Bihár, comprising the mountainous district of Dárjiling, and the district of Jalpaigurí. Koch

Jalpaigurí.

* Vol. I. pages 366-401.

Bihár is a tributary state, the ruler of which in 1857 was a minor, under the guardianship of the British.

At Jalpaiguri * were the 73rd Native Infantry, and two troops of irregular cavalry, the whole commanded by Colonel Sherer. The reports of the Bengal Government show that the conduct of the men of the 73rd and of the cavalry had long spread, and continued to spread, uneasiness, and often more than uneasiness, in the surrounding districts. How Colonel Sherer managed to keep the men of both arms under restraint has been already told.† But to the official and non-official residents of Dárjiling, and of the Rájsháhí division, the fact that the 73rd remained armed at Jalpaiguri throughout the most trying period of the mutiny, was always a source of danger. The Sipáhís of the 73rd were not more trustworthy than their comrades who rose at Allahábád and Míráth; and I cannot for a moment doubt but that if they had had the same opportunities as had the regiments stationed at those places, they would have gone over, bag and baggage, to the rebels. I discussed this question with Sir George Sherer, who commanded them, long after the passions caused by the events of 1857 had subsided. His idea was that the native troops did not rise, first, because he had checked the incipient attempt by an act of vigour which overawed them; secondly, and to a greater extent perhaps, because they felt themselves isolated at Jalpaiguri. They had no clear conception, till it was too late, of what was going on in the outer world, whilst the fact that at all the stations within easy distance, the British were holding their own, seemed to indicate that even were they to rise, their prospects of escape at a season when the country below them was partly inundated, were by no means assured. It is more than likely that, isolated as they were, they did not hear of the events at Kánhpúr, Lakhnáo, Dehlí, and Míráth, until the deeds there perpetrated had been avenged. The merit of maintaining them quiet is, however, undoubtedly due, in the first instance, to Sir George Sherer. Had he contented himself with obeying literally the order he received from divisional headquarters to dismiss from the service the proved ringleaders of an intended rebellion, he would simply have spread the

Colonel
Sherer.

* Jalpaiguri, so called from the "Jalpai," the Indian olive, which grows there.

† Vol. III. pages 91-93; Vol. IV. pages 297-301.

infection of revolt throughout the district. Whereas, by dismissing them "from the muzzles of loaded guns" * he stamped it out. Still, the fact that a native regiment and two troops of irregular cavalry remained, armed, at Jalpaiguri, during the most critical period of the mutiny, was a source of weakness and alarm to the districts I have mentioned. This feeling became more accentuated, and the danger became real indeed when the fugitive mutineers from Dhákah and Chitnagáon entered the district. In a previous volume I have narrated the resolute and successful manner in which Sherer met this new emergency.

The next division to be mentioned is Dhákah, with its districts, Dhákah, Faridpúr, Bákirganj, Maimansingh, Sílhat, and Kachhár: the commissioner was Mr. C. T. Davidson; the judges, Mr. J. E. S. Lillie, Mr. E. S. Pearson, Mr. W. T. Walter, Mr. F. B. Kemp, and Mr. A. G. Shawe; the collectors, Mr. R. C. Raikes, Mr. F. Radcliffe, Mr. F. A. B. Glover, and Mr. B. H. Cooper; the deputy collector, Mr. R. B. Chapman; the magistrates, Mr. H. A. R. Alexander, Mr. E. C. Craster, Mr. C. E. Lane, and Mr. T. P. Larkins. The superintendent of Kachhár was Major G. Verner. The principal station of this division was also called Dhákah, and there were stationed two companies of the 73rd Native Infantry—the regiment, the bulk of which was at Jalpaiguri, commanded by Sherer—and a detail of artillery. To afford some sort of protection to British interests in that quarter, the Government had, with a wise prevision, despatched thither, in August, eighty-five sailors of the Indian navy, commanded by the first-lieutenant of the 'Punjaub,' Lieutenant T. E. Lewis, a most excellent officer. The position of the 73rd Native Infantry, with the bulk of its men armed, at Jalpaiguri, and two companies armed at Dhákah, had caused great anxiety to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But, whilst he hoped that the reasons mentioned in the preceding page would stave off an outbreak at Jalpaiguri, he was very nervous as to the consequences which would probably follow a successful outbreak, or even an evasion, at Dhákah. The Sipáhis at Dhákah would probably, in such case, make their way to Jalpaiguri. Once that they were there, it would be no longer possible even for Sherer to retain his men within bounds. If they were to break out, the worst consequences were to be feared. The stations of Purniá, Kishanganj, and

* Vol. III. pages 91-3.

Muzaffarpúr: the fertile districts of Tirhut; would lie at the mercy of the mutinied Sipáhis. The greatest danger was thus to be apprehended from Dhákah; and it behoved Mr. Halliday to take measures which would be the most likely to baffle the inroad which a successful outbreak, or a successful evasion at Dhákah, would be certain to provoke from Jalpaiguri. In this view Mr. Halliday obtained the permission of the Government of India to enlist from 200 to 250 sailors. These he proposed to station mostly at Purniá, in the Bhágalpúr division, which lay on the route the Sipáhis must take, should they break away from Jalpaiguri.*

The principal native landowner at Dhákah was a gentleman of good lineage, who spoke and wrote English well, and whose sympathies were entirely with the British. His name was † Khwájá Ábdul Ganí. On the 23rd of October, this gentleman brought to the notice of the commissioner that a feeling of alarm prevailed among the native community of the place in consequence of the rumours in circulation, that the two companies of the 73rd Native Infantry stationed there were dissatisfied, and that they had told people living near the lines that a battle would shortly be fought between themselves and the English sailors, and had advised them therefore to remove their families. The Khwájá added that, in his opinion, there was a simple remedy for the existing state of things; and that remedy consisted in removing the two companies back to their headquarters, that was, to Jalpaiguri. He concluded: "We all feel perfect confidence in the protection afforded by the sailors under Lieutenant Lewis, and satisfied that if these Sipáhis were once removed, the whole native community would feel extremely grateful to the Government, and be able to pursue their several avocations in peace and quietness. This order would, also, no doubt, give pleasure to the Sipáhis themselves, as they have always expressed a great wish to leave this."

In forwarding the Khwájá's letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, the commissioner of the division, Mr. Davidson, stated that the removal of the Sipáhis would be hailed with delight by both the native and the European community, but, with a prescience which betokened the

Khwájá
Ábdul Ganí.

Mr. David-
son's pre-
science.

* Blue Book. Further Papers, No. 7, pages 93-95.

† Khwájá is a title indicating that the bearer of it is a man of distinction.

possession of the large views of a statesman, he added, there was a matter of very great importance in connection with the proposal, and that was, the effect which the return of the detachment to Jalpaiguri would have on the headquarters of the regiment stationed there. "On that point," wrote Mr. Davidson, "I am unable to offer an opinion."

The despatch of the two companies to Jalpaiguri was of course, not to be thought of for an instant. But the possibility that they might make their way thither brought clearly to the mind of Mr. Halliday the danger which such action would cause. Then nothing could prevent the 73rd from mutinying. They would break away from Jalpaiguri. Their natural route, he recognized, would take them by way of Kishanganj to Purniá. Should they reach that place unopposed great disaster must follow; for, as I have said, not only would that station and Kishanganj be open to pillage, but Muzaffarpúr, and the rich district of Tirhút would be liable to devastation. It was for this reason that he asked and obtained the permission from the supreme government above referred to, to enlist a body of from 200 to 250 sailors to serve at Purniá, Dinájpúr, and Rangpúr.

The event proved that the situation had been correctly gauged by Mr. Halliday. But the precautions, wise as they were, had they been the only precautions taken, would have been insufficient. Towards the end of November, the conduct of the Sipáhis at Dhákah became so threatening, that Lewis, on the 22nd, attempted to disarm them. How, instead of disarming them all, he drove the bulk of them from the station, in the dreaded direction of Jalpaiguri; how, after running many dangers from the splendid exertions of George Yule, of Richardson, and others, the rebels finally escaped into north-eastern Oudh, only to fall there by the bullet and the sword, has been told at length in a preceding volume.* In that volume an attempt has been made to render due justice to the gallant men, civilians, and soldiers, whose untiring exertions saved central Bengal and eastern Bihár from plunder and murder.

The remaining districts which went to form the division of Dhákah were Faridpúr,† Bákirganj, Maimansingh, Silhat, and

* Vol. IV. pages 292-308.

† The Faridpúr in eastern Bengal must not be confounded by the reader

Kachhár. Faridpúr, the chief town of the district so named, was a civil station. It would not appear that the public order was disturbed there during 1857, a proof, among many others, the people of eastern Bengal, at all events, were not disaffected. The same remark applies to Bakírganj and its chief civil station, Barisál; to Maimansingh and the station of the same name; and to Kachhár. Silhat was not only quiet in itself, but, as related in the fourth volume,* the chief civil officer there contributed, by means of the loyal Silhat Light Infantry, to the pursuit and ultimate destruction of the rebels.

The Dhákah division.

The seventh division in Bengal is Chitragáoñ, having the districts Chitragáoñ, Noákhali, Tiparah, and Hill Tiparah. At the station of Chitragáoñ was a detachment of the 34th regiment Native Infantry, the same regiment which, at Barrackpúr, on the 24th of March, had allowed Manghal Pándi † to assault his officer, and which had subsequently been disbanded. It had long been understood at Chitragáoñ, that the detachment was animated by the sentiments which had marked the companies at headquarters. But little surprise, then, was felt when, on the 18th of November, the detachment mutinied, plundered the treasury, released the prisoners from the gaol, burned down their own lines, fired the magazine, and then left the station, carrying with them three elephants, the property of the State, and the bulk of the treasure they had "looted." Their subsequent action, and the pursuit and ultimate destruction of these men, has been described in an earlier volume. ‡ The manner in which the other portions of this division were affected by the action of the rebel Sipáhis has been narrated in the same chapter.

Chitragáoñ.

We now come to Ásám, in 1857 the eighth division under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Ásám comprised the districts of Goálpára, with a chief station of the same name, situated on the left bank of the Bráhma-putra, opposite to its junction with the Manás; of Kám-rúp, with its chief station Ganhatti, on the Bráhma-putra; of Durang, with its chief town, Tezpúr; of Naugáoñ, with its chief station of the same name; of Síbságar, likewise with a chief station of

Ásám.

who may possess no knowledge of India with the town of the same name in the Murádábád district of Rohilkhand, mentioned at pp. 366-9 of the fourth volume.

* Page 296.

† Vol. I. page 395.

‡ Vol. IV. pages 292-7.

the same name; of Lakkhimpúr, with a town also so called as its capital; of the Gáro hills; of the Khasiá and Jaintiá hills; and of the Nágá hills. Ásám was then a commissionership, under the direct orders of the Governor-General. The commissioner and governor-general's agent was Colonel F. Jenkins. It would seem, from the reports of the Government of India, that peace in these districts was not disturbed in 1857. The inhabitants, that is to say, displayed no sympathy with the mutineers. As a measure of precaution, however, the Government despatched thither in August a body of sailors belonging to the Indian navy, and, doubtless, the effect produced by their presence was most salutary. These men, and their comrades under Lieutenant Lewis, had a further opportunity, in the early part of 1859, of showing, in a campaign against the Ábór hillmen, their dash and their efficiency. I shall refer to this expedition in a later page of this volume.

The ninth division of the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is the division of western Bihár, commonly called, after its capital, the division of Patná. Of this division, with its important districts, Patná, Gayá, Sháhábád (with its station, Árah), Sáran, Champáran, and Tírhút, I have written at great length in the preceding volumes.* It is not too much to say, that western Bihár was, with the exception of the Presidency division, the most important division under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It was in touch with the revolted North-West; with Oudh; with Nipál. Its population consisted of a hardy race, inured to toil, and who, in the early days of English rule, had made excellent soldiers. Considerable tracts of territory were held by large landowners, men of ancient lineage and large influence. The city of Patná had always played a great part in the affairs of the province. At the time it was the headquarters of the dangerous sect of the Wahábis, whose policy of subverting the overlordship of the British had been, and continued to be, extremely active. A great disaster in western Bihár in the early days of 1857, any time, that is, before the end of August, would, if energetically followed up, have been fatal for the moment to British interests in Calcutta. Had, for instance, the rebel Sipáhis taken Árah, the entire province would have risen. Kunwar Singh, who cared little for Dehlí, but who had wrongs,

Western
Bihár.

* Vol. III. pages 24-89; Vol. IV. pages 310-44.

deeply felt, to avenge in Calcutta, would, there can be no doubt, have directed the risen masses towards the capital. There was nothing to stop his progress. There were, in eastern Bihár, and at Barrackpúr, native regiments who would have joined him. He was one of the few of the rebel leaders who had the instincts of a real general. It is difficult to see how, under such circumstances, Calcutta could have escaped. That it did escape, was due, primarily, to three men: to William Tayler,* for maintaining order throughout western Bihár until reinforcements could reach Calcutta; to Mr. Vickers Boyle, for his prescience in preparing, victualling, and storing with ammunition, a house in which the residents of Árah could find refuge and defence; to Vincent Eyre, for his relief of the Árah garrison—a relief attempted on his own intuition, on his own responsibility, with a force considerably smaller than the force which had previously failed. That other men most gallantly assisted is most true; but except for the action of the three men mentioned, all the gallantry in the world would have been ineffectual to save the territories under the rule of Mr. Halliday from a convulsion infinitely more dangerous, and fraught with greater permanent misfortune for British India, than either the seizure of Dehli or the rising of Oudh. The survivors of the bearers of those names may be assured that to them, and not to the tardily acting Government which they served, history, and posterity instructed by history, will attribute the saving of the province of Bengal from a disaster, which, though it would ultimately have been retrieved, would have dealt a blow at British domination in India, the effects of which would have been felt even in the times yet to come.

Kunwar
Singh.

The men who
saved Bihár
and Bengal.

The sister-division, that which divides the province of Bihár, is called eastern Bihár, though, in ordinary parlance, it, too, has taken the name of its capital and chief district under English rule, the name of Bhágulpúr. Eastern

Eastern Bihár.

* The mealy-mouthed men of the present day, who apparently think that murder and mutiny can be repressed with rose-water, have attributed it as a crime to Mr. Tayler that he caused mutineers, taken in the act of rebellion, or proved to be accomplices of that act, to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. They do not care to reflect that it was the conviction spread amongst the population that, so long as Mr. Tayler should remain Commissioner of Patná punishment would follow crime, that acted as the great deterrent to outbreak.

Bihár comprises the districts, Munger, the capital of Bengal under Mr Kásim (1762-3), possessing a very solid fort; Bhágalpúr; Púrniá; the Santál parganahs, and the town of Rájmahall, to the north-west of which, on the right bank of the Ganges, stands the once famous fort of Teliágarhí, regarded in ancient times as the key of Bengal. In the days of Muhammadan rule, that is, in the period anterior to 1757, the district of Púrniá and the Santál Parganahs were not included in the province of Bihár. In 1857 the Commissioner was Mr. George Yule.

What Mr. Yule was, and the great services Mr. Yule rendered, I have already described.* In an earlier page of this chapter I have shown how the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dreading lest the mutinously-disposed troops stationed at Dhákah should get out of hand, quit that station, and make their way towards Kishanganj, Púrniá, and Tírhút, had (October 27) applied to the supreme Government for permission to enlist sailors to defend those places from an ugly rush; and how, having obtained that sanction, he enlisted and despatched those sailors to the places indicated. With respect to the action of the Sipáhis at Dhákah, the prevision of Mr. Halliday was amply justified. They did break out; they did escape; and they did make their way towards the places he had indicated. But those sailors had not reached Púrniá when Mr. Yule heard, towards the end of November, that the rebel Sipáhis were on their way thither. How he at once marched on Púrniá, how he, by his prompt action, saved Kishanganj, has been told in some detail in the fourth volume.* The same volume has also recorded the difficulties caused to Yule at an earlier period by the revolt of the 5th Irregular Cavalry at and around Bhágalpúr, and by the rebellion in Chutiá Nágpúr. His vigorous energy, nobly supported as he was by the civilians and planters of his division, by a small detachment of the 5th Fusiliers; later, by a small body of Europeans and Gurkhás from Darjiling under Captain Curzon, and, a little later still, by the Volunteer Cavalry under Major Richardson, completely "countered" the initial blow dealt by the mutinous Sipáhis from Chitragáon and Dhákah.

The hilly division called Chutiá Nágpúr, occupies a long

* Vol. IV. pages 297-302. See also pages 91-2.

Mr. George
Yule and his
noble com-
rades.

stretch of land along the south face of Bihár, the west face of Bengal proper, the northern face of Orisá, and the south-eastern face of the central provinces. It comprises several petty states which had had their day of independence, and whose rulers generally were glad to try to profit from the existing turmoil. As a consequence, the rebellion throughout this division was almost general. The acting Commissioner, Captain Dalton, was a man of vigour and intelligence. He was ably seconded by the officers serving under him, Captains Davies and Oakes, by detachments of Rattray's Sikhs, and by other officers whose regiments had mutinied. The Rájah of Rámgarh, a petty chief whose domains were situate in the Hazáribágh district, displayed also a loyalty that was proof against temptation. Yet the difficulties Dalton had to encounter were enormous. How, by the aid, sometimes of the Madras troops, sometimes of detachments of European troops moving along, and momentarily diverted from the grand trunk—a road which the mutineers often threatened and sometimes invaded—he sometimes staved off, and sometimes retrieved, disasters, has been told in the fourth volume.* The incidents were sometimes almost tragic, the position always difficult, often dangerous; the perseverance and energy of our countrymen unsurpassed. Amongst those who specially distinguished themselves, in addition to those already mentioned, were Lieutenant Graham, Lieutenant Earle, of Rattray's Sikhs; Lieutenant Stanton, of the Engineers; Major Simpson; Colonel Forster, commanding the Shekawátí battalion; very specially, Mr. Cockburn, of the Civil Service, Commissioner of Katak; Mr. Lushington, Commissioner of Singbhúm, and the military officers mentioned in the pages referred to. Few officers were engaged in work more harassing. Throughout the disturbances in the north-west—indeed, to the very end of 1858—Chutiá Nágpúr continued to be the weakest point in the very centre of Mr. Beadon's famous line of six hundred miles. This line was at any moment liable to be pierced. It often was pierced; and, by reason of the continued turmoil in Chutiá Nágpúr, the danger in traversing it was always considerable.

Such were the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The points of danger, it will be seen, were, speaking

Chutiá
Nágpúr.

Captain
Dalton.

His gallant
associates.

* Vol. IV. pages 95-100; and 304-8.

broadly, six in number. There was Calcutta, dangerously near to Barrackpúr, yet resting practically on the base by which the reinforcements necessary to meet the rebellion must arrive. Calcutta was safe, then, if she could avert insurrection till the middle of August. How nearly she approached the dangerous point; in January when, but for the precautions taken by Cavenagh, Fort William would have been seized, and the garrison massacred; in March, when the timely change of day for the *fête* to Mahárájah Sindhiá again averted an outbreak which would in all probability have led to a similar result; on any day in June up to the fourteenth, when the disarming of the troops of the Barrackpúr brigade prevented a demonstration, always till then possible, and the consequences of which might have been fatal; again, when Dunbar's detachment was beaten back from Árah, and the military authorities at Dánápúr, thoroughly cowed, were intrenching] themselves at that station; once again, when the mutineers from Dhákah and Chitragáon broke from their stations, and poured into eastern Bihár. The other points of danger have been sufficiently indicated. They were western, and, a little later eastern, Bihár; Jalpaiguri, saved by the splendid audacity of Sherer; and Dhákah and Chitragáon, in eastern Bengal. There was danger, though not so near a danger, from Chutiá Nágpúr, which, like western Bihár, remained, long after the other places had been secured, a festering sore. Times had changed since the Mughuls administered the affairs of their empire from Ágra or from Dehlí. Then, it was all-important that the successful claimant to the throne should maintain himself in the heart of Hindustán; should secure the possession of those two central and important cities. Then, Bengal counted for little. She was a dependant province, governed by a viceroy. From her unwarlike people no recruits were drawn. The possession of her fertile plains, though desirable, was not vital to the cause of the ruler of Hindustán. She was the very last on the list of the provinces it was advisable for him to acquire. But, in 1857, Bengal possessed an importance infinitely greater. She held the gate by passing through which British interests were to be saved. That gate was Calcutta. For some time, then, Calcutta was the most important point in India. Dehlí might be taken, the province of Oudh might rise in revolt; the provinces nearer, those of eastern and western Bihár, of

The principal dangers to Bengal.

The importance of Bengal.

eastern Bengal; the stations of Jalpaigurí and Barrackpúr might be in flames, but so long as Calcutta was held, hope—a hope amounting to certainty—of ultimate success still remained. How the watchfulness of Orfeur Cavenagh, in the very front line, and of Wauchope, in the second, saved Calcutta from the dangers within the Maráthá ditch which encompassed her; how those threatening from Jalpaigurí were averted by Sherer, and those from Barrackpúr by the formation of the Volunteers, and the insistence of the non-official European inhabitants of the town: how William Tayler, Vincent Eyre, Vicars Boyle and his heroic comrades at Árah crushed the danger threatening from western Bihár; how George Yule thrust the rebels from the eastern division of that province, has been told in these volumes. Thenceforward Calcutta was safe. Warfare continued, indeed, in western Bihár and Chutiá Nágpúr, but it was not warfare of a nature threatening to Calcutta. The capital had been saved, and, in January, 1858, Lord Canning was able to quit it for the scenes near to which rebellion was still combating for victory. Thither I propose to follow him.

CHAPTER II.

THE TERRITORIES UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

THE BANÁRAS DIVISION.

THE North-Western Provinces received the name of the "North-West," not because they formed the actual north-west boundary of British India, but because, when the Bengal Presidency was divided in 1833, they constituted the north-western portion of that Presidency. At that time the Panjáb and Oudh were still independent. But after the conquest of the Panjáb in 1849-50 the territories between Bihár and Dehli retained the name which had been bestowed upon them in previous times, though, strictly speaking, that name was no longer applicable. The territory still officially retains the designation of the "North-West Provinces."

In 1857, the several divisions of the North-West were classified as follows. There were the Banáras division, comprising, besides the city which gave it its name, the districts of Mirzápur, Jaunpúr, Gorákhpur, Gházípur, and Ázamgarh; the Allahábád division, with the districts, Allahábád, Fathpúr, Kánhpúr, Bandah, and Hamípur; the Ágra division, containing the districts, Ágra, Mathurá, Mainpúri, Itáwah; the Baréli division, comprising the districts, Baréli, Sháhjahánpúr, Murádábád, Bijnáur, and Budáon; the Miráth division, with the districts Miráth, Muzaffarnagar, Saháránpúr, Bolandshahr, Dehrá Dún, and Áligarh; the Dehli division, comprising the imperial city, and the districts, Gurgáon, Hisár, Pániput, and Rohtak. I propose now to relate the events which occurred in these several divisions and districts, except so far as they may have been told in the previous volumes, in the order in which I have placed them.

To begin, then, with the Banáras division. The Commissioner was Mr. H. C. Tucker, the judge was Mr. Frederick Gubbins, the magistrate and collector was Mr. F. M. Lind, his deputy or assistant, Archibald Pollock: another assistant was Mr. Jenkinson. There were others in subordinate positions, but, at this distance of time, it is difficult to ascertain the names of those who were temporarily located in a great station.

District of
Banáras.

The district of Banáras has an area of 998 square miles, and a population of, in round numbers, 900,000. It is bounded to the north by Gházípúr and Jaunpúr; to the west and south by Mirzápúr; and to the east by the Sháhábád district of western Bihár. Its chief towns are Banáras and Rámnagar, the latter the residence of the Rájah, about two miles above Banáras. The population of the city is of a very fluctuating character. Being a holy city, the headquarters of Hinduism, it attracts, at certain seasons, pilgrims from all parts of the country. A population, then, which normally might be reckoned at about 200,000, was often considerably higher.

Statistics of
district of
Banáras.

In the second volume of this history, Sir John Kaye has given a glowing description of the character of the Commissioner, Mr. H. C. Tucker. Mr. Tucker was, in every sense of the term, a good man, but his nature was but ill-adapted to deal with a crisis such as that which was coming upon Banáras in the early days of 1857. Readers who will refer to that chapter,* will find that even his panegyrist is constrained to avow that Mr. Tucker's policy was a policy of absolute inaction. He would have met death as calmly and heroically as the most gallant soldier that ever lived, but he would not, by any act of his, have given even the appearance of provoking an attack. Fortunately the other civilians, Messrs. Gubbins, Lind, Pollock, and Jenkinson, were men of a different type, fully impressed with the necessity of doing all that men could do to meet, and, by precautionary measures, by measures involving, it might be, the taking of an offensive attitude, of averting the dangers which threatened the Englishmen and the Englishwomen who were practically to be defended by their exertions, or lost by their supineness. The defence of the city and the civil station passed, then, really into their hands, and,

Mr. H. C.
Tucker.

* Vol. II, pages 149-62.

by the measures they took, and which are fully recorded in the chapter referred to in a footnote, they saved it till the arrival of General Neill relieved them from their most pressing danger.

It is no part of my scheme to describe again scenes which have been narrated at length in other parts of this history. But I wish to record a few words regarding the noble men to whose determination and firmness Banáras was saved from pillage, and the Europeans living there from slaughter, in 1857.

Prominent among these is Mr. Frederick Gubbins.

Mr. Frederick
Gubbins.

It was my good fortune to know Mr. Gubbins well. I was with him on the occasion referred to by Sir John Kaye,* when "by a grand display of energy in a local crisis," he acquired "an immense ascendancy over the minds of the people." It was indeed an occasion which not every man would have met so calmly and so decidedly. The people of Banáras, angered by the enforcement of a regulation which was not pleasing to them, had risen upon Mr. Gubbins whilst he was visiting the city unattended, save by an orderly—had driven him from it with stones and brickbats, and had then shut their shops defiantly, declaring they should not be re-opened until the obnoxious regulations were repealed. Mr. Gubbins, who was then magistrate, gave them forty-eight hours for consideration, made meanwhile his plans, and then entering the city attended by one or two friends and some native orderlies, went from shop to shop, directing the owner, as he stopped before each, to take down the shutters. The hours given for reflection had done something; the calm and resolute manner of the magistrate did the rest. The shopkeepers obeyed his orders. They recognised in Mr. Gubbins a man whom they must obey, and thenceforth they obeyed him.

I have never known a braver man than Mr. Gubbins. For nearly four years I was in the habit of seeing him daily, and I never knew him flinch from any duty or from any responsibility. His manner was the calmly resolute manner of the man who knows what his duty is, and does it without pomp or bluster. He would have made a splendid soldier. His self-possession never deserted him. He could think and reason clearly when all around him might have lost their heads. He was never at fault. He always did well what he felt he could do at all.

Fitly associated with Mr. Gubbins was the magistrate, Mr.

* Vol. II. page 151.

F. N. Lind. Tall of stature, resolute in character, brave, clear-sighted, and ever ready for action, Mr. Lind was an invaluable coadjutor to such a man. How, acting together, they prevented the retreat of the military to Chanár, and thus saved the situation, has been told in a previous page.* Full justice has never been rendered to this excellent public servant. It is certain that to his exertions and those of Mr. Gubbins it was due that the most important city between Ágra and Calcutta was maintained until the arrival of Neill conjured the danger for the time.

Mr. F. N.
Lind.

Mr. Archibald Pollock, the youngest son of the Field-Marshal who, as general, had retrieved in 1841, the reputation of our arms in Afghánistán, was in all respects worthy of his lineage. He was a good civil officer, firm, resolute, and capable of any self-sacrifice in the cause of duty. He continued to render excellent service for many years after the mutiny had been suppressed, and when he died some ten years ago, India mourned the loss of one of the best officials of whom the Civil Service could boast.

Mr. Archibald
Pollock.

Mr. E. G. Jenkinson was inferior to none of these. He was then very young, with light hair and a pleasant face, full of energy, zeal, and daring. He was always on horseback, and was almost always doing something which endeared him to the community. On one occasion when a carriage was conveying Mr. Gubbins and two companions to the treasury to take possession of the moneys deposited there, the roar of guns, indicating the outbreak of mutiny at the military cantonment close by, was heard. The carriage proceeded on its way in the direction of the sound. At length it approached a bridge which it was necessary to cross.

Mr. E. G.
Jenkinson.

* Vol. II., page 152 and note. With reference to that note I may be allowed to state that the report of Mr. Taylor referred to by the author, and quoted by him, is absolutely correct. The Commissioner implied his approval of the plan suggested by Colonel Gordon to retreat on Chanár. It was then that Mr. Gubbins, backed by Mr. Lind, used the words mentioned in the text: "I will go on my knees to you not to leave Banáras." Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., who has gone over the same ground, supports this view. In his interesting book, *Fifty-Seven*, he thus writes: "Mr. Lind, strongly dissenting" (from the view of a retreat on Chanar) "refused to stir from his post without the decision of a council; and when the council met, and Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner, seemed almost inclined to give way, Lind and Gubbins used the strongest arguments against the movement." He then relates the passionate appeal of Gubbins given in the text.

Jenkinson, who was riding, noticed that some rebels located in the vicinity were about to take the opportunity of discharging their guns at the inmates of the carriage. With characteristic gallantry he dashed forward and interposed his person between the carriage and the assassins. Fortunately the aim taken did not prove true. In other ways he rendered yeoman's service, maintaining the communications with Allahábád, and raising levies to repress the revolted Rajpúts in the Ázamgarh and Jaunpúr districts. If Gubbins and Lind were the heads who planned and directed all the operations, Pollock and Jenkinson were the hands to carry out their suggestions and orders. Never were there two more willing and able coadjutors. They were noble specimens of their service and of their countrymen. Of the four who contributed so much to the safety of the Banáras division, Pollock, as I have said, has gone to his last home. Frederick Gubbins, made a Companion of the Bath for his services, lives in a foreign land. Lind, I believe, is still alive. Jenkinson, after an honourable service in India, retired. He was subsequently employed as police under-secretary in Ireland, and for the good services he rendered was made a Companion of the Bath. He still lives.

It happened that a great scarcity of food came, in 1857, to add to the difficulties of the situation. But no difficulties, how surmounted. culties were too great for the noble-hearted men whose names I have mentioned. How Messrs. Gubbins and Lind took measures to meet all emergencies; how they constantly patrolled the streets, and exercised their influence with the dealers in grain to procure an abatement in prices; how they persuaded the Commissioner to authorise the sale of grain to the Sipáhis at a price lower than that prevailing in the markets, the Government bearing the loss caused by the difference, has been told in the second volume. It has been told also how, the Mint, a central building, was fixed upon as the place to which all the residents should resort in the event of an outbreak; how it was to a certain extent fortified, and placed under an European guard. The watchful care of Messrs. Gubbins and Lind did not stop there. Looking at the events which had happened at Kánhpúr, they felt that no place of refuge could be secure which did not actually touch the river. They pressed, then, upon the military authorities the advisability of fortifying the high ground on the bank of the river, at the

Wise precautions initiated by Gubbins and Lind.

point where the ferry crosses to the opposite bank during the rainy season—and where the bridge of boats was fixed during the drier periods of the year—the point known as Rájghát. To assist them, and lighten the financial burden of such a work, they offered the labour of the convicts in the gaols. The sanction of the Government was obtained, though not until much pressure had been exercised, to the scheme, and in a very short time there was seen standing on the site of an old Hindu castle, and commanding the approaches to Banáras by river and by land, a fortification irregular but strong, quite capable of maintaining the point, now become the most important point, in the line between Calcutta and Alláhábád.

Prominent amongst the other members of the community of Banáras who rendered splendid service during those troublous times, was Súrat Singh, a Sikh gentleman Súrat Singh. of good family, who was detained by the Government at Banáras on political grounds. Súrat Singh, though exiled from his own country, was loyal and more than loyal to the nation which had annexed that country. He had imbibed a very great admiration for the character of Mr. Gubbins. Quiet and unostentatious in manner, he had been supplied by nature with a calm resolution which made him equal to any emergency, however pressing. Prior to the outbreak of the mutiny of the native troops in the cantonment adjoining the city, he had shown his goodwill by the exercise of his influence with those of his own countrymen, who formed one of the regiments there located, and in calm and judicious counsel. At length the day came when he was to be tried. On the 4th of June, the attempt made to disarm the Sipáhis culminated in mutiny.* The civilians and the other non-combatants knew that the crisis was upon them, and they had assembled to await its result on the roof of the Treasury over which there was then a guard composed only of Sikhs. Amongst them was Súrat Singh, calm and cheerful as it was his wont to be. He had been standing by the side of Mr. Gubbins. Suddenly he left him. Almost immediately after he had left, the sound of firing from the direction of cantonments proved that the game had begun in earnest. The sound had scarcely reached the ears of the assembled party, when Súrat Singh returned bearing in his hand a double-barrelled gun. The firing still continued. A

* Vol. II. pages 162-65.

few minutes later, and it was announced that the Sikh guard over the Treasury had received information that their countrymen were being slaughtered, and that they were displaying symptoms which might possibly terminate in action. Immediately Súrat Singh went amongst them. He had in his hand the life of the Englishmen on the roof. One hostile exhortation from him, and the massacre would have commenced. But he spoke words of a different bearing. He found the Sikhs indeed excited, questioning one another whether the hour had not arrived when they should take advantage of their position. But Súrat Singh quickly calmed them. He pointed out to them that the conflict then proceeding in the cantonment must have been unpremeditated, or the Europeans on the roof would not have placed themselves in their power; that he was quite sure of the good faith of the English, and that he intended to stand by them. These and similar arguments had the effect of calming the apprehensions of the guard, and the danger was stayed.

The good services of Súrat Singh did not stop there. After the mutiny had been suppressed in the manner described in the second volume, he took up his abode in the house of Mr. Gubbins, and, in those thousand and one ways, in which a loyal native can, in times of suspicion amongst his own countrymen, render unequalled service to the paramount power, gave himself, heart and soul, to the cause of order. After the suppression of the mutiny, the Government bestowed upon him a title and a reward.

Another loyal native of Banáras was the Ráo, Devnaráin Singh. He was loyal from the first whisper of disaffection, and placed all his influence, which was great, at the disposal of the Government. After the disbanding of the native troops, he, too, came to live in Mr. Gubbins's house, and aided greatly in the task, still a difficult one, of maintaining order in the city. I say, still a difficult one, because, although immediate danger from the Sipáhis on the spot had passed away, the districts around Banáras were surging with revolt. For a very long time afterwards, Ázamgarh, Jaunpúr, and western Bihár, continued to be overrun with rebels, and at one time the city of Banáras itself was in very great danger.* Under such circumstances, the aid rendered by Ráo Devnaráin Singh was invaluable. He was

Ráo Devnaráin Singh.

* Vol. IV. pages 310-44.

specially useful in procuring trustworthy agents who ferreted out the counsels of the rebels; watched the movements of disaffected men within the city, and the intrigues of the landowners without, and thus gave Mr. Gubbins the information upon which he was able to act with vigour and success. To the very last he was a tower of strength.

In a less marked manner, but not less sincerely, did the Rájah of Banáras cast in his lot with the British who had established his family in the position he had inherited. He was constitutionally a timid man, but his heart was in the right place, and he never for a moment finched from the loyal course he laid down for himself from the first moment. Pandit Gokal Chand, a Brahman of the highest caste and possessing considerable influence, rendered excellent service by the support he gave to the British cause.

The Rájah of
Banáras.

Pandit Gokal
Chand.

Of the Englishmen, some indigo planters, some traders, who lived at Banáras or in its vicinity, were many who behaved with zeal and daring. Of these not one was more prominent than Mr. F. C. Chapman, an indigo planter. His energy in scouring the country could not be surpassed. Jenkinson placed at his disposal some of the native levies which he raised, and the name of F. C. Chapman, as the leader of these, became a terror to the disaffected. In the month of June or July Chapman was sent to Calcutta in charge of a powerful native whom he had made prisoner, and who was believed to be a man of importance. He was received with effusion by Lord Canning, who, in response to his wishes, appointed him second in command to Major Richardson in the corps of Yeomanry Cavalry, the formation of which Chapman was the first to suggest. With this corps Chapman continued to render good service.

Mr. F. C.
Chapman.

I must now pass on to the second district in the Banáras division, the district of Mirzápúr.

The district of Mirzápúr has an area of 5224 square miles, and a population, now considerably in excess of a million, but, in 1857, just short of it. It is bounded to the north by the districts of Banáras and Jaunpúr; to the east by those of Sháhábád and Lohardága; to the south by one of the small states in Chutiá Nágpúr, known as the Sargujá state; to the west by the Allahábád district and the state of Rewah. It is crossed by the Vindhya and Kaimúr ranges, and

Mirzápúr.

is watered by the Ganges, the Són, and the Karmnása. Its chief towns are Mirzápúr, and Chanár, the latter guarded by the famous historical fortress of the same name.

The town, Mirzápúr, is situated on the Ganges fifty-six miles from Allahábád, and twenty-seven from Banáras. The fortress of Chanár, situate on a rock commanding the Ganges, is sixteen miles to the south-west of Banáras. It had been used in times then recent as a state prison, and not ten years had passed since the Rání of Láhor, the mother of Mahárájah Dhulíp Singh, confined there as a state prisoner, had managed to elude the vigilance of her guards, and to escape.

The civil officers at Mirzápúr, in 1857, were Mr. Lean, the judge; Mr. St. George Tucker, the magistrate and collector; and Mr. Balmain, his assistant; Mr. Moore, the joint magistrate. The troops consisted of a wing of

Civil officers
at Mirzápúr.

the Sikh regiment of Firúzpur, but the mutiny had shown its earliest symptoms when the station received the unwelcome visit of the 47th Regiment Native Infantry, then on its way from Promé to Allahábád. This regiment was commanded by Colonel Pott.

The mutiny of the 10th of May at Mirath affected every station in India, especially those in the North-Western provinces. Mirzápúr was no exception to the rule. The slightest occurrence sufficed to cause alarm. The result was the display of watchfulness and a desire to meet promptly any sudden emergency on the part of the Englishmen stationed there. Mirzápúr passed unscathed through the trying days of May, and it was only when on the 7th of the following month, when a wing of the 47th Native Infantry arrived, that the Magistrate,

Arrival of
the 47th N.I.

Mr. St. George Tucker, felt the imminence of the danger. By that time it had come to be understood that whilst a station unguarded, or guarded by Europeans or Sikhs, might escape an outbreak, the presence of a regiment of native infantry demanded constant and unwearying care and caution. Mr. Tucker was thoroughly alive to the danger of the situation, and he was fortunate in finding in Colonel Pott, the commanding officer of the new arrivals, a gentleman absolutely free from the prejudice in favour of his own men which affected the action of so many native infantry officers. The difficulty was how to remove the evil without causing the very commotion it was sought to avoid. It was necessary to act promptly, to assume responsibility, to cast regulations to the winds. Colonel Pott was equal to the occasion. He decided to give furlough

to the majority of the men of his wing, retaining a certain number only, whom he believed could be trusted. Taking possession of the magazine, he threw into the river all the spare cartridges, and the nipples of the spare muskets, thus rendering the weapons useless. On the 8th some of the treasure was despatched with the Sikhs to Allahábád: on the day following, the rest of it was placed on board a river-steamer and despatched to Banáras. Notwithstanding these heroic measures, which had the effect of removing all temptation to outbreak, many of the residents got frightened, and made for Chanár. St. George Tucker, in charge of the district, was a worthy comrade of Gubbins and Lind of Banáras. On the 10th, a small party of Sipáhis of the 50th Native Infantry arrived from Nagód, bringing with them a prisoner. Tucker, believing from the demeanour of these men that he could employ them usefully, marched with them a few miles on their return journey, and attacked and chastised some marauders who had plundered the property of the East India railway. A few days later he was able to accomplish much more. The inhabitants of a village called Gaurá, situate on the right bank of the Ganges, near the borders of the Allahábád district, had been particularly given to outbreak and plunder. Tucker took advantage of the arrival of a small detachment of the Madras Fusiliers to march against this village with that detachment, and the loyal men of the 47th Native Infantry. Whilst he made this movement, the Deputy Magistrate, Mr. P. Walker, made a simultaneous march along the lower part of the same district. The result was the occupation of Gaurá, the capture of some of the leaders of the outbreak, and the pacification of the district on the right bank of the Ganges. The Rájputs on the left bank, however, still continued contumacious. There were a number of townships which acknowledged as their chief a relative of the descendant of that Rájah of Banáras, who had been dispossessed by Warren Hastings, and were in open insurrection. Their chief, taking the title of Rájah of Bhudoi, appointed agents to collect the revenue, enrolled a force, plundered those of his neighbours who refused to acknowledge him, and closed the grand trunk road to the English. Against this man and his companions, Mr. Moore, the joint magistrate of Mírzápúr, and who had charge of the

Prudent conduct of Colonel Pott.

St. George Tucker.

Energy of St. George Tucker.

He clears the right bank of the Ganges.

Dangers on the left bank.

estates of the Rájah of Banáras, was making head as best he could. It happened that by a fortunate chance, one of his agents managed to secure the person of the rebel chief and one of his accomplices. These, caught red-handed in the act of rebellion, were tried by court-martial, condemned and hanged.

A reward offered for the head of Moore.

This act of summary justice, far from intimidating the rebels, incited them to defiance. The widow of the late chief offered a reward of 300 rupees to the man who would bring her the head of Moore. Moore was brought to trial in effigy before a pancháyat,* condemned to death, and measures were directed to apprehend him, and execute the sentence. It happened that, on the 4th July, Moore arrived at the indigo factory of Páli, bringing with him some rebels whom he had captured. There he was suddenly attacked by the followers of the widow of the chief of Bhudoí. Moore defended himself vigorously, and, believing that a counter-attack would have its effect, sallied forth accompanied by the two managers of the factory, and some of his men, and charged the besiegers. These, however, were too numerous, and after a

Moore is captured and slain.

desperate fight, Moore and the two managers were captured. They were immediately put to death. Moore's head was severed from his body, and carried to the widow, who paid for it the reward she had offered. The same day, a party of the 64th, led by Lieutenant Woodhouse, arrived on the spot, but the rebels had already left. They were joined the day following by St. George Tucker, with some of the 47th Native Infantry, and by F. C. Chapman, the

The rebels are chased from the district.

planter I have already spoken of under the head of Banáras. These pursued the rebels. They had, however, to be content with driving them out of the district, for the insurgents were too agile in their movements, and knew the country too well to be caught. The district was momentarily pacified, and continued quiet for about a month.

On the 11th August, however, the disturbances were renewed.

Arrival and defeat of the Dándpúr Sipáhis.

In a previous page of this history I have told how Vincent Eyre† had, on the 3rd August, relieved Árah, and how the rebel Sipáhis, after their defeat,

* Pancháyat, a court of arbitration, so called because originally it consisted of five members. In course of time the numbers have been indefinitely increased.

† Vol. III. pages 66-67.

had disappeared from the vicinity of the beleaguered house. The district of Sháhábád, of which Árah is the chief station, adjoins the district of Mírzápúr, and into this Sipáhis, to the number of about fifteen hundred, repaired, after the rough handling which Eyre had given them. From the 11th to the 20th August they plundered the richer villages; then, on the last-named day, they set out for the station of Mírzápúr. But the delays they had made had given time to a party of the 5th Fusiliers, about three hundred strong, to arrive. These encountered the rebels about seventeen miles from Mírzápúr, and totally defeated them. They fled, then, into the Allahábád district, and ultimately made their way into Oudh.

But the district was not yet safe. I have shown how, on its southern side, the district touches one of the smaller districts of Chutiá Nágpúr, then, and for many months afterwards, in a state of open rebellion. It was natural that occasional irruptions should take place from this quarter. Of these, one occurred on the 14th July; another, headed by Kunwar Singh himself, on the 8th September. The rebels, however, merely passed through, doing comparatively little damage. The southern part of the district was then transferred to the charge of Mr. F. O. Mayne, an officer of great energy and resolution, and he, by strenuous efforts, succeeded in keeping that part of the grand trunk road which bordered his charge, open for traffic and the passage of troops. The district continued, however, more or less disturbed up to the period when the last rebel had laid down his arms. The fact of the close vicinity to the Sháhábád district, and the presence there of Kunwar Singh, and after his death, of his brother, Amar Singh, rendered it impossible that it should be otherwise. It may be added that, to the very last, Mr. St. George Tucker continued to display the energy and foresight which characterised his proceedings at the earlier stage; that he was ably supported by his uncovenanted assistant, the Walker already spoken of; and by a young civilian, then recently arrived in the country, Mr. C. A. Elliott, who distinguished himself on more than one occasion; that he received valuable support throughout from the Rájah of Kantit and his brother, whilst the enmity of the Rájah of Singráuli added to his difficulties. It was most creditable that a district so important, liable to incursions on at least two sides by rebels, should have been sustained with means

Mutineers
from Chutiá
Nágpúr
arrive.

Energy of
St. George
Tucker, of
Walker, of
Elliott, of
Mayne.

so inadequate, and the credit of having produced such a result is due to the three officers I have just named; and, associated with them, to Mr. F. O. Mayne.

The next district of which I would speak is Jaunpúr. The town, very famous in the Muhammadan period of Indian history, lies thirty-six miles from Banáras, and eighty-three from Faizábád in Oudh. In the district, as in all the districts of the North-West Provinces, the system introduced unsparingly by the late Mr. Thomason, the system of ruling an eastern people by cut-and-dried western ideas, a system already described as to its working for evil in a previous volume,* was in full force. It had produced there more than usual dissatisfaction, for Jaunpúr had been a most important district, the seat even of a Government, and there were settled there many noble and ancient families. Under the hard and fast rule of Mr. Thomason, many of these had been dispossessed in favour of men without lineage or consideration. They remained, however, in the district, daily witnesses of the wrongs they had suffered. It will easily be understood that, when there arose signs of a general uprising against the foreigner, these men sympathised rather with their dispossessed brethren across the Oudh frontier, to which they were contiguous, than with the ruling power. How, acting with these, and with the revolted landowners of Ázamgarh and Sháhábád, they fought to the very last, has been told in the preceding volumes.

In 1857, the judge of Jaunpúr was Mr. R. J. Taylor; the magistrate was Mr. H. Fane; the joint-magistrate was Mr. Cuppage. But when the events of the 10th of May took place at Mirath, I rather think Mr. Taylor was absent. The troops consisted of a detachment of the Sikh regiment of Lodiáná, the head-quarters of which were at Banáras, under the command of Lieutenant Mara.

The story of the occurrences at Jaunpúr of the 5th of June has been told in a previous page.† It will suffice here to say that nowhere in India was the overthrow of the British authority more sudden and more complete. Those who had lost their estates under our rule, writes Mr. Taylor, who made a special report to the Government on the occurrences in this division, "thought this a good time to regain them; those who had not, thought they could make a little profit by plundering their

* Vol. V. pages 61-4.

† Vol. II. pages 178, 179.

weaker neighbours; the bolder spirits thought to secure more brilliant advantages by intercourse with the rebel powers in Oudh; and in this state they remained till the arrival of the Gurkhás on September 8th, restored a semblance of authority to the British Government. Then, a change was inaugurated in the *personnel* of the district. Mr. F. M. Lind, of whose high qualities and great services I have spoken when dealing with the Banáras district, became magistrate, and Mr. E. G. Jenkinson, already favourably mentioned in connection with the same district, his immediate subordinate. Acting with them, as deputy collector, was Mr. P. Carnegie, well known at a later period for the valuable services* he rendered, when serving with the force under General Franks. The campaign that followed the arrival of the Gurkhás has been told in different detail in the fourth volume of this work. But it has not yet been sufficiently narrated how, in that campaign, Lind, and Jenkinson, and Carnegie, performed the duties of soldiers in addition to their own; how, as the Commissioner reported to the Government, they exhibited great gallantry in the field, and were most indefatigable in the performance of their duties. The same high official reported likewise the names of other Europeans, who, not in the service of the Government, contributed greatly by their zeal and energy to the restoration of order. Of such were the brothers Waleski, who, he reported, out of pure loyalty, accompanied the authorities on their return to Jaunpúr, and then shared the whole of the subsequent campaign. Of the loyal natives, he specially mentions, Hingan Lál, who, during the outbreak in June, sheltered the European officers at the risk of his own life, and continued to act loyally to the end; Madhú Singh, Zamindár of Bisháratpúr, who gave shelter to a considerable party of planters, and subsequently evinced on every occasion, zeal and energy in the cause of his masters; Rájah Sheo Ghulám Dubé, the chief of the Dubé clan, who watched over the interests of the English after the events of this 5th of June, and, who subsequently exerted himself on their behalf; Rájah Mahésh Naráin, who, on the re-occupation of Jaunpúr by Mr. Lind and his comrades, and the troops who accompanied them,

Mr. F. M.
Lind.
Mr. Jenkin-
son.

Mr. Patrick
Carnegie

renders splen-
did service.

The Waleskis.

The loyal
natives.

* Vol. IV. page 238.

brought all his matchlockmen to the fore, and rendered excellent service. There were others of an inferior rank or power. But Pandit Krishn Singh, who fought for his alien masters, and, though beaten in the field, returned to render what service he could, must not be forgotten. Of Messrs. Venables and Dunn, whose exertions, and whose services were unsurpassed and unsurpassable, I shall write fully under the head of the district with which they were more particularly associated, the district of Ázamgarh.

I have dealt at so great length in the fourth volume with the military events in the Jaunpúr district, that I should only be guilty of repetition if I were to dwell further on the subject here. My object in this volume is to place on record the deeds performed, under very difficult circumstances, by men who, though not soldiers, displayed presence of mind, readiness of resource, courage of the highest order, and that carelessness of responsibility, which, in difficult times, is the truest test of a really great man. These qualities were displayed to the full in the Jaunpúr district by the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned. The district, and the neighbouring district of Ázamgarh, continued in a state of unquiet during the first six months of 1858, nor could it be said to be thoroughly secure until after the death of Kunwar Singh, recorded in the fourth volume.*

The next district in the order arranged at the commencement of this chapter is the district of Gorákhpur. To that district I now pass on.

The district called, after the chief town within its borders, Gorákhpur, is bounded to the north by Nipál; to the east and south-east by the district of Sárán; to the south by Ázamgarh; and to the south-west and west by the kingdom of Oudh. It covers an area of 7346 square miles, and possessed, in 1857, a population somewhat exceeding three millions.

In 1857, the judge of Gorákhpur was Mr. William Wynyard, already mentioned in these pages; † the magistrate and collector was Mr. Paterson; the joint-magistrate was Mr. Bird. In such times as were those of 1857, the lead taken was independent of the actual position and rank of the officer. The strongest man invariably came to the front. Sometimes, as at Patná, that strongest

Venables and
Dunn.

Position and
extent of
Gorákhpur.

Mr. Wynyard.
Mr. Paterson.
Mr. Bird.

* Page 336.

† Vol. IV. page 223.

man was the senior in position. At other times, as at Banáras, the second in rank quietly took into his hands the direction of affairs. At Gorákhpur, the senior in position was essentially a man of action. Mr. William Wynyard, therefore, was at once recognised as the man to direct and to execute the plans which might be necessary for the preservation of British authority within the district.

William Wynyard joined to great activity of body and a love of field sports, a nature that knew not fear, a mind well stored, and a thorough acquaintance with the character of the natives of his district. He had noted early in 1857, the tendency of affairs, but, his station being some distance off the main line of postal communication between Bengal and the North-West Provinces, he did not hear of the mutiny at Miráth till a full week after it had occurred, the 17th of May. It happened that Mr. Paterson, the magistrate, was just on the point of quitting the station on leave of absence, for which he had applied and which had been granted. In the presence of the crisis then impending, and which he saw could not fail to bear with particular severity upon a place so near the Oudh frontier as was Gorákhpur, Wynyard took it upon himself to delay Paterson's departure. I mention this fact not because in itself it was of great importance, but because it produced from the Commissioner of the division a reply which indicated a belief common to almost all the high officials in India. Mr. Tucker thanked Wynyard for his action in having delayed Mr. Paterson's departure "till he has heard of the annihilation of the rebels." It was evidently not thought that the delay would be long!

The troops of Gorákhpur consisted of two companies 17th regiment Native Infantry and a small detachment 12th Irregular Cavalry. The head-quarters of the former were at Ázamgarh, of the latter at Sigáuli.

Very few days after the news reached him of the mutiny, Wynyard received information that the 17th Native Infantry could not be depended upon. The 12th Irregulars bore then a good character, and their commanding officer, Major Holmes, whose name was a household word in the army, was known to trust them implicitly. But, even granting that they were loyal, their numbers were few, and Wynyard felt that it would be necessary for him to look elsewhere for sure support.

Wynyard, seeing the approach of storm, takes the responsibility

to retain Mr. Paterson.

Mr. Tucker's opinion regarding the duration of the mutiny.

The troops at Gorákhpur.

Happily, at this conjuncture, the commissioner, Mr. Tucker, placed Wynyard in civil charge of the district, warning him that trouble might be on him at any moment, that Banáras was shaky, recommending him to act boldly and on his own judgment, and giving him authority to assume any amount of responsibility, civil or military. The way thus made plain to him, Wynyard proceeded to act. He enlisted recruits for the gaol and other local guards; he caused similar enlistments to be made in the districts; he wrote to the well-affected native landowners and to the European planters, authorising them to enlist well-affected natives for the Government service; he appointed a place of rendezvous in case of attack; and he despatched a hundred and twenty-five of the 17th Native Infantry and a detachment, thirty-four men, of the 12th Irregulars to Banáras in charge of treasure. This still left him burdened with one hundred and twenty Sipáhis and sixty Sawárs.

Wynyard receives from the Commissioner powers,

which he uses judiciously.

From that day forth for a long time to follow every post brought bad tidings from outside. One day it was the mutiny at Firúzpúr, the next the outbreak at Lakhnáo, then those at Nimach and Nasirábád. But the news received on the 5th of June was still more ominous for Gorákhpur. It told of the mutiny at Ázamgarh of the 17th Native Infantry, a detachment of which regiment was, as we have seen, on duty at Gorákhpur.

Continued arrival of bad tidings.

That detachment was commanded by Captain Steel, an excellent officer. He at once paraded his men, Paterson having disposed the cavalry and local levies so as to attack them if they should mutiny. Steel then addressed them, apparently with effect. They displayed no outward sign of discontent. But this apparent loyalty lasted only for the day. The very next morning Steel endeavoured to march the Sipáhis to Ázamgarh, but they refused to obey his orders, and one of them, whom the rest were evidently disposed to follow, was heard to declare that the money in the treasury should not leave the station without a fight.

Steel addresses the men of the 17th Native Infantry,

who, nevertheless, refuse to obey his orders.

The day following, the 7th of June, the prisoners attempted to break out from the gaol, but they were baffled by the gaol-guard, energetically led

The prisoners attempt to break out, but are baffled.

by Mr. Bird, the joint magistrate, and Mr. Desmazures, an indigo-planter. Eight of the prisoners were killed in the attempt, and ten or twelve were wounded. That night the Sipáhis, apparently, resolved to join their comrades. They seized empty carts, and with these marched, armed, the following morning, towards the treasury. Their purpose was evident. They had determined to go, but not without the money. In this crisis, Steel and Wynyard, who, from the verandah of the former's bungalow, saw them approaching, went out to meet and to harangue them. Their arguments were effective, for the Sipáhis returned to their lines. Still business was at a standstill. Everyone felt that one day, sooner or later, the trial would come. There seemed no means of averting it.

Another attempt at mutiny is checked.

Next morning, however, Wynyard received from Major, afterwards Major-General the Honourable Sir Henry Ramsay, the British Resident at the court of Khatmandu, a letter, in which he promised to send him two hundred Gurkhás from Pálpa, just across the border. This was cheering news. With the aid of that number of trustworthy troops, it seemed possible still to maintain the district.

Major Ramsay offers to send a reinforcement of Gurkhás.

But the following day showed that events were marching too fast for the Gurkhás. I have already told how, towards the end of May, Wynyard had sent money to Ázamgarh escorted by a hundred and twenty-five of the 17th Native Infantry and thirty-four men of the 12th Irregulars. On the morning of the 11th, the Irregulars returned, telling how, after leaving Ázamgarh, the Sipáhis had mutinied and had seized the money; how the Gházipur district was in revolt, and how the loyalty of Bihár depended upon the power of the Commissioner of Patná to maintain order in that turbulent city.

The Sipáhis in the district mutiny.

Nevertheless, Wynyard did not lose heart. Trusting to the 12th Irregulars, whose loyalty had, up to that time, been proof against seduction, he sent detachments to Ázamgarh, to Bastí, and to other parts of the district, under his own officers or European residents, to restore order. And he succeeded. He proclaimed martial law in the district, suspended the ordinary forms of trial, and showed a zeal, an energy, and a resolution which had an extremely deterring effect upon the disaffected. They

Great and successful measures adopted by Wynyard.

argued that no man would act with such boldness unless he had resources of which they knew nothing.

And yet, all this time, Wynyard had not only no resources, but his superior officer was doing his best to deprive him of those whose timely arrival would still have saved the district. Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner of Banáras, wrote at this crisis to tell him that no troops could be spared from that city. This was true, and was probably anticipated.

But what was not anticipated, what in its result was fatal to many European lives, was the fact that at the same time Mr. Tucker was exerting all his efforts to prevent the arrival of the Gurkhás, whose number was now swollen to three thousand, in British territory. To accept the aid of Jang Bahádur was, in Mr. Tucker's opinion, an evil; but surely it was a lesser evil than that involved in the occupation of British territory by rebels! Yet that was, as the result proved, the only alternative.

On the 17th and on the 19th fugitives from Oudh arrived in Gorákhpur. On the 20th, Wynyard sent off all the ladies in the station—the wives of the clerks, who at the last moment refused to leave, excepted—to

Banáras under an escort of twenty-five men of the 12th Irregulars, seventy men belonging to the Rájah of Banáras, and accompanied by six officers and a sergeant who had escaped from Oudh. This party reached Ázamgarh in safety; but the districts were swarming with rebels; all the landowners were up. The road to Banáras was unsafe, and the party diverted their course to Gházípur.

On the 28th, the two hundred Gurkhás originally promised by Ramsay arrived from Pálpa. It must have been a satisfaction to Wynyard thus to have saved for seven weeks a district on the borders of revolted Oudh, contiguous to other districts in which the

torch of mutiny had been lighted, and whose landowners had followed with light hearts the example set them by the Sipáhis. If, in the presence of adverse circumstances which he saw rising around him, Wynyard could not feel very sanguine as to the immediate future, at least he had grounds for hope. It needed but a decisive blow struck at some rebel centre to pacify the district, and it always seemed possible that any day might bring the good news.

The commissioner attempts to prevent the coming of the Gurkhás.

Fugitives from Oudh arrive.

Two hundred Gurkhás reach Gorákhpur.

The one thing requisite to pacify the district.

It was encouraging to Wynyard at such a crisis that he should feel that his conduct had been approved not only by his local superior, but by the Governor-General. Mr. Tucker, just at this time, wrote him a letter fully approving of his arrangements and of the manner in which he had carried them out, and on the 28th of June Lord Canning sent him an autograph letter expressive of his gratitude for the excellent service which, in conjunction with Mr. Paterson, Mr. Wynyard had rendered at Gorákhpur, and concluding with a hope that he might be still able to hold his ground; "if not," wrote Lord Canning, "have no scruple as to retiring in time. You have long ago saved your honour."

Wynyard receives an autograph letter of thanks and commendation from the Governor-General.

It was known on the 25th of July that more Gurkhás were approaching. The districts, however, were greatly disturbed. During the preceding three weeks many untoward events had happened. The slaughter of Kánhpúr had become known; the mutinies at Gwáliár and Baréli; the Ázamgarh district had been the scene of warfare, marked by the splendid gallantry of Venables and Dunn. The only counterbalancing news was that of the victories obtained by Havelock over the rebels and of his arrival at Kánhpúr. But Wynyard still kept his hold on the district; the Nipál army was near, and having accomplished so much Wynyard was still hopeful that he might accomplish more.

Despite the arrival of news,

Wynyard maintains his hold on the district.

But on the 28th of July the fatal news of the mutiny of the 12th Irregulars at Sigáuli, of the murder of Holmes and his noble wife, and of the doctor, and the intelligence that the regiment was marching on Gorákhpur reached him. Instantly he sent off an express to the first division of Gurkhás to push on. They pushed on and arrived that evening.

News of the mutiny of the 12th Irregular Cavalry arrives.

The Gurkhás march in.

The arrival of the Gurkhás produced a double effect. It saved the lives of the Europeans, but it necessitated the evacuation of Gorákhpur. How this was so is capable of easy explanation. The Gurkhás were under orders to march, by way of Ázamgarh, for Alláhábád. At that time Ázamgarh had again fallen into the hands of the rebels. The officer commanding the Gurkhás, Colonel Pahlawán Singh, declined to leave a detachment at Gorákhpur, or in any way to divide

The colonel of the Nipál troops imposes the necessity of abandoning Gorákhpur.

his forces. Information had been received from English sources that the 12th Irregulars, red with the blood of their own officers, were marching on Gorákhpur. For the few English officials to remain there after the Gurkhás should have left it, and to meet alone the 12th Irregulars, accompanied by all the rabble of the districts, seemed indeed to be madness utterly wanting in method.

Two or three days were left for Wynyard and his colleagues to consider the course to be adopted. These days were well employed. On the 1st of August the men of the detachment 17th Native Infantry were peaceably disarmed. The few men of the 12th Irregulars were less successfully dealt with. These men gave up their arms, it is true, to their own commandant, Risáldár Muhammad Bakhsh; but they had scarcely done so when some of them made a rush at the arms, recovered them, mounted their horses, and galloped off. They were pursued by their own comrades under Captain Warren; six of them were killed, one was wounded and died of his wounds. The eighty-three loyal men remained staunch to the end.*

The news which arrived two days later of the defeat of Captain Dunbar's detachment near Árah, and the receipt the following day of a letter containing Mr. Tucker's approval of a retirement upon Ázamgarh and Jaunpúr, decided Mr. Wynyard and the other gentlemen of the district to accompany the Gurkhás. The district was no longer tenable. "Have no scruples," Lord Canning had written, "in retiring in time—you have long ago saved your honour." Mr. Wynyard and his companions then, on the 13th of August, made over charge of the district to the loyal landowners, and rode that evening into the Gurkhá camp.

One, and one only, remained behind. This was the assistant magistrate, Mr. Bird. Mr. Bird was a great sportsman, affected the society of natives, and believed he could trust them. He, therefore, declined to accompany his countrymen. He soon had reason to repent it. Gorákhpur, after the departure of the Gurkhás, was contested for by the zamindárs of the neighbourhood, and Muhammad

* These men did good service in the mutiny, and marched with Havelock and Outram to the relief of Lakhnáo. The Risáldár, Muhammad Bakhsh, was made extra Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General.

Troops at
Gorákhpur
are disarmed.

Mr. Wynyard
and all the
officials but
one quit
Gorákhpur.

The official
who re-
mained

Husén, calling himself the Názim, from Oudh. Eventually the latter took possession of the place. But before this happened one of the zamindárs, the Rájah of Gopálpur, entered the town and released the prisoners. One of these, a man whom Bird himself had committed for forgery, forced his way into the presence of his old committing officer, and seated himself on the table. The native guards declined to remove him. Bird then wrote to his European comrades for assistance, but it could not be given. The Gurkhá commandant declined to send a man. After four or five days of stirring adventure, going about with his life in his hand, Bird eventually escaped into the jungle. Muhammad Husén, who had by that time occupied Gorákhpur, offered a reward of five thousand rupees for his head, and whilst he despatched two hundred men to cut him off, sent as many more on his track. But Bird, a sportsman who knew thoroughly the bye-ways of the jungle, succeeded in baffling both, and in reaching Bétiah, in the Champáran district, eighty-two miles from Gorákhpur, in safety.

insulted,

and forced to flee for his life, with a price upon his head.

Meanwhile the Gurkhá force, accompanied by Wynyard and his comrades, marched towards Ázamgarh. On the 20th of August they repulsed a spirited attack made upon their camp by the rebels at Gagha. On the 21st the force crossed the Ghághrá river and marched without further interruption on Ázamgarh which was reached on the 27th. Mr. Wynyard was then nominated chief civil officer of the Ázamgarh district. On the 4th September left Ázamgarh to recover Jaunpúr. How both districts were fought for and maintained has been told in a previous volume.*

The Gurkhá force meanwhile, proceeds to Ázamgarh.

The state of Gorákhpur immediately upon the departure of the English officials fully justified that departure. In few parts of India did the districts become more infested with men thirsting for European blood than in the districts bordering on Oudh. To have maintained Gorákhpur for three months without assistance, in the presence of disaffected Sipáhis, and surrounded by turbulent landowners, was a feat worthy of the highest praise—a feat which testified

The maintenance of Gorákhpur for three months redounds to the credit of Wynyard and the other officials,

* Vol. IV. pages 318 and following.

to the courage, the tact, the judgment of those by whom it was accomplished, and which redounded greatly to their honour.

who are,
nevertheless,
left unre-
warded.

But, notwithstanding Lord Canning's emphatic declaration in this respect, notwithstanding the services subsequently rendered, Mr. Wynyard and his companions were not admitted within the favoured circle of official approbation. The more necessary is it, then, that admiration should be accorded to them by their countrymen.

The next district in the order in which I have placed the districts of the Banáras division is the district of Gházipur. In that district, in 1857, Mr. Trevor Plowden was the judge; Mr. A. Ross the magistrate and collector; Mr. J. R. Best his deputy. The native regiment at the station was the 65th Regiment, but recently returned from Burmah.

Mr. Ross was a strong man. The district, like all the districts in the North-West Provinces, had been much disturbed by the application to it of Mr. Thomason's system, and many of the dispossessed landowners had, prior even to the event of the 10th of May at Miráth, displayed turbulent symptoms. The treasury was full, and its contents were, apparently, at the mercy of the Sipáhis of the 65th. But the 65th, I have said, had but just returned from Burmah, and to that country the emissaries of the Maulaví, and the fiery spirits who had directed the plans for the corruption of the native army, had not penetrated. The quiescent attitude of the men of that regiment gave Mr. Ross, who at once took the lead at Gházipur, the one thing he required, viz., time.

Reasons
for the qui-
escence of the
65th Native
Infantry.

He utilised that time to the best advantage, and, according to the opinion of no mean judge, Mr. Frederick Gubbins, "his prudence and firmness as magistrate had a great effect in preserving the peace of the district." May passed over without serious disturbance. But when the troops at Ázamgarh mutinied, and the fugitives from that station came pouring into Gházipur, but forty-four miles distant, on the 5th and 6th of June, the real difficulties began.

Effect of the
Ázamgarh
mutiny.

The district rose almost as one man. Even in the station itself order was with difficulty maintained, for, to use the language of the official report, "the police were helpless, and robberies were perpetrated to the very door of the

Court House itself." Had the 65th risen at this moment, Gházipur must have been lost. But the men of that regiment had openly declared that so long as the regiments stationed at Dánápúr should remain quiet they would continue to do their duty. Mr. Ross displayed under these circumstances combined judgment and daring. He shipped the contents of the treasury on board a river steamer, and despatched it to Banáras; and, proclaiming martial law, stimulated the military authorities to employ their men to restore order in the district. His measures so far succeeded that by the 16th June a great improvement was manifest. Doubtless the vigorous action of General Neill at Banáras and Allahábád was not without its effect on many of the more timid of the evil-disposed, for the month of June passed by and Gházipur remained quiet. Another cause which contributed to this result in the following month was the arrival, in succession, of river-steamers carrying troops to the north-west. The presence of these troops off the ghat greatly impressed the natives, and their report of what they had seen penetrated into the interior. Occasionally some of these were landed, and, in the beginning of July, a company of the 78th Highlanders was ordered to remain for the protection of the station. These men did good service. On the 7th July Mr. Bax, a district magistrate, accompanied a handful of these and some native horsemen to protect a threatened indigo factory, and to burn a recalcitrant village. This service was well performed, and produced a good effect. On the 14th, however, came a rumour that Kunwar Singh, chief of Jagdíspúr, angered at the action of the Government * which had beggared him, was preparing to take forcible measures for the retention of his hereditary possessions. On the 27th, news arrived of the successful revolt of the three native regiments at Dánápúr on the 25th, and of their march towards Árah. To the residents of Gházipur it was incomprehensible why the Sipáhis of the 65th did not then rise. The term fixed by themselves to the rendering of allegiance to their foreign masters had arrived, and they made no sign. Fortunate that it was so, for had the 65th risen, Eyre could not have attempted to relieve Árah. Doubly fortunate, too, that that daring leader reached Gházipur before the

Quiet is maintained in June;

and in July.

Mr. Bax.

Vincent Eyre.

* Vol III. page 50, and note.

news had arrived there of Dunbar's disaster. How Eyre arrived there on the 29th, and how he at once took prompt measures to attempt, with an inferior force, a task in which Dunbar had failed with a larger, has been told at length in a previous volume.* His triumph did more than effect the relief of the Árah garrison. Amongst the many important measures which it rendered possible was the disarming of the 65th at Gházípur. This was effected the first week of August without bloodshed.

The 65th are
disarmed.

From that time until the incursion of Kunwar Singh into the Ázamgarh district in March 1858, order was maintained, thanks to the incessant exertions of Mr. Ross and of Mr. Bax, in the Gházípur district. "Mr. Ross had the satisfaction,"

Good effect of
Mr. A. Ross's
exertions.

writes Mr. H. G. Keene,† " (in which he stood almost alone amongst his colleagues at that time) of being able to carry on his duties in comparative tranquillity. A part of those duties was, however, of an extraordinary character and exceptional usefulness, namely, the collection of stores, supplies, and carriage for the European troops constantly hurrying westward. These modest labours deserved, perhaps, more recognition than they have hitherto received."

The result of Kunwar Singh's incursion into the Ázamgarh district has been told at length in the fourth volume.‡ There, also, it has been related how the retreat of the Jagdíspúr chieftain led him into and across the Gházípur district. This action completely demoralised the eastern portion of that district. Discontented chiefs, discontented landowners, discontented villagers, turned out to swell the army of the retreating chief. To them he owed in a great measure, that he was able to deceive his pursuers as to the exact point at which he would cross the Ganges. In the operations conducted by Brigadier Douglas in the Gházípur district, Mr. Bax and Mr. Leslie Probyn rendered signal service. Their task of reorganization began after the British troops had followed Kunwar Singh into Sháhábád. That task was difficult, but it was accomplished, and by the end of October order was completely restored.

The district
remains dis-
ordered till
October
1858.

* Vol. III. pages 60-7.

† *Fifty-seven.* By Henry George Keene, C.I.E., M.R.A.S. London : W. H. Allen and Co.

‡ Pages 317 to 334.

The last district to be mentioned is Ázamgarh. This district has an area of 2147 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of nearly a million and a half. It is bounded to the north by the Ghághrá, to the south by the Gházípur district, to the west by Oudh and the Jaunpúr district. Its vicinity to Oudh, and the Thomasonian policy of the Government of the North-West Provinces, had made it one of the most disaffected districts in India.

Ázamgarh was held, in the early part of 1857, by the headquarters of the 17th Native Infantry, commanded by Major Burroughs, and a detail of native artillery. The civil officers were—Mr. Henry Astell, the judge; Mr. Horne, the magistrate and collector. There were likewise the indigo-planters, Messrs. Venables and Dunn, and uncovenanted servants of the Government, such as Messrs. Legge, Dodsworth, Niblett, and others.

Ázamgarh.
Mr. Astell,
Mr. Horne,
Mr. Venables,
Mr. Dunn.

An account of the rising at Ázamgarh on the 3rd of June, caused by an attempt to remove the moneys in the local treasury to Banáras, has been given in the second volume * of this history. But, connected as the events which succeeded the rising were with the actions of two men who were amongst the noblest characters produced by the great mutiny, I mean Messrs. Venables and Dunn, I think it necessary to enter more into detail than was required in a mere military narrative. The true story of the events at Ázamgarh was first told in the *Red Pamphlet*.† Mr. H. G. Keene has also related it in his very interesting book,‡ and it is given in the official records. It is only necessary here to state that, on the outbreak of the mutiny, the civil officers and some of the planters and other Europeans abandoned the station and fled into Gházípur. At the moment they could scarcely do otherwise. Many, however, of the less prominent Europeans and Eurasians were unable to get away. Amongst these was Mr. Niblett, head clerk to the Collector. This gentleman found refuge on the night of the 2nd in the house of a loyal Muhammadan, his colleague in the Collector's office, Alf Bakhsh by name, and was by him sheltered till the 16th. Nor was this, as will be seen, the only way in which this loyal man rendered excellent service to his foreign masters.

Mr. Niblett.
Alf Bakhsh.

Amongst the indigo-planters who had quitted the district to

* Pages 160-2.

† Pages 84-5.

‡ *Fifty-seven.*

proceed to Gházípur for safety were Messrs. Venables and Dunn. They had had no more power than the civilians and the officers of the 17th Native Infantry to resist the first mutinous onslaught of a native regiment in full mutiny. But, on counting noses at Gházípur, it was discovered that some planters and some clerks had been left behind. These men were in danger of their lives, if indeed they had escaped. The first thought which occurred to Messrs. Venables and Dunn was that at all hazards an attempt must be made to search for and rescue these men. They communicated with Mr. A. Ross, the energetic magistrate of Gházípur, who approved the idea, and offered them a few native constables, mounted, to accompany them.

Astell and
Horne
refuse.

The civilians who had quitted Ázamgarh were, however, less willing to share with the two indigo-planters the risk of returning. They declared that without the sanction of the Commissioner of the division they would not budge. A message was instantly despatched to obtain the Commissioner's sanction. Had the Commissioner been Mr. Gubbins or Mr. Lind, there can be no doubt as to the answer which would have been returned. But the Commissioner was Mr. H. T. Tucker, and that gentleman sent back the very extraordinary reply that whilst he did not object to the return to the district of Messrs. Venables and Dunn, the civilians were on no account to risk their lives. The two planters set out, then, the next day, with the few mounted constables Mr.

Mr. H. T.
Tucker
supports
them in their
refusal.

Ross had given them. Venables, being the more prominent man of the two, though, as Mr. Keene justly states, "in no degree the superior in moral qualities," for they both bore the stamp of Nature's nobility, directed his course to his estate near Durí Ghát, strengthened his force by adding to it some of his tenantry, then searched the villages near Ázamgarh for any refugees who might be lurking in them, and succeeded in finding some. He then marched on Ázamgarh, induced, by his daring action, the men of the 13th Irregular Cavalry, who held the place, to abandon it, and then took possession of and held it.

Splendid con-
duct of
Venables and
Dunn.

Courage and
ability of Ali
Bakhsh.

His labours, alike in recovering and holding it, were greatly facilitated by the action of Ali Bakhsh, the loyal clerk in the Collector's office above referred to. This man, who seems to have possessed a

genius superior to his station, had so contrived, during the fourteen days the place had been held by the rebels, as to baffle every attempt made by the revolvers to form a native administration, and that, apparently, without exciting suspicion. He had even done more. He had formed a Committee of Public Safety, and had managed to convey to the Commissioner at Banáras daily reports of his proceedings. The arrival of the two indigo-planters and their following was cordially welcomed by this man, who continued to render the most excellent service.*

Ázamgarh, "abandoned by all its official guardians and administrators"—to use the true and emphatic language of Mr. Keene—"was dependent on the courage and vigilance of a few planters and subordinate employés." Truly may the same writer exclaim, "it was no sinecure." The Rájputs, the men who had lost their estates, the disaffected, the scheming, had risen all over the district. "The police," wrote Mr. Taylor, in his official narrative of the events at Ázamgarh, "helpless with terror, the Provisional Council unable to rule even the neighbouring villages, had not dared to cope with these audacious plunderers, and Mr. Venables soon found that he must try his power against them in the field, or be forced to save his own life by again abandoning the station." The first of these courses was that which was most congenial to Mr. Venables and his companions. Fortunately, from the cause I have stated in a previous page of this chapter, the 65th Native Infantry had remained loyal, and a hundred and fifty Sipáhis of that regiment had been placed at the disposal of Mr. Venables. With these, seventy-five mounted constables, and an old gun, this gentleman took the field against the rebels. At first their numbers prevailed. Five hundred of them attacked and stormed the police-station at Ázamgarh in broad daylight, and released their friends who had been confined there. Still Venables persevered. On the 16th July, having obtained an additional number of Sipáhis, he attacked the Rájputs of the Palwár clan, who were then threatening

Disordered
state of the
district.

First
ill-success.

* Mr. Keene tells us that Alí Bakhsh was rewarded by promotion. I am confident that my readers will echo the sentiment expressed by that able writer and excellent administrator, that "his name deserves to be recorded perpetually as that of a true hero and faithful servant of an alien Government whose salt he had eaten."

Ázamgarh, at Koilsá. But the Sipáhis, half-hearted in the cause, or possibly secretly hostile, failed him at the decisive moment, and he had to fall back, followed by the rebels, on the station. Had the rebels pushed on with anything like vigour, it would have gone hard with Venables. They moved, however, with a caution which testified to the respect with which he had inspired them, and on the 18th they were still two marches distant from the station. On that very day there

Arrival of re-
inforcements.
Davies,
Simson,
Catania.

arrived Messrs. Davies and Simson, of the Civil Service, accompanied by ten officers detailed to join the force despatched by Jang Bahádur from Nipál: by twenty-five sawárs of the 12th Irregular Cavalry, and by a levy of loyal natives commanded by a gentleman called Catania. Venables then sent back the bulk of his unreliable Sipáhis to Gházípur, and, with a portion of the levies that remained, marched out to seek the rebels, leaving Simson and Catania's men in the station for the protection of the public offices. But on this, the third occasion, he was

Venables is
forced to
retreat.

equally unsuccessful. He found the rebels so strongly posted that with his inferior force it would have been madness to attack them. The rebels, noting his hesitation, and divining the cause, became then the assailants. Venables, unwilling to risk the fate of Ázamgarh on the result of a pitched battle, in which he had but a small chance of success, began an orderly retreat, covering a retrograde movement with his few horsemen and his one gun. These rendered yeoman's service. Constant discharges of grape from the gun kept the rebels at bay, whilst the horsemen, splendidly led by Venables and Dunn, made charge after charge on the advancing foe. He was thus enabled to re-enter Ázamgarh without much loss, except, indeed, that of prestige. But prestige is a living and very powerful factor amongst Asiatics. Knowing this, and ignorant at the moment of the full extent of

but his
gallantry

the damage inflicted upon the rebels by the continued discharges of his one gun and his repeated cavalry combats, estimating it and the effect produced far below the actualities, Venables and his English comrades debated that evening as to the propriety of retiring on Gházípur. At this improvised council-of-war the theory that such a council never fights strongly asserted itself. But three voices, it is stated, were raised in favour of maintaining the position, and those were the voices of Venables, of James

Simson, and of Charles Havelock.* But, the next morning, before any action had been taken, it was discovered that the rebel losses had been severe enough to cool their ardour. In that well-conducted retreat two hundred and fifty of them had succumbed to the grape shot or the sword, and the remainder had retreated, disheartened, to their villages.

makes the
retreat equal
to a victory.

This retreat completely disposed of the question debated by the council-of-war. But a few days later another misfortune, not in itself so immediately serious, but rendered more so by the manner in which it was treated by the Commissioner of the division, Mr. H. C. Tucker, came to disturb their minds. On the evening of the 25th of July the 12th Irregular Cavalry, stationed at Sigáulí, mutinied, and murdered their noble commanding officer and his wife. Noon of the same day had witnessed the mutiny, caused by the most culpable mismanagement, of the three Sipáhi regiments stationed at Dánápúr.† The news of the first-mentioned of these events reached Ázamgarh on the 28th; of the second on the 29th of July. With the second item of news came a letter from Mr. Tucker, authorising the evacuation of Ázamgarh. Under the circumstances, such a letter was tantamount to an order, and it was treated as such. The men who had so bravely fought for the retention of British authority in the district quitted the place on the 30th, accompanied, on this occasion, by the clerks and other Europeans and Eurasians, and by the loyal natives, and after some difficulty reached Gházípur. Behind them they left chaos. All the police-stations but two, and all the sub-stations but two, were deserted in consequence of their departure. The two sub-stations were those of Nagra ‡ and Muhammadábád, and these were loyally held by the native officials, Asghar Ali and Muhammad Takí, both Muhammadans.

Mr. H. C.
Tucker
orders the
evacuation of
Ázamgarh.

Fidelity of
native
officials.

I have now brought down the story of Ázamgarh to the point where it re-enters into the military history of the suppression of the Mutiny. How the Nipálese reached Gorákhpur at the end of July, and disarmed the Sipáhis there on the 1st of August; how they re-occupied Ázamgarh on the 13th of that month, has been

Subsequent
story of
Ázamgarh.

* Afterwards killed in action at Tígra. Vol. IV. pages 329-30.

† Vide vol. III. pages 42-7.

‡ Nagra is forty-five miles east of Ázamgarh on the road to Chaprá; Muhammadábád is some twenty miles from Nagra.

told in the fourth volume. In the interval between this period and the incursion of Kunwar Singh, Mr. Pollock, Hercules Ross, Archibald Pollock assumed charge of the district, and, aided by Mr. Hercules Ross, likewise of the Civil Service, an officer of signal merit, succeeded, by heroic exertion, in maintaining order. Amongst other achievements, he completely broke, by his energetic measures, the mutinous spirit of the Palwár clan. Then came the occupation of Kunwar Singh, and the splendid achievement of Lord Mark Kerr, also related in the fourth volume. In that volume, too, I have recorded the untimely death of the heroic Venables, and have given in full the tribute rendered to his memory by Lord Canning. Mr. Dunn survived the Mutiny, and, I am informed, still lives. In gallantry, in resolution, in devotion to the best interests of his country, Mr. Dunn fell in no way short of Mr. Venables. If his name did not come before the public so prominently, it was because, in circumstances of great danger, the man whose character is the strongest will always take the lead. Venables was a born leader of men. Dunn, in no way his inferior in other respects, was an unrivalled right-hand man. He was to Venables what Berthier was to Napoleon. The services he rendered were great. His reward lay in the approval of his own conscience, and in the gratitude and esteem of those whom he served. He was the companion of Venables in all his exploits. It is only proper, therefore, that in the tribute paid by history to the splendid achievements of the one, the name of the other should be equally associated.

After the relief of Azamgarh by Lord Mark Kerr, that place remained in the permanent occupation of the British. Then followed the expulsion of Kunwar Singh, and his retreat across the Ganges. That having been accomplished, order was speedily restored, not again to be disturbed.

Pollock,
Hercules
Ross.

Equal praise
due to
Venables and
Dunn.

The district
quieted.

CHAPTER III.

THE ALLAHÁBÁD DIVISION.

THE Allahábád division, immediately adjoining to the north-west the division of Banáras, comprised, in 1857, the districts of Allahábád, Fathpúr, Kánhpúr, Bandah, and Hamírpúr. Of these I propose now to treat in the order in which I have named them.

Allahábád is a very famous place at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jamnah, 498 miles by land from Calcutta, 70 from Banáras, 130 from Kánhpúr, 298 ^{Allahábád.} from Ágra, and 121, by the straight road, from Lakhnáo. The place was called by pious Hindus "Prayága," meaning "Confluence," not only by reason of the two rivers already mentioned, but because, according to tradition, the Saraswatí, a river which disappears in the sands of Sirhind, joins the other two below the ground. The ancient Hindu town was rebuilt by Akbar under the name "Iláhbás," subsequently changed to Allahábád. The same illustrious ruler also built the fort, which occupies a strong position on the Jamnah, in 1572. Allahábád thus constituted the river gate to the North-West Provinces to the north-west of Banáras. Immediately to its north lay Oudh, the focus of the rebellion; to the north-east the districts Ázamgarh and Gorákhpur, mutinous to the core; to the west and south the important province of Bundelkhand. It was thus, when the great mutiny broke out at Míráth, surrounded by revolt. At the same time it was the key to the position. Had the revolters obtained possession of it, as at one time was quite possible, the communication between Calcutta and the North-West would have been entirely severed. The fort, well defended, would have required a long and costly siege, and the movements recorded in the preceding volumes would, have been impossible. The possession of the fort of Allahábád by the rebels would, in fact, have changed the history of the Mutiny.

The rising of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry, and the securing of the fort at Allahábád have been related in the second volume,* but the heavy duties which devolved upon the members of the Civil Service have been but incidentally referred to. Yet those duties were of a nature to tax all the energies even of men accustomed, as are the members of the Indian Civil Service, to give themselves, heart and soul, to their country.

In 1857 the commissioner of the Allahábád division was Mr. C. Chester; the magistrate was Mr. M. H. Court, a glorious specimen of an Englishman, a good sportsman, a generous friend, and one whose hospitality was famous even in India. The news of the mutiny at Mirath reached Allahábád on the 12th of May; on the evening of the 5th of June the 6th Regiment Native Infantry mutinied. That mutiny was the signal for a general revolt. That same night the rabble of the city, the whole of the native police, joined in the outbreak; the gaol released its prisoners, two thousand in number, and the inhabitants of several adjoining villages, men renowned for lawlessness and plunder, sprang forth, and the work of incendiarism, riot, and plunder commenced.† The Europeans and Eurasians, men, women, and children, all who could escape the fury of the revolters, had, meanwhile, taken refuge in the fort, where they remained beleaguered till the 11th of June.

How, on the afternoon of the 11th of June, the gallant Neill relieved the anxieties of the garrison, has formed a portion of the military history of the mutiny. It will suffice here to state that from the date of his arrival Allahábád formed the base of military operations undertaken against Kánhpúr, the most eastern part of Oudh, and the Ázamgarh districts. My subject now relates solely to the civil officers and their duties.

No sooner had Neill restored the British power in the fortress and the city, than the European residents returned to the smoking ruin of their houses. In the city it was comparatively easy to restore matters to the condition antecedent to the Mutiny. From the date of the 11th of June, Allahábád itself was never in danger.

The arrival of Neill gives the first check to the rebels.

Position of Allahábád after Neill's arrival.

* Pages 180-201.

† "A District during the Rebellion"—*Calcutta Review*. This article forms one of many subsequently published in a separate volume by its accomplished author, Mr. R. N. Cust, C.S.

European troops were constantly arriving and passing through, and the inhabitants of the city were thoroughly aware that any other course but submission to the law would bring upon them sure and swift destruction. But in the districts the case was quite different.

The effect of the junction of the streams of the Ganges and Jamnah just below Allahábád has been to form three great natural divisions of land. These divisions contain more than one thousand villages and towns, and a population of nearly a million. Now in the centre division, that between the left bank of the Jamnah and the right bank of the Ganges, no vestige of police remained. The villagers had everywhere commenced the career of plunder, and led on probably by some notorious criminal escaped from gaol, had "commenced reprisals on their neighbours, paid out old scores, removed old boundary-marks, and ejected purchasers of land."* In this division disorder was rampant; Europeans were hunted down, the telegraph posts were torn up, the iron sockets converted into rude cannon, and the wire into slugs.

The three natural divisions of Allahábád.

The centre division utterly lawless.

In the division on the right bank of the Jamnah a far different order prevailed. There one or two large proprietors exercised great influence, and they were wise enough to see that their interests were bound up in the maintenance of the dominant power which had ever afforded them protection. They therefore at once offered to undertake the protection of their own villages if the Government would give them a subsidy. The Government complied, and the result was that in this division order was maintained. In due course, when the back of the Mutiny had been broken, the magistrate was able to re-introduce his own police. But not the less was he thankful to those who, when he was powerless, had taken the initiative to maintain order.†

In the division on the right bank of the Jamnah order is maintained by the land-owners.

From the third division, again, on the left bank of the Ganges, British authority had disappeared. The vicinity to Oudh, now in full revolt, had

From the third division British authority had disappeared.

* Cust, who enters into much fuller details than I have space for.

† Mr. Cust well says:—"This opens out another and a serious question whether our established policy of cutting off the heads of all the tallest poppies, and leaving nothing betwixt the Imperial Government and the cultivating owners of the soil, is a wise one."

proved fatal to that authority. The neighbouring districts of Jaunpúr, of Ázamgarh, and of Gorákhpur, had fallen into the hands of rebels, to be recovered only by the sword.

To maintain order in the first and third of these divisions, very considerable powers of life and death were given by the Government to the commissioner, the judge, the magistrate, the deputy magistrate, and the assistant magistrate; and so great was the panic at Calcutta, that, as if this had not been sufficient, similar powers were conferred upon two private individuals and the civil surgeon. No doubt some examples were required. Most

Means taken
to maintain
order.

certainly they were given. "Zealously," writes Mr. Cust, "did the three volunteers use their new powers, and in the short time which elapsed before their recall, one of the private individuals had sentenced sixty, the second sixty-four, and the civil surgeon fifty-four, to the gallows. No record remains of the crime or the evidence, but we gather that one man was hung for having a bag of new copper coin in his possession, presumed to have been plundered from the treasury, or, most probably, abandoned by the mutinous Sipáhis, who were surfeited with silver. More than a month after our power had been restored in the city, we find fifteen sentenced one day and twenty-eight the next, for rebellion and robbing the treasury; but it does not appear that they were Sipáhis. Thirteen were hung another day for a similar offence. Six were hung for plying a ferry for the convenience of the rebels." It is a relief, after the

The lawless-
ness of ama-
teur autho-
rity.

perusal of this disgraceful record, to find Mr. Cust declaring that "the investigations of the officers of Government, men trained to the consideration of evidence, and conscious of the necessity of supporting the character, as well as vindicating the authority of the Government, were more deliberate." They had, indeed, need to be so; but the question occurs, how was it that the same Government which refused to disarm the Sipáhis at Dánápúr, and thus imperilled the safety of Calcutta, delayed the advance of Havelock, and caused an enormous amount of slaughter, should have complacently invested the three untrained gentlemen referred to with the terrible powers of life and death?

The measured
justice of
trained
officials.

Responsi-
bility resting
on the
Government.

To return. In addition to power over life, the magistrate was entrusted with authority to confiscate property, real and

personal. In the hands of Mr. Court this authority was used with judgment and discretion. Judgment was tempered by mercy. But, nevertheless, the amount of property which changed hands was considerable. Some men had died, their relatives were not forthcoming; some had absconded; some had openly joined the rebels. But there is reason to believe that in every instance justice was meted out with a hand more inclined to leniency than to its opposite.

The measures enforced regarding property.

It devolved upon Mr. Court likewise, in his capacity of collector of revenue, to furnish money and collect it. I cannot do better than transcribe the graphic account given by Mr. Cust of the manner in which these duties were performed.

“All this time the executive officer of the district was not idle in his duties of collector. Money poured in by every steamer from Calcutta and poured out like water, leaving the tale of unadjusted items to be told in tens of thousands of pounds. There was constant payment of sums for saving European life or distinguished bravery, for it was then no light service for a native to stand by an Englishman, as he was liable to attack by the rebels; for so doing. The terrorism of the rebels is scarcely appreciated by us to its full extent. There were compensations for losses or for wounds, or advances made to starving Christians or faithful natives, driven with only the clothes on their backs from out-stations. There were rewards to be paid for the arrest of notorious rebels and criminals escaped from gaol; spies and messengers to be paid handsomely for their services generally, by dipping their hands into a bag of silver, and securing as much as they could grasp; advances to be made to officers engaged in raising regiments of low-caste men; and rewards for the restoration of Government horses, cattle, and stores. State-prisoners had to be maintained. Supplies of cash had to be furnished to every advancing column, or placed at the disposal of the commissariat and the ordnance department. No wonder that in these hasty remittances the tale of rupees ran short, that boxes of treasures were found violated, and, in one instance, a box of five hundred pounds was found missing. In the general moral debasement, we cannot be surprised that the European sentry was not always trustworthy. In the treasure chamber also was stowed away the plunder

The monetary arrangements of the division.

belonging to the army, the spoil of captured cities, valued at hundreds of thousands of pounds, and fastened down in beer-barrels until the end of the war. Among these spoils were the crown jewels of sovereigns, the gold plate of princes, ear-rings, and nose-rings, and jewels of women, ornamented daggers and diamond necklaces, all the pomp and wealth of oriental monarchs, wrung from a plundered and oppressed people, and now captured by the English army.

“At the same time the collector had to look after the revenue of those parts of the district in which his orders were respected. He had to suspend collections from such villages as had been plundered, burned, or deserted. He had to determine where he should remit and where enforce the demand; as it is a grave moral question how far a Government is justified in demanding the payment of taxes, when it has notoriously failed in its duty of protection, owing to no fault of the people. No sooner was the danger past than red tape raised its head again, and a gentleman, sitting in comfort and ease at Calcutta, reminded the excited collector of unattended-to forms and discontinued returns. With hundreds of boxes of stationery and stamps in his charge, directed to districts in the hands of the rebels, the collector, without a pen or sheet of paper belonging to him, dared not use the consignment of his neighbour without special authority. As he returned to his half-ruined home from his morning-duty of hanging rebels, flogging rioters, and blowing up temples, he found letters from the Head of the Finance Department, reminding him that he was personally responsible for every rupee missing in a treasury guarded by European soldiers in a fort three miles off. On his table he found notes from an officer with the force of Jang Bahádur, requesting a daily supply of a hundred he-goats for the hungry Gurkhá; from the post-master, requesting him to hunt for a missing mail-cart; from the commanding officer, requesting him to close the grog-shops; from a cavalry-commandant to know whose grass was to be cut, and where a farrier was to be found; from the pension-master requesting him to attend a committee on the confiscation of pensions. Telegraphic messages up and down were tumbling in all day long, sometimes announcing a victory, sometimes heralding a traveller, for, in addition to his other duties, he had to keep a ‘Red Lion’ tavern for strangers,

Duties devolving on the collector.

The red-tape of Calcutta.

Difficulties of the collector.

examine the passport of every native traveller, and ascertain the contents of every native letter.

“ Thus passed six months away, and if some grey hairs had shown themselves in his beard (for since his razors were plundered, he had remained perforce unshorn), if his heart sometimes palpitated from over-excitement, and his liver sometimes troubled him, no wonder. If his temper was somewhat soured, if he hated the natives with a deep hate, if he talked too lightly of cutting the thread of human life, and scoring the backs of poor devils, no wonder. He had had much to bear, and the rebellion had fallen heavily on his estate, his family, and his health. He was mentioned in no despatches; the thanks of Government reached him not; and, when he saw that the tide had turned, and that the country was saved, he hurried to England, on the chance of quiet restoring tone to his body, and change of scene bringing back equanimity to his mind.”

The collector's reward.

The concluding portion of the description appears to me to be somewhat overdrawn. No; though he had lost many friends, probably some relations, though he had worked hardly under difficulties, and had earned the thanks and the honours which he did not receive, the magistrate and collector harboured no hatred against the natives. I shall never forget the last exhortation of one of those noble servants of the East India Company, a man who had served many years at that very Allahábád, Mr. Arthur Lang, on my return to India in 1858; they were words of exhortation to be kind, to be mindful of the many excellent qualities of the natives of India; to balance their virtues against their faults. Mr. Arthur Lang was a type of the class to which he belonged. Mr. M. H. Court, who lives yet, honoured and respected, is another test-representative of that noble service whose members gave the best part of their lives to the service of the Company.

The picture somewhat overdrawn.

The station of Fathpúr,* which gives its name to the district, lies seventy miles to the north-west of Allahábád, and fifty south-east of Kánhpúr, on the high road between the two. In 1857, Mr. Robert T. Tucker was the judge,

Fathpúr.

* The name is derived from two distinct words: “Fath,” victory, and “pur,” city. The early English settlers, ignorant of the language, smothered the original appropriate meaning by writing the name, “Futtypore,” or by spellings equally incorrect and equally barbarous.

Mr. Sherer the magistrate, Sir T. J. Metcalfe the deputy collector. The native troops consisted of a detachment of fifty men from the 6th Régiment Native Infantry, stationed at Allahábád. Besides the officials above referred to, Fathpúr could boast of an opium agent, a salt agent, a doctor, three or four gentlemen connected with the railway then in course of construction. The deputy magistrate was a Muhammadan named Hikmat Ullah.

In the second volume of this work,* Sir John Kaye has told how in the early days of June calamity fell upon the European residents of Fathpúr, and how, while the others fled to Bandah, the judge, Robert Tucker, remained to be killed by the rebels. I have nothing to add to that thrilling story, a version of which, in all essentials similar, I had given, many years previously, in the *Red Pamphlet*. Fathpúr was subsequently the battle-ground whereon Havelock, three days after the death of Mr. Tucker, defeated the troops of Náná Sáhib. How it became, after the relief of the garrison of Lakhnáo by Sir Colin Campbell, the centre-point of operations, designed to clear the district, by Brigadier Carthew and Colonel Barker, has been told in the fourth volume. I have only to add that it was not until order had been completely restored, that the civil authorities resumed their functions.

The story of Kánhpúr, the third district in the order I have given of the Allahábád division, has been told at Kánhpúr. length in the second, third, fourth, and fifth volumes of this history. There remains, however, something to be added with respect to the transactions at that station alike prior and subsequently to the period when Sir Colin Campbell's army quitted it to reconquer Rohilkhand and Oudh.

Mr. Sherer, the magistrate of Fathpúr, had quitted that station with the other European residents on the 9th of June, and after travelling with them to Bandah, had turned back and joined Havelock's force on its march to Kánhpúr. At that place he had attempted to exercise some kind of magisterial authority; but the angry passions and excited feelings of the ruffians who still thronged the district had compelled him to hold his hand, and a military police, directed by a very able and energetic officer, Captain Bruce, of the Bombay Army, was organized for the

Captain
Bruce.

* Pages 274-6.

maintenance of social order. Sherer, an accomplished and energetic official, rendered Bruce all the service in his power. In co-operation with that officer, he took charge of the transit and commissariat duties, and, with the help of a loyal and intelligent Brahman, Bholánáth by name, who had been employed in the revenue department at Fathpúr, rendered efficient service. The time at last arrived when the landowners of the district, awed by the defeat of the Náná, and beginning to realise that the English might possibly prevail, began to negotiate regarding the payment of land revenue. But, recognising a little later—with all the astuteness of men who were prepared to recognise the strongest as their master, whether he were English or a countryman of their own—that Havelock had no immediate intention of employing his troops to repress the district, they drew back, and waited for events. The fall of Dehlí, supplying the district, as it did, with an infuriated and demoralised soldiery, did not move them to a decision. And when, shortly afterwards, the Gwáliár contingent advanced, and forced Windham to seek refuge in his intrenchment, they were more than ever disinclined to come to terms with their former masters. The defeat of the contingent by Sir Colin, and the safe despatch to Allahábád of the ladies and children rescued from Lakhnáo, followed as it was by prompt and efficient measures for general restoration of order, produced, however, a quieting effect, and when, in the spring of 1858, Sir Colin stormed Lakhnáo, and shortly afterwards Sir Hugh Rose defeated the rebels at Kalpí, the people of the district recognised that the rebel game was up, and, of their own accord, began to pay the revenue to the collector's officers. There was no need for special measures of coercion. The landowners had been waiting to ascertain beyond a doubt, the issue of the struggle, and when it was absolutely made clear to them, they paid like men. In Kánhpúr itself, though the place had been the scene of atrocities, the very mention of which is sufficient to curdle the blood, and the members of the lower class had made themselves specially notorious by their evil deeds, no severe measures of reprisal were adopted. A fine was imposed on the city, of a nature to impress the people with the enormity of their offence, and yet not too exorbitant to cripple their resources. It was paid with promptitude, and with only one protest. Special commissions,

Good services rendered by both.

The landowners of the district.

Gradual restoration of order.

four or five in number, were instituted, to try individuals accused of crime. The proceedings of these commissions were conducted with all the deliberation and all the forms of regular courts. Every latitude of defence was allowed to the accused, and the sentences, in some cases of death, in others of acquittal, based on the evidence taken, were duly reported to the Government. Never, in the world's history, was there displayed by conquerors dealing with a rebellious people, some of whom had distinguished themselves by their fiendish propensities, a spirit so purely judicial. Inquiries were likewise made into the conduct of the leaders of the revolt, especially of Náná Sáhib and his brother, Bálá Sáhib, of Tántiá, Topí, of Ázimullah, of Bábá Bhatt, and others, with the result that the planning of, and the participation in, the horrible deeds of the 27th of June was brought home to these men. These inquiries were conducted on behalf of the Government by Colonel Williams, who, as we shall see further on, had distinguished himself with the Mirath volunteers, and whose report may be accepted as a true record of the facts. In other matters above alluded to, viz., the restoration of order in the city and cantonment, the names of Mr. Sherer, of Mr. Batten, Mr. Power, Mr. Lance, all of the Civil Service, and of Captain Bruce, of the Bombay Army, deserve recognition and gratitude. The splendid services they rendered were not less splendid because under circumstances of great difficulty, and in a time when the cry for vengeance was loud, they had the courage to temper judgment with mercy.

Judgment
and high
policy of the
conquerors.

Williams,
Sherer,
Batten, Power,
Lance, Bruce.

The district of Bandah is the next to claim notice. The district covers an area of three thousand and sixty-one square miles. It possessed, in 1857, a population of about six hundred thousand souls. To the north and north-east it is bounded by the Jamnah; to the west by the Ken, by the state of Gaurihar, and by the district of Hamirpúr; to the south and south-east by the states of Pannah, Charkhári, and Rewah; to the east by the district of Allahábád. It is a purely agricultural district, its black soil producing in great abundance and perfection wheat, barley, maize, millet of various sorts, and pulse. Its totton is considered the best in India, and it produces likewise indigo. The chief station, also called Bandah, is distant from Allahábád ninety-five miles; from Ágra, a hundred and ninety miles; from Calcutta, five hundred and sixty miles. The famous Vindhya range traverses the district. Its chief

Bandah.

towns are Bandah, Kírwi, and Rájahpúr; its chief fortress, the famous Kálinjar, besieged by Mahmúd of Ghazní in 1023, and taken by the English in 1812.

There resided at Bandah, in 1857, a mediatised prince, called the Nawáb, the representative of a Maráthá family, which, in the troublous times which characterised the fall of the Mughul empire, had taken possession of the district, and had embraced the religion of Muhammad. The magistrate and chief civil officer was Mr. F. O. Mayne, a man of great energy and quick decision, possessing the rare faculty of impressing his will upon those with whom he was brought in contact. He had before him a very difficult task; for whilst the chiefs and large landowners had been rendered discontented by the pressure of the Thomasonian system, the people had—to use the language of their magistrate—“been ruined by over-assessment,” and were “half-starving.” The resident Nawáb, though professing loyalty, was weak in character, whilst, to maintain British authority, Mr. Mayne had the very doubtful support of three companies of the 1st Regiment Native Infantry, the headquarters of which were at Kánhpúr. These Sipáhís were commanded by Lieutenant Bennett.

The Nawáb.

Mr. F. O. Mayne.

Resources available to him.

The general feeling that some great commotion was about to take place had been not less prevalent at Bandah than at other places, and Mr. Mayne, careful and energetic, had taken such precautions as were in his power to provide against any emergency. It was not, however, till the mutiny of the 10th of May at Míraih, and the immediate seizure of Dehlí, gave the signal throughout India, that he recognised the precise quarter whence danger would come. Then, so far as his means allowed, he took a strong line to preserve order in his district. He strengthened his native police force at the outlying stations; posted trustworthy men at the ferries across the Jamnah to keep out dangerous mischief-makers; caused the roads to be patrolled by horsemen, and stationed strong posts guarding the approaches to the town of Bandah. The officers of the native force seconded him to the best of their power, and he induced the Rájah of Ajaigarh,* in the neighbouring district of Bundelkhand, to lend

Precautionary measures adopted by Mr. Mayne.

* Ajaigarh is a native state in Bunkelkhand, with an area of eight hundred and two square miles, bounded to the north by the Charkhári State and the

him aid. By these and similar means he succeeded for a time in staving off the evil he saw looming in a very near future. At last he could stave it off no longer. Despite his precautionary measures, adventurers, gaol-birds, men bent on stirring up disorder, crowded into the district. Still Mayne did all that was possible to do. Though the Sipáhis were not trusted, they displayed at first no disloyal designs, and Mayne, forced to act, adopted the bold and hazardous course of sending, under the charge of a detachment of them, much of the specie in the treasury to safer stations in the neighbourhood, whilst he confided the balance to their comrades who remained behind. Aware that the first scramble would be for the money, he thus enlisted on his side for the moment the Sipáhis against the scum of the population. It was a bold game, but Mayne played it boldly.

In a previous page of this chapter, when describing the events at Fathpúr, I have told how, on the early days of June, the residents at that station, led by Mr. Sherer, had, with the exception of Mr. Tucker, fled towards Bandah. On the morning of the 8th of June, Mayne was sitting in his kachahri, when information was brought him that a body of horse was approaching the bridge of boats which spanned the Jamnah at Chillahtará, twenty-two miles distant. The news reached the native population at the same time, and the leaders of these, evidently impressed with the idea that the new arrivals must be their friends, rose in insurrection, and began to plunder. Mayne, however, never for a moment losing his head, employed the still faithful police to suppress the disorder, whilst he had the ladies removed into the Nawáb's palace. It soon transpired that the body of horse consisted of the fugitives from Fathpúr. They arrived the same evening; but, unfortunately, the native officer who had been stationed at the bridge accompanied them. His abandonment of his post left the way of ingress still more open to the disaffected of surrounding districts.

Still, Mayne and his coadjutors did all that could be done.

The Nawáb continued to profess loyalty, and accepted, apparently with enthusiasm, the charge of

district of Bandah; to the south and east by the state of Pannah; to the west by the state of Chhatarpúr. The famous fortress, which gives its name to the state, is picturesquely situated on a lofty hill. At the foot of this hill is the town of Naushahr, in which the Rájah resides.

the English ladies. Some of the English residents guarded the palace in which they were. Others patrolled the town. Their numbers, however, were comparatively few, and it became every day more and more evident that the situation could not last. At length it became intolerable. On the 14th, it was known that the regiments at Kánhpúr had mutinied. The three companies of the 1st at once displayed symptoms of revolt, and their officer, Bennett, in consultation with Mayne and the Nawáb—who, though he seemed for a time to waver, gave his adherence to the course proposed—resolved with the aid of the Nawáb's troops, to disarm them. The attempt was made, and failed. There was an evident understanding between the Nawáb's troops and the Sipáhis, and the latter chased Bennett's two subalterns, Fraser and Clark, with jeers from the parade-ground. It became evident at the moment, that the Bandah crisis had arrived. But one course then was possible—to retire with the women and children to a place of less danger. The point selected was Mirzápúr. The English quit Bandah. Towards that place, then, that same evening, the party set out, Mr. H. B. Webster of the Civil Service, a very excellent officer, who subsequently rose to high positions, leading with a few volunteers to clear the way. They reached their destination without being molested *en route*. Scarcely, however, had they quitted Bandah, than the rebels set fire to the houses which had been occupied by the Europeans, and the disorder was complete.

Of the large party which thus escaped it will suffice to refer the reader to that part of the last chapter which deals with Mirzápúr. In that district Mr. Mayne displayed the same zeal, the same energy, the same power of influencing others, which had distinguished him at Bandah. Mr. Sherer's movements have been dealt with under the head of "Kánhpúr," in the present chapter.

To return to Bandah. Of the district it will suffice to state that nowhere were the signs of British supremacy so speedily obliterated. The decree-holders and auction-purchasers of estates who, under the system inaugurated by the Government of the North-West Provinces, had ousted the old families, were deprived of the holdings they had thus obtained, and these were restored to those, who, in the juster appreciation of the population, were the rightful owners. "Never," writes Mr. Mayne in his narrative, "was revolution.

more rapid, never more complete." Those who had no title to property took advantage of the suspension of law to enrich themselves at the expense of those who possessed it. As for the Sipáhis, they marched on the 19th to Kánhpúr with the treasure and ammunition.

Something must be said regarding the Nawáb. He was rather a weak, than a wicked or ill-disposed man; and, though he had no great love for the English, he preferred them to anarchy and to the Sipáhis.

After the event of the 14th, he had many misunderstandings with these latter. But they left on the 19th. The Nawáb found himself then face to face with anarchy. He did his best to form a government which should preserve order,

and attempted to open negotiations with Mayne for that purpose. He did all he could likewise to save the lives of the English fugitives from Náogáon,*

and in a great measure succeeded. Mayne rejected his offers by not answering his letters. The Nawáb managed, notwithstanding, to maintain a kind of doubtful authority until the approach of Whitelock's force in April, 1858. How he then suddenly collapsed has been told in the fifth volume of this history. The collapse of the Nawáb was followed by the return

of Mayne, with a sufficient force at his disposal to ensure the re-establishment of order. Mayne found that the revolution had indeed been thorough. To use his own language, "there was not a village marked on the map that had not, more or less, committed itself."

But Mayne was a merciful man. He desired no cruel reprisals. He therefore, following the lines indicated by the Government of which he was the representative concerning the general uprising, selected only the most guilty men, the ringleaders, in

fact, in each *parganah*, for the extreme penalty exacted by the law, punishing the less guilty by fine. This policy, carried out with the humanity compatible with the necessity of restoring order imposed upon

* *Vide* Vol. III. pages 129-31. I take this opportunity of correcting an error which has crept into the reference there made to Bandah. I have stated that the detachment at that place belonged to the 56th Regiment Native Infantry whereas it came, as stated in this chapter, from the 1st. Both regiments were at Kánhpúr, and provided by turns detachments for duty at Bandah. The detachment of the 56th Native Infantry had been relieved by a detachment from the 1st Native Infantry immediately prior to the outbreak of the mutiny.

him, and supported by a strong column of demonstration, speedily pacified the district. In June Kírwi was occupied without resistance. About the same time SÁ CHHÁR rose delivered the final blow to disorganisation by his victory at Kalpí. It had been necessary to burn a few villages, the inhabitants of which had distinguished themselves by their violence, and to hang one or two head men. But flogging had done the rest, and in a comparatively short time, under the able direction of this excellent officer, the district, which had been "revolutionised" by the mutiny, was brought back to order and prosperity. Mr. Mayne's services were much appreciated by his contemporaries. When he died a few years since, these erected to his memory at Allahábád, his last station, a handsome monument testifying to their respect and admiration.

produces its effect.

The memory of Mr. Mayne.

Hamír pŭr, the fifth district in the Allahábád division, has an area of 2289 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population somewhat less than half a million. The district is bounded to the north by the Jamnah; to the north-west, by the Báuní State and the Betwah; to the west by the Dhasán river; to the south by the States Alípŭrá, Chhatr pŭr, and Charkhárí; to the east by the Bandah district. It is traversed by the Vindhyan range. The chief towns are Ráth, Mahobá, Máudhá, and Hamír pŭr. The last name, the capital and chief station, is situated at the confluence of the Betwah and the Jamnah, on the right bank of the latter. It lies on the route from Bandah to Kánhpŭr; distant from the former, thirty-six miles; from the latter, thirty-nine; from Kalpí, twenty-eight; from Ágra, a hundred and fifty-five; from Allahábád, a hundred and ten. The chief civil officer, the magistrate, was Mr. Thomas K. Lloyd, the joint magistrate, Mr. Donald Grant. The troops were a detachment of the 53rd Regiment Native Infantry, the head-quarters of which were at Kánhpŭr.

If we consider the geographical position of Hamír pŭr, nearly midway between revolted Kánhpŭr and revolted Bandah, we shall be prepared to find that it did not resist the impulse which had affected those places. And so it was. The story is a short one. After the usual alarms occurring almost daily subsequently to the 10th of May, the detachment of the 53rd Native Infantry broke into revolt the 14th of June, the day on which information was received

Mutiny and slaughter of Europeans at Hamír pŭr.

that the troops at Kánhpúr had mutinied. The Sipáhis of the detachment were particularly bloody-minded. They shot down their officers, and then went to attack the representatives of the civil power. Against such an attack Messrs. Lloyd and Grant were practically defenceless. They managed, however, to quit the station, and to take refuge in the ravines of the Jamnah. It seemed just possible that the Sipáhis engaged in plunder, might leave them there in peace. But, in that detachment were men who had vowed to shed the white man's blood wherever, and whenever, it might be possible. The Sipáhis pursued the civilians into the ravines, gave them no respite, and finally shot them down. Their comrades, meanwhile, had made short work of the Europeans and Eurasians who had remained. The Sipáhis then went to swell the force besieging General Wheeler at Kánhpúr. The district remained in a state of anarchy until Sir Hugh Rose's victory at Kalpi. Anarchy prevailed till Rose's victory at Kalpi. This enabled the civil authorities to pursue a course similar to that followed by Mr. Mayne in the adjoining district of Bandah.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ÁGRA AND ROHILKHAND DIVISIONS.

THE Ágra division adjoining that of Allahábád, comprised, in 1857, the districts of Ágra, the seat of the administration of the North-Western Provinces, Mathurá, Farrukhábád, Mainpúri, and Itáwah.

I propose to leave the district of Ágra, though the first in the order above given, until I shall have told the stories of the other stations. The third, fourth, and fifth volumes have recorded so much affecting the fortunes of the station of Ágra, that the subject could not be formally re-entered upon without going over ground that has been traversed. What remains to be told will be related incidentally in the record I propose to give of the other stations of the division. Should any material fact be omitted, it will be supplied later.

I shall begin then with Mathurá. The district of Mathurá covers an area of 1453 square miles. Its population (671,690 in 1881), exceeded half a million in 1857. Its chief towns are Mathurá and Brindaban, Shergarh, and Mahaban, the latter famous as the birthplace of Krishná. The exploits of that mythological hero have made the district, and especially the towns of Mathurá, Govardhan and Gokul, very dear to the Hindus. In 1857, the magistrate and collector was Mr. Mark Thornhill.

Of all the books written regarding the mutiny not one is more interesting than that in which Mr. Thornhill records his personal adventures and experiences as a magistrate in 1857-8.* Mr. Thornhill was specially qualified, by his character, his courage, and his lofty sense of duty, to

* "The Personal Adventures and Experiences of a Magistrate during the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Indian Mutiny," by Mark Thornhill, Bengal Civil Service, retired. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1884.

take a leading part in the events of that memorable period. I regret that space will not permit me to do more than give an epitome of that part of his narrative which affects Mathurá, but I trust that a perusal of that epitome will induce the reader to turn to the book itself.

Mathurá lies thirty-four miles from Ágra, on the high road between that city and Dehli. It would seem that at Mathurá, as at most other stations in the North-West, the year 1857 dawned precisely as preceding years had dawned. There was nothing in the atmosphere to warn that influences hostile to the sway of the British were being nurtured. Mr. Thornhill was at the time engaged in visiting the district. Such visits are made annually by the officers of the Civil Service for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the wants of the people, and remedying, so far as they can, any inequalities in the treatment of individuals and classes. The tour of 1856-7 had brought no new light to Mr. Thornhill. He returned to Mathurá towards the end of January without having noticed any symptom presaging discontent. In fact, and it is a very curious circumstance worthy to be noted, at that period no such feeling existed. It is evident that up to the end of January 1857, no attempt had been made by the instigators of the revolt to disturb the minds of the inhabitants of the Mathurá district. But towards the end of January such an attempt was made.

Mr. Thornhill records that at the end of January 1857, just after his return from his tour, he entered his office one day, and found there, on the table, four dirty little cakes of the coarsest flour, about the size and thickness of a biscuit. "A man," he continues, "had come to a village and given a cake to the watchman, with injunctions to bake four like it, to distribute them to the watchmen of adjacent villages, and to desire them to do the same. The watchman obeyed, but at the same time informed the police." The bringing in to the magistrate of the four cakes followed. The next day similar reports came from other parts of the district. Then followed a statement in the newspaper that a similar course was being pursued all over Upper India. These cakes were the famous Chapátis. That they were signals to those in the secret to hold themselves ready for some great explosion can scarcely be doubted. Mr. Thornhill pertinently remarks: "after being a nine days' wonder the matter ceased to be talked about, and

was presently for the time forgotten, except by those few who remembered that a similar distribution of cakes had been made in Madras towards the end of the last century, and had been followed by the mutiny of Vellur.*

Mr. Thornhill proceeded a little later to Ágra for change of air. He was there when a telegram from Mirath, received the 12th of May, announced the rising of the 10th at that station. The telegram was addressed to a lady at Ágra from her niece at Mirath. After its despatch the telegraph wire ceased working. The contents of the telegram were naturally discussed. Some doubted, some thought it exaggerated. But that evening Mr. Thornhill read in the manner of his brother, who was Secretary to Government and who had been absent all day at Government House, that a great crisis was at hand. He threw up therefore his remaining leave, and started that night for Mathurá.

The first news of the mutiny at Mirath.

The first letter he opened on his return was far from reassuring. It was from an engineer of the railway then in course of construction, marked "urgent," and informing the recipient that a party of mutineers had attacked and burned his house, and that he had heard that the main body was advancing towards Mathurá. Mr. Thornhill at once summoned to his house the other English residents, and they decided to send off the ladies and children to Ágra. The remaining part of the night was passed in receiving the members of the European families as they came in, and in waiting till the palanquin bearers should arrive from the city. The rest of the story is so graphic, so realistic, and gives so accurate a picture of the trials our countrymen had to bear in that terrible year, that I shall tell it in the writer's own words.

Thornhill decides to send the ladies and children to Ágra.

"It was near daybreak before the party started. I sent with them an escort of horsemen, and, as a further protection, all the Englishmen whose duties did not compel them to remain in the station. In the course of the day I got intelligence from the north of the district that no mutineers had as yet entered it, but from the

He receives a visitor from the Mirath district.

* The italics are mine. If the reader will refer to page 179 of the first volume he will see that even experienced officers of that time laughed to scorn the portents and mysterious hints by which the mutiny of Vellur had been presaged.

direction of Dehlí could be heard the sound of heavy cannonading. About midnight I was awoke by the arrival of a messenger from Ágra; he brought a letter from Mr. Colvin, who was then the Lieutenant-Governor. I went to my room to write an answer. As I was writing I heard through the open doors the tramp of horses; in a minute or two a servant entered and announced that an English gentleman had arrived and was dismounting at the entrance. Almost immediately after the gentleman entered, he was quite a young man, he was armed with sword and revolver, and wore twisted round his head a large native turban—he looked very tired and exhausted. He informed me that he was the assistant to the magistrate of Gurgáon,* the district that lay between mine and Dehlí. The mutineers, he added, had entered the district, and the country had risen in insurrection, and he was on his way to Ágra to convey the information to the Government; his horse had knocked up, and he had ridden to my house to request the loan of another, as also one for his servant.

“I sent for horses, and also for refreshment for my guest. While it was getting ready, he informed me of the particulars of the mutiny of the regiment at Mirath, and of the events that had followed their arrival at Dehlí; how the native troops at Dehlí had joined them, how they had marched down to the palace, placed the king on the throne and massacred all the English and Christians they could lay hands on. While narrating the story he had been much agitated. When I inquired the names of the victims he broke down altogether, for among them was his only sister, a young girl of eighteen, who had but a few months previously arrived in India.

“When he had eaten and drank, I persuaded him to lie down and rest, for I thought him too tired to proceed, and I sent on his letters by a horseman of my own to Ágra. A little after dawn he left me, and soon after came the magistrate of Gurgáon and his clerk, and succeeding them at short intervals came all the English and Christians residing along the road to Dehlí. Some were accompanied by their wives, their sisters, and their children—these I sent on under escort to Ágra—the remainder, some five-and-thirty sat down with me to breakfast. When breakfast was over I left my guests and went to my own room, where my office people were assembled.

* Gurgáon is a district in the Dehlí division to the immediate north of the Mathurá district. It will be described more fully hereafter.—G. B. M.

"I had hitherto kept silence about the mutiny, so far at least as was possible, partly from fear of exciting alarm, partly lest if the news should prove false I might appear ridiculous. There was now no longer any object in concealment. I told them what I had heard, they expressed great astonishment, but ere long I perceived from the remarks they let fall that they had heard it all before, and, indeed, as regarded what occurred at Dehlí that they were much better informed than I was. All regular work was suspended, when a few papers had been signed and some orders issued, there remained nothing more to do. However, to while away the time, I continued to chat with them about the events at Dehlí. They soon got so interested in the subject as partly to forget my presence. Their talk was all about the ceremonial of the palace, and how it would be revived. They speculated as to who would be the Grand Chamberlain, which of the chiefs of Rajpútáná would guard the different gates, and who were the fifty-two Rájahs who would assemble to place the Emperor on his throne.

The native
"chat" about
the mutiny.

"As I listened I realised, as I had never done before, the deep impression that the splendour of the ancient court had made on the popular imagination, how dear to them were its traditions, and how faithfully, all unknown to us, they had preserved them. There was something weird in the Mughul empire thus starting into a sort of phantom-life after the slumber of a hundred years.

"The rest of the day passed wearily away, the rooms were darkened to exclude the glare; there was nothing to do, my guests got tired of chatting, one by one they lapsed into silence or fell asleep; the water splashed on the frames of scented grass, the punkahs swung monotonously to and fro. At length the light softened, and began to stream in nearly level through the chinks with the Venetian blinds; then the servants threw open the doors, we dined, and strolled out into the garden. A messenger presently galloped in to inform me that Captain Nixon was approaching with the Bhartpúr army. About dusk the army arrived; Captain Nixon brought with him several officers, whose presence still further swelled our party. But in India guests are easily accommodated—the heat made it pleasant to sleep out of doors. I had beds arranged in the verandah and on a terrace beyond; soon after nine all the party were slumbering on them, all but

The Bhartpúr
army arrives.

myself and a few others, who preferred to sit up later, and watch the moonlight."

The arrival of Captain Nixon and the Bhartpúr army somewhat changed the position. Captain Nixon was the chief assistant to the English administrator of the native state of Bhartpúr, and he, on hearing of the action of Sipáhis with respect to Dehlí, had proposed to the Government to employ the Bhartpúr troops to coerce them. His offer had been accepted, and he had been entrusted with its execution: that is, he had been authorised to march on Dehlí, via Mathurá. By some mistake this order had not been communicated to Mr. Thornhill. To him, therefore, Captain Nixon's arrival was a surprise.

However, there Captain Nixon was, for the moment master of the situation. He at once proceeded to develop his plans. As the information he received led him to believe that the mutineers were marching on Mathurá, he resolved to suspend his movement on Dehli, and to give them a warm reception on their arrival at the former place. Accordingly, at his suggestion, Mr. Thornhill erected barricades at the principal entrances into the city, which, in other respects was very defensible, enlisted men as guards, and adopted measures to enable the inhabitants to co-operate with the soldiers.

Mr. Thornhill had then in the treasury over half a million of silver rupees, and about ten thousand pounds worth of other coins. These were under the charge of a guard of Sipáhis. At an earlier period, doubtful of the fidelity of the guard, Mr. Thornhill had asked, from Ágra, permission to send the money into the fortress, and had packed it and had supplied carriage so as to be ready to move at a moment's notice. The day after Captain Nixon's arrival, two brothers, the Séths, the wealthiest Hindu bankers in Mathurá, called upon Mr. Thornhill, and assured him that the Sipáhi guard was bent on carrying off the treasure at the first opportunity; that Captain Nixon's opportune arrival had prevented the movement the previous day, but that it was settled. Thornhill thereupon wrote again to Ágra for the required permission, sending off his messenger on horseback. During the day information arrived that the rebel Sipáhis had halted at Dehlí, resolved to fortify that capital. Upon this, Captain Nixon announced his intention of continu-

Captain
Nixon's
plans.

Thornhill
proposes to
send the
public
moneys into
Ágra.

ing his march in that direction the following morning. He issued orders accordingly.

After many delays, the cause of which are graphically told by Mr. Thornhill, the Bhartpúr army set out on its march to Dehli, Thornhill accompanying it as far as the little town of Kosí, the limit of his district, twenty-nine miles north-west of Mathurá. He had found the district in a state of anarchy. With the spreading of the news that the King of Dehli was seated on the throne, the villagers imagined that the dominion of the British had ceased, and acted accordingly. To add to his embarrassment, Thornhill received a despatch from Ágra informing him that his apprehensions as to the behaviour of the Sipáhi guard were not shared by the Lieutenant-Governor, and that the treasure must remain at Mathurá. Thornhill was not convinced by this display of foolish and untimely confidence, and he felt satisfied that when the new guard, then expected, should arrive to relieve the old guard, the explosion, which he saw looming in the future, would take place. However, he set his face towards Mathurá, and had put up for the day at the small town of Chatá, when he heard the clatter of horses, and was told by his servant that some Englishmen had arrived.

The Bhartpúr force sets out for Dehli.

These proved to be his assistant, a son of the Lieutenant-Governor, a second assistant, Mr. Dashwood; Mr. Joyce, his head clerk, and an officer, bare-headed, and with his hand swathed in a bandage, who was introduced to him as Lieutenant Gibbon. From these gentlemen he learned that the new guard had reached Mathurá that morning, the instructions being that the old guard, on being relieved, was to return to Ágra with the treasure. The preliminaries were gone through; the treasure counted and placed on the carts; the guard was about to start, when, as the relieved British officer turned to say good-bye to his friends, a shot was fired. This was followed by a rush of the Sipáhis into the office, and their opening a musketry fire upon the Englishmen. These, unharmed and unprepared, jumped through the window, and ran for their lives, followed by the Sipáhis. In the garden, situated on the very banks of the Jamnah, the Englishmen halted. There were six of them: Gibbon, who had received a bayonet wound in the hand, the two civilians, Colvin and Dashwood; Joyce, the head clerk, and two assistant clerks named Hashman. After a moment's

Hears of the revolt of the Sipáhi guard at Mathurá.

colloquy, they descended to the river, and ran along its bank towards the city, roused with some difficulty the head of the police, a native; found him apathetic and indifferent, but persuaded him to supply them with horses, and on these had ridden to Chatá. In their flight to the police-station, they had lost touch with the brothers Hashman. They knew nothing, moreover, as to what had become of Burlington. What followed must be told in Mr. Thornhill's own words:

"It took me some time," he writes, "to hear their story, for I had many questions to ask before I quite understood it. I immediately sent off a horseman to Ágra to inform the Government, desiring him to proceed by a circuitous route to avoid the mutineers.

This done, I ordered my carriage and riding horses to be in readiness should we require them to convey us to the Bhartpúr army. I sent scouts along the road to ascertain if the Sipáhis were approaching, and I despatched a message to warn Captain Nixon.

"While these arrangements were being made, my visitors had had their tea and fallen asleep, all but Mr. Gibbon, whose wound had become very painful. It was now past midnight; on account of the heat, Mr. Gibbon and I left the bungalow and sat by the side of the road, which ran just in front; the others in a little while awoke and joined us. Before we had sat long, I had an impression that there were people near us, and as my eyes got accustomed to the darkness, I perceived, not altogether to my satisfaction, that all the men of the village had flocked down and were standing before and around us; but so perfectly still and silent were they, that neither by whisper nor movement had I been aware of their presence. The sight of this crowd made me conjecture that the news of the mutiny of the guard had got abroad, and also made me a little anxious as to what the effect of the news on the country would be.

"When the villagers saw that I perceived them, their heads came forward, made some respectful salutations, and informed me that they had assembled to express their loyalty to the Government; they added, that if I would allow them, they would give proof of their attachment to our rule, by defending the caravansarai should the mutineer Sipáhis advance to attack it. Their professions of loyalty were so vehement, and apparently so genuine,

Sends information to Ágra,

and starts to join the Bhartpúr army.

Meets professions of loyalty in profusion.

that for all my experience, I was induced to put credit in them. I committed the caravansarai to their care. It just then contained the Government record and treasure of that division of the district, and also horses and other property of my own."

Just at this time the chief of Thornhill's horsemen informed him that the mutineers were advancing in his direction, and that at the moment, they were but five miles distant from it. Recognising that "there was time to escape, none to delay," Thornhill pressed upon his companions to start at once. Despite the warnings of the chief horsemen, Thornhill thought himself in honour bound to make for Nixon's camp. He set out for it accordingly; met on the way the revenue officers of the town of Kosí, who warned him that the Bhartpúr troops were not to be trusted; at length reached the camp. There he exchanged confidences with Nixon as to the fidelity of the Bhartpúr men, Nixon being rather trustful, Thornhill doubtful. Whilst they were at breakfast, news came that the mutinous Sipáhís were within a mile of them. There followed, almost immediately, the mutiny of the Bhartpúr troops.

The crisis.

The Bhartpúr force mutinies.

The situation was serious. The European officers and the native escort numbered only seventy-five persons. Of these, one-half were natives. The mutinous troops amounted to five thousand, including a formidable cavalry and much artillery. The one chance of escape was to retreat before the natives should proceed to extremities. But Nixon, hoping he might yet prevail with the Bhartpúr chiefs to be true, went to make to them a personal appeal. The rest of the party remained, their horses saddled and their carriages put to, ready for a move at a moment's notice. Nixon was a long time absent. The Englishmen, impatient, mounted their horses, and collected together on the plain. A quarter of an hour later, Nixon returned, having failed. As he told his story, the Alwar cavalry were mounting their horses, and the artillery were pointing their guns. Then came a message to say, that unless the English moved off at once, the guns would open fire. They consequently moved a short distance, uncertain which direction to take. The leaders of the majority, Mr. Harvey and Captain Nixon, decided at length to make for the army before Dehlí. Thornhill, with greater foresight, thought the decision unwise, and urged that

Divided counsels of the English.

they should return with him to Mathurá. But they would not. So whilst they set out on their uncertain errand, Thornhill and his chief clerk, Joyce, turned their horses, and, followed by their escort, twenty-three in number, cantered south. After they had progressed a mile or so, Thornhill, happening to turn his head, noticed a party of horsemen, apparently following them. But almost immediately afterwards, the pursuers took another direction. The party then rode on till the tracks became so confused that the guides were at fault. Some ominous words uttered by one of the escort, left the impression on Thornhill's mind that it would be wise to avoid certain towns and villages. Accordingly they kept as much as possible to the bye-lanes, avoiding inhabited places, which they noticed to be full of armed men. After riding many hours, they were approaching a large village, when Joyce's horse stumbled and fell. In the fall, the saddle-girth was broken. Joyce himself was hurt, but he would have remounted at once but for the necessity to mend the girth. The delay brought around them many armed men, rude and threatening in their manner. At length Joyce remounted, and the party rode off, entered and rode through a wood, on the further side of which they halted by the straw hut of a Brahman. The holy man gave them a refreshing drink of water. On leaving him they held a track which took them past several villages. As they rode by two of these, the mobs there collected, shouted and brandished their weapons. At the third village, the mob ran after them; at the fourth, they fired. The firing was responded to from another village, and in a few minutes the whole country resounded with the noise of fire-arms. At this, the escort showed unhealthy symptoms. Their manner became less respectful, and, what was more serious, they began to desert us."

Still the party pushed on, occasionally losing their way. The evening had fallen when they reached the village of Sahar.* It had been the intention of the party to strike from this place to the east, and get into the high road. But the information they received showed them that the high road was being patrolled by a party of cavalry looking out for Thornhill. They continued their journey then along the bye-lanes, meeting some inevitable accidents,

Thornhill
and Joyce set
out for
Ágra.

They reach
Sahar,

* Sahar is fifteen miles to the north-west of Mathurá.

and disturbed all the way by the increasing sound of firing. At length, about nine o'clock, they reached the town of Raal, through which the road ran, and which, ^{and Raal.} therefore, they were bound to traverse. Here their greater difficulties began.

The road, I have said, ran through the town, and the night was too dark to allow them to attempt to escape round by the fields. Accordingly, Thornhill proposed that he and Joyce should disguise themselves, and winding turbans round their heads, and girdles round their waists, should walk through the town, the centre figures of a group formed by the mounted troopers. Unfortunately, it was the time of the celebration of the Hindu festival of the Dasarah, and the village was in consequence full of people, and the shops were lighted. The column, however, started in the order noted, and encountered no difficulty till, making a turn into the principal street, the glow of light attracted to it the attention of the people. But the column, though sharply questioned passed safely through, and reached the open country unmolested. The members of it then halted in a grove for water, and here they were delayed some time in consequence of the breaking away of two horses of the escort. However, the horses were caught and re-saddled, and Thornhill and his party resumed their journey. Travelling all night they reached, still in darkness, the gardens that border the city of Mathurá to the west. After some more adventures, Thornhill halted, and sent two horsemen to report as to the state in which his house had been left by the rebels. After a time they returned to report that it had been completely wrecked and plundered. Uncertain whither to direct his steps, Thornhill suddenly recollected that one of the Bhartpúr regiments was still in Mathurá. Making sure that the men composing that regiment were imbued with the same sentiments as those who had mutinied, Thornhill felt that it would be better to continue his journey to Ágra, as Mathurá was lost for the time. He and Joyce proceeded then, still with the escort, to a village on the Ágra road, called Aurangábád. Here they rested, and ate, and drank; disguising themselves, resumed their journey, and after many narrow escapes, reached Ágra,* ^{Reach Ágra.} the first

* For fuller details the reader is referred to Mr. Thornhill's excellent book, "The Personal Adventures and Experiences of a Magistrate in the Indian Mutiny."

bearer of the news of the mutiny of the Bhartpúr soldiers. He and Joyce had ridden a hundred miles, and had been in the saddle nearly continuously for eight-and-twenty hours, without food or sleep for two nights and nearly three days.

At Ágra, Mr. Thornhill twice saw the Lieutenant-Governor, but Mr. Colvin's mind was too unhinged by the suddenness of the general calamity to listen attentively to his story. On the second occasion, Thornhill went to inform him that he had received information that the mutinous troops had left Mathurá, and that he proposed to return thither if he could procure European troops to go with him. Mr. Colvin told him he could spare neither troops nor guns, but that he might enlist what volunteers he could from amongst the clerks. With much trouble, Thornhill collected eight volunteers, and with these he set out for the town of Farah. Here he remained some hours till a carriage sent by the Séths, the great Hindu merchants of Mathurá, should arrive. Reflecting, then, that the eight volunteers would be too few to fight, and would prove an encumbrance if flight should be necessary, Thornhill sent them back to Ágra, and went on his journey accompanied by his chief clerk, Joyce.

All the European houses at Mathurá having been sacked, Thornhill and Joyce put up with the Séths. The mode of living of the Hindus differs so widely from the mode prevalent among Europeans,* that the two guests were not very comfortable. However, they made the best of it, and they had the gratification of meeting again the brothers Hashman, the separation from whom at the time of

* "Our hosts were the richest men in India; they maintained an army of servants, they possessed whole chests of gold and jewels, and they resided in a house which, for size and architectural beauty, would compare with the palaces of the nobles of Europe. But, on ordering our dinner, I found they were destitute of what to us are the most ordinary conveniences. They had neither plates nor dishes, nor, beyond a few tea-cups, did their house contain glass or china of any description. The supply of food was equally limited in variety. We had to make our meal on rice and coarse cakes of unleavened flour, and they were so saturated with oil and some perfume that it was with difficulty I could swallow a few mouthfuls. They could supply us with no drink but water, and milk that had been simmered over a fire, and which had in the process acquired an overpowering flavour of smoke. They procured us some tea, very bad, and an immense teapot of solid silver, but the establishment did not contain a kettle, and we had to make tea in water brought up in brass bowls."—Thornhill's *Personal Adventures and Experiences*.

Waning of
Mr. Colvin's
mind.

Thornhill
returns to
Mathurá.

Puts up with
the Séths.

the flight from Mathurá has been recorded in a previous page, and of paying the last rights to Burlton who had met his death on the same occasion.

Whilst the Séths were loyal to the core, many of the other large merchants were only "watchers of the atmosphere," and the vast masses of the people regarded the return of Thornhill with anything but favour. However, he represented there the British Government, and like the true man that he was, he resolved to do his duty. The first care that occupied his attention was the defence of the city. To arrange for this he summoned a great meeting of the wealthy inhabitants of the city. It was well attended, and every man was profuse in his expressions of loyalty. "I learnt afterwards," writes Thornhill, "that, in the course of the night, private assemblies were held to consider if their promises should be carried out. It was decided that they should be, at least for the present. This decision, however, was not unanimous, and letters were at the same time despatched to the King of Dehli, informing him of the unprotected state of the city, and requesting he would send troops, and take possession of it." At the moment Thornhill did not know this. Believing the promises made to him were sincere, he proceeded with untiring energy to disarm the mob, and to re-establish his authority. He then endeavoured to provide for the defence of the place. His great difficulty was to induce the Hindus to combine for a common purpose, a difficulty which brought home to him the reason why the Muhammadans, few in number, but united in purpose, had found it so easy to conquer India. Suddenly he ascertained that the Bhartpúr regiment, which he thought had left with the rest of the Bhartpúr force, was in the city. Inspecting it, he found it composed of "timid villagers," possessing the one great virtue of military obedience. He had some difficulty in persuading these men to accept him as their leader, but when they had done so, he found them excellent instruments for his purpose. Thanks to the use he made of them, the city was removed from immediate danger, and life in it resumed the course it had temporarily abandoned when the Sipáhi guard mutinied.

For a time there ruled quiet in Mathurá itself. There was, indeed, occasionally a passing excitement, once when some Sipáhis entered the city, and twice subsequently when the guards posted over the Séths'

Strives to maintain order in Mathurá.

Succeeds for the moment.

house attempted to murder the two Englishmen. Outside its walls matters were not so quiescent. Across the river several villages coalesced under one Dóbé Singh, who proclaimed himself Rájah, and expressed his intention of expelling the two Englishmen from Mathurá. Just at this time, the arrival of a small force of the Kotá contingent under Captain Dennys, allowed Thornhill to think of taking the offensive. For this purpose he caused a bridge of boats to be laid across the river. But before he could use it, the Kotá contingent was recalled to Ágra. The pseudo-rájah then began to threaten in his turn. Upon this Thornhill, encouraged by the sudden return of the contingent, resolved to make a dash at Dóbé Singh. He crossed the river, attacked the principal village, and took many prisoners, among them the pseudo-rájah himself.

Thornhill remained some days at the scene of his victory, when he marched eastwards, and, under orders from the Government, halted on the confines of the Mathurá district, at a distance of sixteen miles from Ágra. He was still on this spot when, one morning,

Accompanied
a force under
Captain
Dennys.

Captain Dennys received instructions to intercept a body of mutineers. An hour later the troops were on their march. horse, foot, and artillery. So far as intercepting mutineers was concerned, the expedition was a failure, and a few days later the contingent was ordered to Ágra, just then threatened by mutineers from Nímach. Thornhill accompanied the small force in its march to Ágra, taking with him some revenue that he had collected. The next day, he returned with one of his assistants, Clifford, to his position on the borders of the Mathurá district. There he busied himself with raising and training levies to be prepared for the storm which he did not doubt would soon burst over his head.

Soon, however, sooner even than he had expected, the toils began to close around him. Ten or twelve miles from him was encamped a detachment of the Gwáliár contingent. That contingent had already mutinied, and it did not seem at all improbable that the detachment would follow the example set them. They did so, in fact, a few days later, differing, however, from many of their comrades, in that they insisted upon seeing their officers in safety as far as Ágra. The senior officer, Captain Alexander, urged Thornhill and Clifford to accompany him, but Thornhill

The toils
close around
him.

had but recently sent two of his assistants—Dashwood and Colvin—to Mathurá. He, therefore, declined the tempting offer, and at midnight started, accompanied by Clifford, on the chivalrous errand of rescuing his subordinates.

Chivalry
of Thorn-
hill.

They reached in safety the bungalow which had been prepared for Dashwood and Colvin, and found them.

The next day Thornhill recognised the greatness of their common peril. He learned, in fact, that the Europeans at Ágra had been compelled to take refuge in the fort, and that Mathurá would probably be occupied within a few hours. Flight was the only resource. Even the Séths came to counsel it. But whither? The debate amongst the Englishmen was long. Thornhill was for trusting to the road; the others were unanimous in favour of the river. Just then, the native officials, who had heard from the servants of the intended departure, came into the room to ask if it were true. "I told them," writes Thornhill, "our intentions, and then I asked them to answer me faithfully whether they thought that in going by land I was doing wisely. Among my attendants was an old man; he had served the Government from his boyhood. As I spoke he stooped down, clasped my knees, and raising his face, he implored me not to set foot in the boat. "On your horse," he said, "you can ride to the right or to the left, but once in the boat you can go only where the stream may carry you." Two hours later, after leave-takings from the Séths and other events full of the most interesting details, Thornhill and Joyce, the two old companions, set out on horseback, leaving the others to make their way, as they had selected, in the boat. The two horsemen had a small escort, amongst whom was a landowner and his son, to whom Thornhill had then recently rendered some kindness.

Reaches
Mathurá.

Divided,
counsels of
the English.

They rode through the streets silently, and effected an egress from the gates by representing, through the advanced men of the escort, that they were Government horsemen going to patrol the road. They traversed safely the village of Aurangábád, and after progressing somewhat further were joined by another party of native horsemen sent by the Séths from Mathurá. This increased the escort to forty. A little further they came upon two men mounted on a camel, who had been sent by the

Thornhill
and Joyce
make for
Ágra.

Séths to collect news, and who were returning to Mathurá. From these Thornhill learnt that the rebel army was marching on Ágra; that the road as far as that place was quite quiet; but that the enemy's pickets were stationed along the road, and that a detachment of 120 horsemen occupied the town of Farah just ahead of them.

This information was alarming, and the men of the escort counselled a return to Mathurá. Thornhill and his companion, however, resolved to proceed. By taking a circuitous route they managed to escape the danger at Farah; but when they halted some distance beyond it, they found that of the forty men of their escort but eight remained. The rest had deserted. Among those absent were the landowner and his son, previously referred to, who had with them two out of the four guns. Undismayed, however, they advanced at a walk, when, after they had, with difficulty, cleared a ravine, they were joined by the landowner and his son and four of the missing men. They still proceeded slowly on account of the badness of the road, when, on reaching the high road, the clouds broke, and a deep, dull, lurid glare some distance beyond them gave evidence that Ágra was in flames.

They still pressed on, however; traversed safely a village which was to be feared; and, wet to the skin, for it had rained during nearly the whole night, moved on as quietly as they could, when they were alarmed by a clanking sound which they recognised as proceeding from chains. A few minutes later the sight of "a row of dark figures, proceeding in single file, one behind the other," and clanking a chain with every movement, brought to them the conviction that the gaol-birds of the Ágra gaol had broken loose.

The men glided by apparently not caring to notice the strangers. A little later, another danger seemed to present itself. Joyce, who was riding beside Thornhill, suddenly called upon him to be on his guard. A fresh long file of gaol-birds, encumbered with their chains, passed them "so close that," writes Thornhill, "I could have touched them." As they pushed on they encountered many similar groups, all passing without attempting to molest. At last came the crisis. A little beyond a village which they had passed the fugitives came upon a hut, outside of which were tethered horses, one of them saddled with an English saddle. The hut was full of men. Thornhill had

Incidents
of the
journey.

They meet
the escaped
gaol-birds.

but just taken in the scene when the chief of his horsemen, Diláwar Khán by name, called out: "Gallop for your lives; for your lives gallop your horses!" whilst, in reply to the inquiries proceeding from the hut, he called out that they were horsemen of the Emperor, proceeding to Ágra on urgent business. As the Englishmen fled they were conscious of pursuit. After galloping half a mile Thornhill's horse began to tire, and he proposed to Diláwar Khán to pull up and walk. But Diláwar only answered: "Use the whip; use the whip; push on for your life!" At the end of another half mile, however, the horse was so blown that Thornhill had to pull up and walk. When they counted heads they found that the party now consisted only of Thornhill, Joyce, Diláwar Khán, two guides, and a lad. Many other dangers were encountered. They were all met, as danger to be successfully encountered must be met, with boldness and presence of mind. Soon they heard from a Fakír of the disastrous defeat sustained by Brigadier Polwhele at Ágra. They pushed on notwithstanding, and reached the village of Sikandrah. Ágra was still four miles distant, and they had been told that the victorious rebels were besieging Ágra. Over the country between them and the fortress "hovered the glow as of an expiring bonfire." They passed several smouldering bungalows, the wall of the gaol, several groups of men, and finally the dangerous Kotwáli, ruled over by a Kotwál in the interest of the King of Dehlí. They were now comparatively safe, unless indeed they should have been suspected and pursued. At length they reached the fort, and after some preliminaries, which might have been dispensed with, Thornhill and Joyce were admitted. But the garrison refused to admit Diláwar Khán and the guides. The two Englishmen were safe, but, Mr. Thornhill writes, nothing had saved them but "the darkness of the night, the torrents of rain, and the fidelity of Diláwar Khán." I would add that there was something else which he was too modest to mention. There was the brave spirit, the resolute heart, the determination at all hazards to go forward.*

Imminent
danger of the
party.

Reach
Sikandrah,

and finally
are received
within the
fort.

* The reader is again referred for fuller details to Mr. Thornhill's most interesting book. It would seem that he and his companions had ridden through the rebel army; that if, on reaching Sikandrah, they had followed

Mr. Thornhill remained in the fort until the fall of Dehli and the subsequent defeat of the rebels before Ágra by Cotton and Greathead (October 10, 1857), made it possible to resume the offensive. Cotton then marched on Mathurá, accompanied by Thornhill. He, indeed, would have infinitely preferred that a smaller force should have been sent—"a few soldiers and a couple of guns"; but he was overruled. As it was, Thornhill was re-instated at Mathurá, but when the column had reached the extremity of his district, it was suddenly recalled. Remaining with Thornhill at Mathurá were the gallant and faithful Joyce, the gallant de Kantzow, whose name has been often mentioned, never except to praise him, in previous volumes of this history, and a young Customs' officer who had been Thornhill's companion at Hodal. Gradually, under Thornhill's able management, the district quieted down; ladies returned to the city; and the peace was not again disturbed.

Farrukhábad, Mainpúri, and Itáwah have been so fully treated in previous volumes that but a slight notice of them will suffice.

Farrukhá-
bád and
Fathgarh.

Of the Nawáb of the first of these, Tafazzul Husain Khán, there has been told all that is necessary in the third and fifth volumes.* In the same pages of the third volume have also been related the catastrophe that attended our countrymen at, and in endeavouring to escape from, Fathgarh. That station, the civil station of the district, is about eighty miles above Kánhpúr, three from the town of Farrukhábad. The story of it in 1857 comes entirely within

the advice of Diláwar Khán, and taken the road which avoided the city, they would have met the main army of the mutineers. Further, Thornhill ascertained, many years later, that it was only by apparent accident that he had escaped being murdered just before he left Mathurá. "When we entered the Séths' house in the afternoon," he writes, "their Muhammadan guards proposed to murder us all as we sat on the terrace. The manager heard of the plot; he ran and informed his masters. They were terrified, half stupefied. He implored them to exert themselves, warning them that if we fell the English Government would take a terrible vengeance, and that utter destruction would fall on them and their house. Urged thus by their manager, the Séths went down to their guards, and by threats, persuasions, and some display of force, they succeeded at length in inducing the men to abandon their design." The Muhammadans did not renounce their design, but proposed to kill the two Englishmen as they left the house. But in this they were equally baffled by the generous Séths.

* *Vide* Vol. III. pages 224-32; Vol. V. page 191.

the category of military events already related at, I trust, sufficient length.

Similarly with Mainpúri and Itáwah. The events at the former station are told in the first, third, fourth, and fifth volumes; at the latter, in the third, fourth, and fifth.* These stations were, throughout the period of the mutiny, on the very field of military operations.

Mainpúri and
Itáwah.

The same may likewise be said of Ágra. To that station I have devoted two chapters of the third volume; one of the fourth, and a portion of one of the fifth.

Ágra.

I could not write more without giving to the events at this station, important as they were, an undue prominence.

I propose now to ask the reader to accompany me into those districts of Rohilkhand, the occurrences in which have not been told in sufficient detail.

Rohilkhand is a division in the North-Western Provinces comprising the districts of Baréli, Murádábád, Bijnaur, Budáun, Shahjáhánpúr, and the Tarái Parganahs. Of these I have told at sufficient length of all except Bijnaur.† To that district I propose to devote a few pages.

Rohilkhand.

Bijnaur is a district in Rohilkhand, containing an area of eighteen hundred and eighty-two square miles, and a population of nearly seven hundred thousand souls. It is bounded on the north-east by the hill district of Gahrwál; on the east and south-east by Murádábád; on the west by Mirath, by Muzaffarnagar, and by Saháranpúr. In 1857 the magistrate and collector of this district was Mr. A. Shakespear; but at the station of Bijnaur, which gave its name to the district, were likewise Mrs. Shakespear; the joint magistrate, Mr. G. Palmer; the civil surgeon, Dr. Knight, and Mrs. Knight; Mr. Robert Currie, C.S., on his way to the hills; Mr. Lemaistre, the head clerk; Mrs. Lemaistre and three children; Mr. Johnson, a clerk; Mr. Murphy, a clerk; Mrs. Murphy and four children; and Mr. Cawood.

Bijnaur.

Mr. Shake-
spear
and the
European
residents of
Bijnaur.

Though Bijnaur was but forty miles distant from Mirath, the

* For Mainpúri, see Vol. I. pages 117-19; Vol. III. pages 103-4; Vol. IV. pages 200-6. For Itáwah, see Vol. III. pages 106-7; Vol. IV. page 200; Vol. V., pages 214-16.

† For the other districts, *vide* Vol. III. pages 202-22; Vol. IV. pages 349-80.

news of the terrible events there of the 10th of May did not reach Mr. Shakespear till the 13th, and then only through natives. That officer at once endeavoured to ascertain the real facts of the case by communicating with Mirath. But the whole country was up. The hereditary instincts of a marauding section of the population, extremely prolific in those parts, known as the Gujars, had been thoroughly roused, and their appetite for plunder had been whetted by the rivalry of the convicts escaped from the Mirath gaol, who, spreading over the country, stopped and plundered everyone, not excepting the meanest traveller. It seems probable, also, that they stopped the communications near Mirath, for it is a curious fact that the horsemen sent by Shakespear to that station on the 13th of May, took the first intelligence of the mutiny of the 10th to the police station of Baisúna, which was on the high road between Mirath and Bijnaur.

The indiscriminate plunder of which I have spoken attained in a few days so alarming a proportion, that Shakespear found it was necessary for the retention of British authority to take stringent measures to repress it. He accordingly called on the principal landowners of the district to afford him all the aid in their power, at the same time he sent a notice to all native soldiers on leave at their homes to come to the station and give their services to the State. Both these appeals were responded to fairly well. The chautháris* of Haldaur and Tájpúr responded on the 23rd, and a few non-commissioned officers and men, chiefly belonging to the irregular cavalry, came on a few days later. At the same time the police was considerably strengthened.

But events were marching too fast even for these precautionary measures. On the 19th of May the gaol at Murádábád was broken open, and the worst prisoners connected with the Bijnaur district were released. The freedom of these men added enormously to the insecurity of life and property in the neighbourhood. To add to the general danger, three hundred of the sappers and miners who had mutinied at Rurki entered the Bijnaur district and entered into negotiations with Mahmúd Khán, Nawáb of Najibábád,

The mutiny
of the 10th
of May

rouses the
districts to
plunder.

Shakespear
invites the
aid of the
chiefs, land-
owners,

and of sol-
diers on
leave.

The insecur-
ity increases.

* A chauthári is the head man of a village.

with the view, as it was then suspected, and subsequently transpired, to making an attack on the chief station. Eventually, however, these mutineers preferred to proceed to Muradábád, plundering on their road the town of Naghína.* On the very day, however, the 21st, on which they entered that town, the prisoners broke out of the gaol in Bijnaur itself.

Mr. Shakespear hurried to the spot followed by some horsemen, and succeeded in stopping further egress, some of the prisoners falling under the fire of his followers. While thus engaged, he despatched the joint magistrate, Mr. G. Palmer, to pursue the fugitives. The result would in all probability have been satisfactory but for the accidental refuge afforded to the malefactors by a sand-bank in the river, on which they had collected. To secure them here foot-soldiers were necessary, and before these could arrive night had set in. Under cover of darkness, two hundred and fifteen of them managed to escape.†

The prisoners at Bijnaur break out,

but they are pursued and partially recaptured.

It was evident to Mr. Shakespear that the love of liberty had far less prompted this outbreak than a lust for plunder, for the news of the disordered state of the districts had penetrated even within the gaol. Under his charge, in the treasury, within a short distance of the gaol, were the moneys belonging to Government, the collections of the district, amounting to a considerable sum. In a station, the capital of a surging district, where the number of the Europeans could be counted on the fingers, this treasury could no longer be considered safe from the greed of the disorganised rabble. It certainly could not be defended against a determined attack. Under these circumstances the happy thought occurred to Shakespear to throw all the coin, except the small amount necessary for current expenses into a well, the mouth of which could be defended from the roof of the treasury building. He carried out this measure. The result showed his prescience. Even the most covetous felt that the abstraction of the rupees had become a service fraught with certain death to those who should be foremost in the attempt.

Shakespear secures the moneys of the State

in a well.

* Being short of ammunition, they hoped at Muradábád to obtain the co-operation of the 29th Native Infantry, but, instead of co-operation, that regiment robbed them of their spoil.

† Seven had been killed, and one hundred and twenty-six, of whom twelve had been wounded, were recaptured.

The precaution had not been taken one hour too soon. That very evening Mahmúd Khán, the Nawáb of whom I have already spoken, arrived with a number of empty carts, and announced his intention to carry off the money to Najibábád. Even he quailed before the prospect of extracting it from the well. Yet the station seemed at the mercy of this man and his Pathán followers, evidently unsettled and dangerous, disappointed, too, in their hopes regarding the rupees. The two days that followed were very critical. On the third day, fortunately, the retainers of the Hindu zamindárs arrived, and having in the interval raised some horse and taken measures for the protection of the station, Shakespear felt able to think of offensive measures. He was further confirmed in this view by the arrival, on the 28th, of fourteen sawárs, nearly all leave men, under the command of a Risáldár of the Gwáliár contingent, followed by twenty-five sawárs of the new Muradábád levy, and forty Sipáhis of the 29th Native Infantry—a regiment which, though mistrusted, had not then mutinied.

Shakespear's first act was to send Mr. Palmer with the 29th Sipáhis and thirty sawárs to coerce a large body of marauders near Mandáwar, a large and wealthy town which they were threatening. Palmer struck the rebels most successfully, and quieted the district. The next person to deal with was the Nawáb. This man, baffled in his hopes regarding the rupees, had returned on the 23rd, with his carts still empty, to Najibábád. A week later, however, he returned, uninvited, accompanied by upwards of two hundred stalwart Patháns, armed with matchlocks. His demeanour showed that he meant mischief, but that he was prepared to wait for the opportune moment. To get rid of him was difficult yet most necessary. Shakespear attempted the task, and after some trouble, persuaded the Nawáb to move to a little distance to settle some Mewátí marauders, hoping, during his absence, to be able to do much to restore confidence.

These hopes were doomed to be disappointed. The mutiny at Barélí on the 31st of May* produced effects which were felt all over Rohilkhand. Shakespear had heard rumours of

Mahmúd
Khán

arrives to
give trouble.

The station is
relieved by
the arrival of
loyal Hindu
landowners
and others.

Palmer quiets
one district.

The Nawáb
returns to
Bijnaur,

but is per-
suaded to
retire.

* Vol. III. page 207.

the event on the 1st, but rumours in those days were common. He received authentic information only on the 3rd. The danger was indeed imminent. The Nawáb's Patháns were close at hand, and it was but too clear that the forty men of the 29th Native Infantry would follow the example set them by their brethren at Baréli. But in this conjuncture Shakespear displayed both judgment and decision. He at once recalled Palmer, under whose orders the men of the 29th Native Infantry were serving, and on their arrival despatched them instantly, before they could communicate with anyone, to rejoin their headquarters.

The mutiny at Baréli changes the situation for the worse.

Shakespear faces the difficulty.

At this time a party of the 4th Irregulars, commanded by Lieutenant Gough, arrived from Mirath with a string of camels to carry off a portion of the Government money at Shakespear's disposal. The roads were unsafe; a long string of camels carrying coin could not be guarded efficiently by nineteen men, and every one in the district was aware of the purpose for which the camels had arrived. Again did Shakespear display his judgment. For camels he substituted elephants. He loaded these animals with fifty thousand rupees, and Gough was thus enabled, by making a forced march, to accomplish his journey in safety at the same time that he relieved Bijnaur of that which most tempted the miscreants of the period.

By the exercise of judgment Shakespear saves some of the state moneys.

But darker times were approaching. The revolt at Baréli had, as I have said, produced a ferment all over Rohilkhand. From the 2nd of June communications between English authorities elsewhere and Bijnaur ceased. That place was cut off from the outer world.

Communication with the outer world ceases.

Affairs were in this darkened condition when Mahmúd Khán, Nawáb of Najibábád, suddenly returned from the district. That return was occasioned solely by a report which had reached him that Shakespear was about to make over the remainder of the money under his charge to the loyal Hindu chaudhárís. Mahmúd Khán arrived evidently resolved to take strong measures. To men of his class and country, placed in the extraordinary position in which they found themselves in 1857, the proverb, *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*, is specially applicable. Accustomed from their earliest childhood to respect British authority, habit had become a second nature, and it was not

The Nawáb returns to Bijnaur.

without a very extraordinary effort that they were able to break through the iron bar by which it bound them.

Feelings
which ani-
mated men
like the
Nawáb.

But that bar once broken, there remained no extreme of villainy of which they would not be capable. The memory of the old bond, indeed, incited them to extreme measures. They felt, when they had com-

mitted themselves, that a return to the former condition was impossible; that thenceforth their safety required the death of those against whom they had lifted their hands. Shakespear was thoroughly cognisant of this feeling. He deemed it, therefore, of the utmost importance to soothe the Nawáb, to persuade him not to take a step which would be irrevocable, which would commit him to murder. Fortunately he had at his hand an instrument for the purpose—a Muhammađan official of proved loyalty and trust named Saiyid Áhmad Khán. This man, sent

Shakespear
manages
him.

by Shakespear to the Nawáb, succeeded, by dint of smooth words and assurances, in inducing him to remain still on the further bank of the Rubicon. He continued, however, in a dogged and perverse

humour, and declined to go and see Mr. Shakespear.

That evening, the 7th of June, news reached the station of the assumption of authority by the rebel Khán, Bahádur Khán, and of the murders committed at Baréli and Murádábád. It was now clear that a sentence of death had been pronounced against every European, every Christian in Rohilkhand.

Bad news
From Baréli.

Under these circumstances, the pressing character of which was increased by the rumour that the detachment of the 29th Native Infantry was on its way to Bijnaur, there remained no hope of saving the station. Mr. Shakespear determined, then, as a first measure of precaution, to place the ladies in safety by escorting them to a point beyond the province. But such an operation could not be undertaken without the consent of the Nawáb. With the Nawáb, then, Shakespear entered into an accommodation, by virtue of which that nobleman agreed to take charge of the district during the ten days for which Shakespear and his companions proposed to absent themselves. The Nawáb was not authorised to collect revenue, but as he would have to meet heavy charges, the money in the treasury was placed at his disposal, and he was required to keep a regular account of its expenditure. In common with almost every other Englishman

Shakespear
makes over
charge of the
district to
the Nawáb,

in India, Shakespear believed that Dehli would fall as soon as the English force appeared before it, and that, within the ten days he had covenanted for, he would be able to return with a sufficient force to put down all disturbance.

He and his companions—those whose names have been already given,* had intended to start early on the morning of the 8th for Rúrki, forty-three miles distant, and, marching all night, to reach it the same evening. The party was, however, so much delayed in crossing the Ganges, that they were obliged to make for Muzaffarnagar instead. Here doubts arose regarding the fidelity of the escort. The travellers; then, after resting one day, pushed on for Rúrki, escorted by twelve troopers of the 4th Irregulars, a detachment of which regiment was stationed at Muzaffarnagar.† Here they arrived on the night of the 11th of June.

and marches
with the
ladies and
Europeans to
Rúrki.

It now became Shakespear's great object to return to his district. He made numberless efforts to organise a small party of Gurkhás or Europeans or other men who could be depended upon to effect this object. But Dehli had not fallen, and every soldier was required to aid to contribute to its fall. Not a man, then, could be procured.

He finds it
impossible to
return.

Meanwhile, Mahmúd Khán was carrying all before him at Bijnaur. His first act was to proclaim himself ruler of the district under the king of Dehli. He next fished up the remainder of the money from the well, and sent it to his own house at Najibábád. Then, having stopped the posts, placed guards at the ferries, and increased his forces as much as possible, he despatched a confidential servant to Dehli to endeavour to obtain authority from the king to hold the district in his name. He proceeded at the same time to alter the weights and measures, substituting for those of the Company others of a different character, bearing the imperial stamp of Dehli.

The Nawáb
at Bijnaur

accepts the
King of Dehli
as his lord.

The cause which, perhaps, more than any other contributed to the downfall of the Mughul dynasty was the system of persecution for religion, inaugurated by Aurangzib. It is

* Page 103.

† This detachment rose a few days later and murdered the adjutant, Lieutenant Smith.

remarkable that, whenever and wherever the Muhammadans in India obtained supremacy during the period of the mutiny they showed the same inclination. The Nawáb was no exception. He had scarcely consolidated, as he thought, his usurped authority than he began to use it against the Hindus, leaguering himself with that object with co-religionists without birth and without character, and whose co-operation under other circumstances he would have spurned. His first operations were successful. Umráo Singh, chauthári of Sherkot, was compelled to flee the country with the loss of a great part of his property. This success was, however, fatal. It impelled the Hindu village chiefs, who had hitherto stood aloof from each other, to combine. An opportunity soon offered which enabled them to make their combination felt.

Character of his rule in Bijnaur.

To carry on his plans against the Hindus the Nawáb had weakened his own forces at Bijnaur, where he himself remained. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the younger of the Chautháris of Haldaur, combining with the Chautháris of Bijnaur, suddenly attacked the Nawáb on the morning of the 6th of August and drove him in precipitous flight to Najibábád. The immediate result was not altogether satisfactory. It is true that the town was saved; but the public and private property outside it fell into the hands of the rabble, who had joined the Chautháris simply with the hope of plunder, and who were altogether beyond control.*

The Hindus rise and expel him,

but the place is plundered.

Before the events of the 6th of August could be made known to Mr. Shakespear, that gentleman, satisfied that the Nawáb was not to be trusted, had resolved to cancel the written authority he had given him to administer the district. He wrote a letter to that effect on the 7th, and by the same opportunity directed the Chautháris to consider themselves responsible for their respective properties and the quiet of the district. But when, a little later, information of the events of the 6th reached him, he saw that more decisive measures were required. It happened that there were on the spot two Muhammadan gentlemen of conspicuous loyalty—Muhammad

Shakespear transfers the charge of the district to loyal Muhammadans,

* A type of the proceedings which would certainly take place all over India if the protecting hand of England were to be withdrawn.

Rahmat Khán, the deputy collector, and Saiyid Ahmad Khán, already referred to. Shakespear then directed these gentlemen to assume charge of the district. They obeyed his orders, assumed the office on the 16th of August, and devoted to it the loyal zeal and true-hearted decision by which their conduct had been always characterised.

But every day now saw a fresh complication. The quarrel between the Muhammadans and the Hindus became so embittered that the Nawáb sounded the religious war-cry of the former, and, at the head of an infuriated band, marched to the vicinity of Bijnaur on the 23rd. He first burned and plundered a Ját village, and then marched on Bijnaur. There there were no defenders. The Hindus had gone to Naghína to oppose there an anticipated attack from another party of Muhammadans. Under these circumstances the two loyal officials above cited deemed it advisable to retire to Haldaur. Meanwhile the Muhammadans had taken and sacked Naghína. They then advanced on Haldaur, defeated the Hindus who moved from that place to meet them, and were only prevented from destroying it by the outbreak of fires in all directions, which hindered their advance. Bijnaur, however, fell into their hands. The two loyal Government officials fled across the river, and one or two of the Hindu Chaudhárís quitted the district which no longer offered them a safe habitation.

Fresh complications arise,

and the loyal Muhammadans are forced to flee.

From this time the district was a prey to civil war between the members of the opposite faiths, each alternately gaining some advantage. Some attempts were made at reconciliation, but neither party had sufficiently felt its inferiority to the other. At length, on the 18th of September, the Hindus experienced a decisive defeat, and another attempt was made to induce them to submit to Mahmúd Khán and his followers. Nothing, however, could tempt the younger Chaudhárís to place themselves in the power of the Muhammadans, and towards the end of the month they escaped across the Ganges to Mirath.

The Hindus are finally defeated,

and flee.

Just about this time a wanton massacre of unoffending Hindus confirmed the supremacy of the Muhammadans. But as always has happened in such cases—as, till the race greatly changes, always will happen—no sooner was their supremacy uncontested than disputes

Disputes arise amongst the victors.

broke out among themselves. Finally, these disputes were arranged by the conferring on the Nawáb the chief authority, with an allowance of twelve thousand rupees a month, having under him Márah Khán, a noted bad character, his own eldest son, and his nephew. The two first were to contribute two-thirds, the last one-third, of his salary. This arrangement lasted till the 22nd of February, 1858.

The Muhammadans now became so strong that notorious freebooters from neighbouring districts gathered to their party; they even attracted three princes of the imperial family of Dehlí. They then began to make successful raids across the border, and to burn and plunder at their will. They did this on several occasions in December 1857 and January 1858. On the 5th of the latter month they crossed the Ganges with a large force and two guns, burned the station of Miránpúr, proclaimed the Nawáb, and retreated before the British troops could intercept them. Two days later they carried out the same programme at Khankal and Hárdwár. On the 9th, emboldened by their success, they again crossed the Ganges—this time only to repent their audacity, for they had the misfortune to fall in with a party sent from Rúrki under Captain H. Boisragon. This affair, which redounded greatly to that officer's credit, merits special notice.

As soon as the news regarding the three raids into British territory, just referred to, reached Rúrki, the officer commanding at that place, Captain Reid, directed Lieutenant T. Boisragon, commanding at Manglaur, to proceed at once with his detachment* towards Maiapúr. Lieutenant Boisragon received this order at 8 o'clock on the evening of the 8th of January. He set out at once, and marching across a country, very indifferent for guns, reached Maiapúr at 9 o'clock the next morning. There he was joined by his brother Captain H. Boisragon, the district staff officer, accompanied by Captain H. Drummond, B.E., Lieutenant Thomason, B.E., Mr. Melville, B.C.S., and a few sawárs. Captain Boisragon at once took command.

Accompanied by the gentlemen named and three or four sawárs, Captain Boisragon proceeded down the bank of the

* Consisting of fifty Gurkhás, fifty Sikhs, and two 6-pounder guns under Lieut. St. George, B.A.

The Muham-
madans carry
their raids
across the
river.

Boisragon
marches to
check the
rebels.

river in search of the enemy. After a ride of between two and three miles he came suddenly upon their camp, pitched within a few feet of the water, opposite to the ford of Anjon, a distance of about three miles in a direct line from Khankal. Owing to inequalities in the ground, Boisragon could not gain a clear view of the position, but he ascertained that they numbered certainly five hundred, and that they had at least one gun. Boisragon and his party then fell back leisurely on their camp, to wait till the movement of the rebels should be more pronounced.

He ascertains their position.

His patience was not long tried. The following afternoon, about two o'clock, Boisragon received information that the rebels were crossing the river in force, and that a great number had established themselves to the south of Khankal, which they were about to enter. Leaving a small party to protect his camp and watch the ford, Boisragon marched with the rest of the detachment to Khankal, entered it from the north side, traversed the main street, and went out from the south gate, just in time to prevent the entrance of the rebels. Detaching his few mounted men (sixteen men 1st Panjáb Cavalry) to cover his flanks, Boisragon, with his small force,* advanced to cut off the rebels from the town of Jowálápúr, in which he believed they had many sympathisers. Posting the guns between that town and a large building, he sent the Gurkhás on the extreme right, under Lieutenant Boisragon, to attack their left flank, whilst the Sikhs, who were next the guns, should charge their front. The attack was irresistible. One of the rebel leaders fell by the hand of Lieutenant Boisragon; their rank and file were thrown back on the river, and sought refuge either in the stream or by flight along its banks. In their flight they were followed by the cavalry and considerably cut up. Captain Boisragon ascertained that they numbered about a thousand and that they had two guns. This little affair was the more important as it was the first decisive blow at the rebellion so long rampant in Rohilkhand.

Marches to Khankal,

attacks,

and completely defeats them.

To return to Bijnaur. The effect of Boisragon's victory was immediately felt in that district. No people traverse more quickly than the natives of India the space

Terror of the Nawáb.

* Eight Europeans, thirty Gurkhás, thirty Sikhs, and two guns.

between exalted elation and bitter despondency. To conciliate the small landowners, the Nawáb's nephew at once announced that all rent-free holdings resumed under British rule would be released; but this helped him but little, and the declension of the fortunes of the usurpers was followed by a renewal of their quarrels. Some bitter disputes terminated in a new agreement, in virtue of which the Nawáb's monthly salary was reduced to eight thousand rupees; his eldest son was declared his heir-apparent; his nephew was nominated as his representative; two other Muhammadans were promoted to be generals, and assignments of lands were made to provide for their salaries; a third was appointed to be commander-in-chief; stipends were set apart for all the Nawáb's family, and an engagement was taken from the nephew that he would not aspire to the succession, or interfere in any way with the claims of the eldest son on his father's death.

The disputes between him and his coadjutors are readjusted.

This tinsel fabric was shattered at the very first push. Even whilst it had been building there was being prepared at Rúrki a British force whose very appearance in Rohilkhand would be sufficient to shake it to its very foundations. On the 17th of April that force, accompanied by Mr. Shakespear and others, crossed the Ganges near the head of the Ganges canal, and in five days effectually cleared the Bijnaur district in the manner described in the fourth volume of this history.*

Jones's force enters Rohilkhand.

From the date of the crossing of the avenging force into the Bijnaur district, Mr. Shakespear resumed his duties as the representative of the Government. His responsibilities were extremely onerous. He was the only officer of the column who had any acquaintance with the country, so that matters connected with the department of the Quartermaster-General were mainly dependent upon his opinion and advice, and, added to this, it devolved upon him to decide the measures which should be taken for the punishment of offenders and for the restoration of order. In a sketch such as this is, it is impossible to render full justice to all that Mr. Shakespear in a very brief period was able to accomplish. The principle upon which he acted was to mark in an effective manner the displeasure of

Shakespear resumes his duties.

Services rendered by him to Jones's force.

* Vol. IV. pages 358-80.

the Government, whilst opening to all, except to actual murderers, a way of reconciliation and pardon. Thus—even before the fight at Nāghina—to leave a lasting symbol of the sentiments entertained by the British Government regarding the Nawáb, the hall of audience at Najibábád was destroyed; the district was at the same time dominated by the occupation of the fort of Patthargarh in the vicinity. These acts accomplished, Mr. Shakespear fixed his headquarters at Najibábád, re-established the collectorships and police posts in the districts, and endeavoured, by conciliatory measures, to induce the rebel Muhammadans, who had not been engaged in any distinct crime in connection with the rebellion, to return to their peaceful avocations. His measures were so far successful that his police were able, even at that early period, to enter the jungles and capture without opposition some relatives of the Nawáb. When, after Nāghina, he returned, escorted only by the loyal Hindus and accompanying the guns captured at that fight, to Bijnaur, he ascertained that the population were returning to their normal avocations; that traffic was being reopened, and that the collection of rebels in the jungles was rapidly diminishing. Mr. Shakespear subsequently visited every part of his district, and his firm, conciliatory, and judicious measures, speedily removed the very last remnant of discontent. As he, at the beginning of the disturbances, had clung to his district longer than any other officer in Rohilkhand, so on their subsidence he was able to bring back the normal routine earlier than was found practicable in the other districts of the same province.*

He re-organises the district.

His tact and conciliatory measures speedily restore order and confidence.

The “energy and sound judgment” displayed by Mr. Shakespear were noticed by the cordial approval of Lord Canning. With other civil officers, likewise, he was thanked for his services as a volunteer with the Búrki force; but there the public acknowledgments ended. In the circumstances in which he was placed, no one could have accomplished more than Mr. Shakespear. It must have been trying for him to notice, when the honours were apportioned, that others who had done less were substantially rewarded.

† The Nawáb Mahmúd Khán was sentenced to be transported for life. His property was forfeited to the State.

CHAPTER V.

THE MÍRATH DIVISION.

THE Mírath division comprises six districts, those of Dehrá Dún, Saháranpúr, Muzaffarnagar, Mírath, Bulandshahr, and Áligarh. I propose to consider these in the order I have named them. I may premise that the division in 1857 counted four and a half millions of inhabitants; that the Ganges and the Jamnah watered its borders, and that it was bounded to the north by the Siwálík Hills.*

I proceed now to deal with the district of Dehrá Dún, a district comprising twelve hundred and fifty-three square miles, with a chief station of the same name, lying two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine feet above the sea-level. The district of Dehrá Dún consists of a valley measuring about sixty miles by fifteen, partly forest and partly tea-plantations, a hill-tract of less extent, and a sanitarium and convalescent depôt, containing invalids, women, and children, to the number of about two thousand. It is bounded on the north by Native States, on the west by Native States, on the south by the district of Saháranpúr, on the east by the district of Bijnaur. In May 1857, the chief civil authority was the superintendent, Mr. H. G. Keene, his assistant being Mr. J. C. Robertson. The garrison consisted of the Sirmúr regiment of Gurkhás under the command of Major Charles Reid. The Trigonometrical Survey had its head-quarters there

The Mírath division.

Dehrá Dún.

Mr. Keene and the European population of the district.

* The Siwálík range crosses the Dehrá Dún district in a north-westerly direction, and dips for a while in the Jamnah valley. Thence it enters Sirmúr and the Simla hill States at a slightly higher elevation, till the river Satlaj forces its way through. Its highest peaks have an elevation of upwards of three thousand five hundred feet above the sea.—*Vide* Thornton, edition of 1836.

under Colonel Scott Waugh of the Bengal Engineers. There was a small establishment under the American Presbyterian Board of Missions. There were also some old officers of the retired list resident at Dehrá, and a very few rich natives, the most prominent of whom was a political *détenu*, the Rájah Lál Singh, formerly regent of the Panjáb.

When the news of the Mirath outbreak reached Mr. Keene—which was on the 16th of May—he was in the heart of the hill subdivision, engaged in a survey preliminary to the settlement of the land revenue. The tracts were being swept by epidemic cholera, and there was considerable difficulty in moving the camp. He came in, however, as quickly as he could, met on the way with further alarms. On arriving at Dehrá he found that Reid's Gurkhás had marched to join the main body of troops about to move from Mirath upon Dehli. A depôt of eighty men constituted the total force left with him to maintain order. He accordingly lost no time in raising recruits to guard the passes by which his district could be entered from the plains. Rájah Lál Singh also placed some of his armed retainers at Mr. Keene's disposal. In a few days news arrived of the fall of Bijnaur, brought in by the civil officer of that district. Saháranpúr still held out under Mr. R. Spankie. The tract to the westward, under the Sírmúr rájah, was fairly peaceful. The hill tracts to the north were quiescent, except in the British subdivisions already mentioned, where petty outrages occurred which could not just then be punished.

Having made such provisions as appeared proper for his outward defences, the superintendent turned his attention to the maintenance of internal order. For this purpose he appointed the mess-house of the absent Gurkhá officers as a rendezvous in case of alarm, and enrolled a number of European volunteers whose names he placed upon a roster, and with whose aid the town of Dehrá and its environs were patrolled every night at unfixed hours. By this device it was calculated that the native police would be kept on the alert by their ignorance of the exact hour when they might be visited. The success was complete, no post having been found deserted, no beat unkept, during the whole time of trouble.

Matters were in a state of tension, but all remained quiet—

Mr. Keene is in the heart of the hills when the mutiny breaks out.

He returns and organises exterior defensive measures.

also for the maintenance of internal order.

with the exception of one or two fires, probably accidental—till the middle of June. Then, one evening, a runner came in from the Sirmúr territory, bringing news that four hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry from the Jálandhar brigade were in full march upon the district. The messenger brought these tidings in a note from a British officer, and they were strictly true. The contents of the treasury were at once sent up to Masúri (the hill sanitarium) with a note to the officer commanding the convalescent depôt, requesting his aid. The next day was occupied with preparing carriage and provisions, for the men of the Gurkhá depôt were to be marched out on elephants and the invalids on horseback. That evening the force started, about one hundred and fifty men in all,* and marched thirty-six miles during the sultry June night. In the morning they arrived at Bádsháh-bágh, the outer end of the Timlí pass, and found that their prey had escaped them. Like snakes in the grass, the Sipáhis had slipped away during the hours necessarily given to preparation. The force could not go farther out of the district without draining it of its administrators and defenders; and the rebels had to be left to such obstacles as they might encounter in other districts.

This was the most serious military occurrence that took place, with one exception, to be hereafter noticed. It had no important results. Still, it was well planned, showing spirit in all concerned. The enemy were well armed and equipped, and the cavalry superbly mounted on stud-bred horses. With a motley force, of which only a small portion was British, and that composed of convalescents, the task of bringing them to book, though a serious one, would probably have succeeded but for circumstances which no one could control or avoid.

The next trouble that arose was from the lawless state of the Saháranpúr district. Mr. Spankie kept such order as the times admitted. His coadjutor, Mr. H. D. Robertson, was actively engaged in scouring the district for the same purpose. But their efforts were much paralysed by the protracted defence and prolonged attack going on at Dehli; and marauders

Bad news from the exterior.

Measures taken in consequence.

A force marches against the rebels, who escape.

The protracted length of the siege of Dehli fomented disorder.

* Mr. R. Forrest, of the Canal Department, the Rev. D. Herron, American missionary, and some sick officers from Masúri, accompanied Mr. Keene, as also did his assistant.

of the old type, who had given so much trouble in Shore's days, thirty years before, began to appear. One gang of these men came across the border and drove off a herd of cattle after killing the herdsman. They were pursued and arrested, brought to trial, condemned, and hanged within less than three weeks from the commission of their crime. The example proved sufficient; the forays ceased.

The difficulty which next supervened was as to food and money, neither of which are sufficiently produced in the valley, even in common times. Now, when agriculture was almost suspended by war's alarms, when the roads were almost entirely closed for traffic by the disturbed state of the country, the difficulties may well have appeared almost insurmountable. And the population never was so large. The wives and families of officers in the field thronged to the hills, followed by flocks of servants; and the officers—unable to do anything else with their pay—drew it chiefly in the form of orders upon the treasuries of places where their wives were harbouring. Of these the most frequented was that of Dehrá, where a run consequently occurred to meet which the resources of the Panjáb were laid under requisition. John Lawrence and Donald McLeod, the strong rulers of that province, sent in several supplies, which were loyally escorted to Dehrá by the yeomanry of the Dún to whom Mr. Keene entrusted the duty. On one occasion, Mr. Spankie sent a small sum from Saháranpúr, to fetch which the Rev. J. Woodside, an American missionary, and Mr. R. Currie, a young civilian, went over and brought the cash safely through one of the most disturbed parts of the Saháranpúr district.

Difficulties regarding food and money,

how partly surmounted.

These resources proving insufficient Mr. Keene—adopting a suggestion made to him by Captain Tennant, of the Engineers—determined to issue paper money on his own responsibility. He, therefore, prepared forms of acknowledgment for sums running from one rupee to fifty (which he marked with a crest press to prevent forgery). He then registered these in his treasury office, and issued them under his own signature in part payment of the drafts that were presented; so much paper and the balance in cash.*

These resources proving insufficient, Keene issues bank-notes.

* *Vide* extract from Accountant to Government, quoted in *Letters on Indian Administration*, 1867 (page 2).

Food was also procured through local merchants, and by these expedients the troubles of the time, though they could not be neutralised, were reduced to a minimum. The result was that of all those tender beings confided to the superintendent's care, not one hair of the head of any suffered wrong. The cattle-lifting above mentioned was the only damage that property sustained in the Dún up to the fall of Dehli. After that date, when a military officer had been sent to take charge, the Dún was once invaded at its extreme corner; but the invasion was repulsed with considerable loss by a party from Rúrki before the Dún force could come to the spot.

The next district in the Míraith division to be noticed is Saháranpúr. This district contains two thousand two hundred and twenty-eight square miles, and comprises the chief station of the same name, on the Jamnah canal, with its Botanical garden; Rúrki, with its engineering college; and the sacred town of Haridwár, on the Ganges, at the foot of the Siwálik range, famous for its sanctity. To this town flock every twelfth year, on account of the peculiar sanctity then attaching to the festival, no less than three hundred thousand pilgrims. In ordinary years the number scarcely exceeds one hundred thousand.

In a previous volume I have told briefly of the occurrences at Saháranpúr at the time of the great outburst of the mutiny.* Much more, indeed, might be told of the coolness, always imperturbable, of the chief civil officer, Mr. Robert Spankie, and of the energy, the daring, and the readiness of resource, of Mr. Dundas Robertson. But space fails me for more than a general summary. It may suffice to state that Spankie, whilst successfully defending his own district, was able to assist the districts adjoining his own; to tell how, at a critical period, he poured grain into the Dún; how he organised a commissariat, and supplied the superintendent of the Dún with funds; further, how by the prestige of his energy, Major Baird Smith was greatly aided in his endeavours to do something more than hold his difficult position at Rúrki.

In his excellent little work, entitled *Fifty-Seven*, Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., has given a further record of the splendid services rendered by Spankie at Saháranpúr. From that I

Great
services of
Mr. Spankie.

* Vide Vol. III. pages 198-201.

propose to make but two extracts—the one typical of the mode in which rewards were dealt out for services rendered, the other showing how those services were appreciated on the spot. “Mr. Spankie’s services,” writes Mr. Keene, “were recognised by the Home Government; the Secretary of State, Sir C. Wood, writing under date, 11th of June, 1860, stated that he was commanded to convey to him (Mr. Spankie) the gracious approbation of her Majesty of his conduct during that critical period. Recognition, it may be thought,” continues Mr. Keene, “need not have stopped here; but in times when decorations are so widely won and worn, it may be a truer distinction, as Talleyrand said of Castlereagh, to be undecorated. And one may feel pretty sure that in preserving life and property, mitigating suffering, and maintaining the prestige and prerogative of his Queen and country, such a man as Robert Spankie found his truest distinction and his best reward.”

The appreciation of the Home Government.

Whilst Spankie and Dundas Robertson was maintaining order in and about Saháranpúr, upon Baird Smith it devolved to secure the station of Rúrki. What Baird Smith was I have told in the first pages of the first chapter of the fourth volume. But able as he was, full of resources, his ability and his resources were heavily taxed to maintain order in a place which was guarded mainly by men who sympathised with the rebels. But he was equal to the occasion, as he was to every other presented to him in his lifetime. He sent away on duty as many sappers as he could manage to send, and though some of those who remained mutinied, he disarmed and dismissed them. Round the workshops at Rúrki he erected a rough fortification, made over to the European and Eurasian garrison he had enrolled the muskets and ammunition of the sappers he had disarmed, and then, secure of his defences, turned to see in what manner he could best assist the general cause. Daring as he was prescient, he rescued two prisoners whom the Rohilkhand rebels had seized, collected revenue from the country about him, and by his demeanour and readiness of resource contributed greatly to the maintenance of comparative order. No one was more sensible than he of the splendid services rendered by Spankie. How he appreciated those services may best be told in a letter he addressed to that gentleman in 1860, and which, I am sure, Mr. Keene will pardon me for reprinting, in part, from his excellent

Baird Smith at Rúrki.

book already referred to. "With the exception of the time I was before Dehli," wrote Baird Smith, "I had constant opportunities of judging, from personal knowledge, of the influence of your resolute administration in maintaining peace and order within a district full of the elements of disorganisation.

His appreciation of Spankie.

"Having to control the chief town of the district, with its population of about six-and-thirty thousand, many among whom were discontented and fanatical Muhammadans, with numerous other large towns restless and excited, with a rural population containing an exceptionally large proportion of turbulent, aggressive and courageous tribes in active revolt against all law and order, with actual mutiny and attempted violence in the station, you had difficulties to contend with which, I have ever thought, could only have been successfully met by a rare combination of courage, decision, resource—thorough knowledge of native character, and incessant personal vigilance. Aided by your energetic subordinates, you made law respected throughout the district; saved life and property within and beyond it, to an almost inestimable extent; for if the disaffected had mastered Saháranpúr, Masúri must have been at their mercy with but feeble chance of resistance, and the fate of the large and chiefly helpless European community there can scarcely be matter of even momentary doubt. That you were, under God, the chief means of preventing such catastrophes has always been my conviction, and in common with many others I have felt heartily grateful to you for your efforts to avert them.

"On my own behalf I may add, that among the many civil officers from whom the necessities of the case compelled me to seek assistance for the Engineer Park during the siege of Dehli, there was no one who met my requisitions, whether for men or materials, in a heartier or more earnest spirit of co-operation than yourself. The ability to complete the works necessary for the capture of Dehli within the short time actually employed, was not more a consequence of the indefatigable exertions of the troops in the trenches, than of the constant and laborious preparations systematically carried on for months beforehand. To the latter your aid was frequent and most important."

This, indeed, is high testimony, equally honourable to the writer and to the man whom he addressed, but Robert Spankie and his associates deserved every word of

Spankie and his associates.

it. In a terrible crisis, located in one of the most turbulent districts in the country, close to the capital, which was the heart of the conflict, they not only maintained order, but repressed every rising and baffled every scheme of the revolt. In addition, they freely rendered what aid was possible where and whenever it was required.

The next district to be referred to is Muzaffarnagar. The Muzaffarnagar district is bounded to the north by that of Saháranpúr, to the west by the Jamnah, Muzaffarnagar. to the south by the Míráth district, to the east by the Ganges. It thus comprises the northern part of the Duáb. It contains many populous towns, the chief of which are Muzaffarnagar, the capital, Kairána, and Khandlá, and is watered by the Ganges, the Jamnah, the Hindán, the Kalí Nadí, as well as by the Ganges Canal and the Jamnah Canal. Its area is sixteen hundred and fifty-six square miles, and, in 1857, its population was about six hundred and fifty thousand. When the mutiny broke out at Míráth the district officer was Mr. Berford, but his health had previously given way, and he was immediately replaced by Mr. R. M. Edwards, sent from Saháranpúr by Mr. Spankie.

I have described in the third volume * the earlier occurrences at the station of Muzaffarnagar. But with the arrival of Mr. Edwards matters improved. This able officer at once asserted the British authority, sent parties into the district to collect the revenue, and restored his communications with Míráth and other stations. Mr. Edwards takes charge of the Muzaffarnagar district. The people of the district, like all those in the northern portion of the Duáb, were naturally turbulent, and the sight of the success of the Sipáhis in the immediate vicinity was not calculated to curb their instincts. One of the leading zamindárs, a man called Mohar Singh, took the lead in the development of this feeling by opening out a correspondence with the court of Dehlí, and by encouraging in their disaffection the Hindu population of Shámli, a town twenty-four miles to the west of the station of Muzaffarnagar. For the moment Edwards could do little to repress him. Shámli, indeed, was kept from open revolt by the presence there of a small party of horse under Mr. Grant. Edwards receives reinforcements. But a little later the ever-zealous Spankie sent to the aid of the magis-

* *Vide* Vol. III. pages 201, 202.

trate a detachment of fifty Gurkhás accompanied by two British officers. With these and two mountain guns Edwards occupied Shámli; then on September 14th, leaving at that place about a hundred and twenty men under his faithful Muhammadan subordinate, the sub-collector Íbráhím Khán, he marched against the fort of

Capturee
Burhána.

Burhána and captured it. His absence from Shámli, however, had been fatal to British interests in that town. There was a town called Tháná Bhawan containing a temple much frequented by Hindu pilgrims, situated eighteen miles to the north-west of Muzaffarnagar, and twenty-eight to the south-west of Saháranpúr, the people of which, long passively mutinous, had broken into insurrection on hearing that one of their leaders had been executed at Saháranpúr. Taking advantage of the march of Edwards from Shámli, they

Catastrophe
at Shámli.

made a dash at that place, and surrounded the office in which Íbráhím Khán and his men were posted. Íbráhím Khán defended his position all day, but the numbers against him were enormous, and towards the evening these succeeded in setting fire to the thatch which covered it. Then, utterly worn out, blinded by the conflagration, Íbráhím accepted terms of capitulation, which assured to him and his companions their honour and their lives. The terms of the capitulation were broken almost as soon as the capitulation took effect. The rebels murdered a hundred and thirteen persons in cold blood and plundered the office. On hearing of this Edwards set out

Edwards is
called back
to Muzaf-
farnagar.

to recover Shámli, but on his way alarming news from Muzaffarnagar called him back to that station. Learning there of the partial success of the storming of Dehli, and receiving reinforcements, he set out with some Sikhs, infantry and cavalry, some Gurkhás, and two guns. He proposed to march first on the town which was the head and front of the offending, the town of Tháná Bhawan. He arrived before it the 16th September; drove in the enemy's outposts, and attempted to storm. But the business was

Repulse at
Tháná
Bhawan.

strangely mismanaged. The storming party, composed of Sikhs and Gurkhás, led by Captain Smith and Lieutenant Cuyler, drove the rebels from the outbuildings, scaled the main wall, effected their entry into the town and captured two guns. The affair was over if only they had been supported. But the rebels, like the French in Cremona, when that place had been stormed by

Prince Eugene with an inferior force in 1702, perceiving the small force of the stormers, became in turn the assailants, and forced them to retire. A few days later, however, the gallant Dunlop* arrived with reinforcements, Tháná Bhawan was taken, peace and order were restored in Shámli, and justice was meted out to the authors of the massacre in that town. It is satisfactory to be able to record that in this case justice was really justice. Mr. Spankie took care that the courts should always be attended by a civil officer. He thus ensured a result which after generations can regard with satisfaction, the offences being judged without passion, and punishment being meted out to those only whose guilt had been absolutely proved.

Capture of that place.

The district is pacified.

I come now to the town and district of Mirath. The district so called has an area of two thousand three hundred and seventy nine square miles. It is bounded to the north by Muzaffarnagar, to the west by the Jamnah, to the south by the district of Bulandshahr, to the east by the Ganges. It thus forms part of the Duáb, and is watered by the Ganges and the Jamnah, and by the canals formed from those rivers. Its chief towns are Mirath and Gháziábad. The population, in 1857 considerably exceeded a million; it was probably just short of twelve hundred thousand.

Mirath.

In the preceding volumes the reader will find, related at great length and in much detail, the earlier history of Mirath in connection with the mutiny. I shall, therefore, confine myself here to the record † of the daring achievements of the chief civil officer and his companions which contributed so powerfully, when all was dormant in the station itself, to ensure the maintenance of British authority in the district.

Its earlier record.

The officer in question was Mr. Wallace Dunlop, magistrate and collector of Mirath. Mr. Dunlop was travelling in the Himálaya mountains when the mutiny broke out. ‡ He heard of that event at the village of

Dunlop in the Himálayas

* To be mentioned in the pages that follow immediately.

† Vide Vol. I. page 437; Vol. II. pages 32-57, and 129-37; Vol. IV. pages 61-4.

‡ His companion was Speke of the 65th Native Infantry, brother of the African traveller. Speke was a few months later mortally wounded at the storming of Dehli. He was a gallant soldier and a noble-hearted man. His dying words were: "Thy ways are not our ways, but they are just and true."

Nagar near the source of the Bías river on the 31st of May.

when the
mutiny
breaks out.
Hastens to
Dehli.

He at once pushed for the plains, passed through the Simlá sanitarium, the inhabitants of which he found "either in the hot or cold fit of panic," and reached Ambálah on the 9th and Karnál on the 10th of June. At the latter place he received a letter from

his commissioner, Mr. Greathed, who was with the English army before Dehli, in reply to one from himself asking for active employment, summoning him to the camp: It was just after the action of Badli-ki-sarái had been fought—an action considered by every one as a precursor to the immediate storming of the imperial city. As Dunlop and Speke rode across that plain, still strewn with the bodies of the dead Sipáhis, the only anxiety they felt was the anxiety lest they might arrive too late for the great event, to attempt which, in fact, the army had still to undergo three months' toil, fighting and privations.

He is ordered
to Míráth,

experience

and rides
through the
disturbed
districts to
Bhágpat.

camp, and

On the very day of his arrival in camp, Dunlop was informed by the commissioner that the gentleman who had acted for him at Míráth was dead, and that as it was of great importance that someone possessing local experience should take charge of that district, it was incumbent upon him to proceed thither at once, and that, owing to the scarcity of cavalry, he must find his way without an escort. Dunlop started that night on a hired horse, accompanied by one mounted orderly* belonging to his district who happened to be in camp, and rode straight for Bhágpat on the Jamnah.

Thence he
rides for
Míráth.

Having travelled three consecutive days and nights Dunlop was overcome with fatigue when he reached Bhágpat. Received with apparent cordiality by the two senior native officials of that place, he threw himself down and slept. When he awoke he found himself surrounded by natives; learned that the Muhammadans were ripe for rebellion, and that the country was becoming every day more dangerous. He devoted a portion of the night that followed to write a report of all that he had heard, accompanied by suggestions from himself to the commissioner, and the following afternoon rode for Míráth, which he reached the same night.

Dunlop at once took charge of his duties. Under ordinary circumstances they would not have been very different from

* There were four orderlies in camp, but one only could be spared.

those devolving upon civilians in other large military stations held throughout the period of the mutiny by British troops. But the circumstances of Mirath were not ordinary.

Only forty miles from Dehli, and surrounded by districts in which mutiny was rampant, it constituted, in June, 1857, the one spot on the grand trunk road running from Allahábád to the north-west which might serve as an effective rallying-point for loyal natives. Dunlop had early experience of this truth. The morning of the day or the second day after he had taken charge nine Sikh horsemen, without arms, rode to his house to report their arrival to him as district officer. They represented themselves as belonging to the detachment of the 1st Oudh Cavalry which had murdered Fletcher Hayes and two other Englishmen, and had then ridden for Dehli. They had declined to accompany their mutinous comrades, had surrendered their arms to Mr. Watson, magistrate of Aligarh, and had then ridden to Mirath, there to proffer their services to the British authorities. Dunlop was only too glad to engage them.

Peculiar position of Mirath.

Dunlop takes loyal Sikhs into his service.

Passing over an expedition into the neighbouring district, in which Dunlop served as a volunteer, I come to that part of his conduct which gives a special mark to his proceedings as district officer, and of which the incident regarding the enrolment of the nine Sikh horsemen may be considered as the foundation-stone.

Dunlop had not only found the civil treasury of Mirath almost empty, but that means of replenishing it were wanting. He had no men at his disposal to aid in collecting revenue in the district. Military aid could not be counted upon; whilst the native bankers and merchants of the city, under the circumstances of the time, positively refused to advance a loan to the Government. In this crisis Dunlop, availing himself of the ready co-operation offered by the brigade-major, Colonel Whish, resolved to organise a volunteer troop of European civil and other officers then refugees at Mirath.

To meet the difficulties of the time,

Dunlop resolves to raise volunteers.

The corps were speedily organised. Major Williams, superintendent of police, was nominated commanding officer, Captain Charles D'Oyly* as second in com-

Formation of the Kháki Risála.

* Afterwards Major-General Sir D'Oyley, Bart.

mand and Lieutenant Tyrwhitt* as adjutant. Volunteers flocked in, and so actively were the drilling, mounting, and arming proceeded with that within three days one troop, composed of Englishmen, Eurasians, and a few Sikhs, was fit for duty. The uniform chosen was a suit of dust-coloured cloth called khákí, and this cloth gave the name of the Khákí Risála to the corps.

The Khákí Risála began its career as a regiment by proceeding, towards the end of June, to attack some villages only five miles from Mirath, which the Gújars had occupied. Accompanied by two guns and a few of the Caribineers, they drove out the Gújars, burned three of the villages, killed several Gújars, and took forty of them prisoners. From the date of this successful attack the revenue collections in the district began. At first the task was not easy, but other expeditions followed that just recorded, and it was found that every fresh expedition increased the facility of realising the revenue.†

It may be interesting to record some of these expeditions.

On the 8th of July news of the burning of Bégamábád, an important village about twelve miles distant on the road to Dehli, reached Mirath. The atrocity had been committed by a large body of Gújars, and had been accompanied by circumstances of singular atrocity, the victims being a number of loyal men of the Ját tribe who had bound themselves together to resist Gújar incursions. On this occasion, greatly outnumbered and despairing of success, the Játs had made a feeble resistance, and had succumbed. Within a few hours of the news reaching Mirath, Dunlop set off, accompanied by the Khákí Risála, fifteen of his armed retainers, twenty armed native Christians, and two mountain-guns, manned by native artillerymen. Pushing on with vigour, this column reached the ruins of Bégamábád by grey dawn of the morning of the day following the commission of the atrocity. The fires were still smouldering, the walls were blackened, the

The Khákí Risála pacifies one district.

Atrocities of the Gújars

* Later Major-General Tyrwhitt.

† "Every fresh expedition added to the facility of realising our revenue, and in a few months, amidst the wreck and disorganisation of surrounding districts, the entire government had been collected, with a rapidity and completeness hitherto unprecedented."—*Service and Adventure with the Khákí Risála*: a book upon which that portion of this chapter relating to that Risála is mainly based.

flooring in many places was dug up, and a few miserable fugitives were seen wandering here and there in the fields. The village of Síkrí, two miles distant, was known to be the headquarters of the Gújars. Thither the Kháki Risála proceeded, and before the alarm could be raised surrounded it. The Gújars defended themselves with great obstinacy, and five hours elapsed before the victory was gained. But when gained it was complete.

are punished
by the Risála.

One of the most enterprising and daring of the Gújar leaders was Sáh Mall, zamindár of Báj-rúl, a man who had conquered, and who had since maintained, a kind of semi-independence in the town of Barot, capital of the district of the same name in the Mirath division, but in close proximity to Dehlí. From this district and from Báj-rúl, Sáh Mall had been for some time in the habit of sallying to carry fire and the sword into the neighbouring villages. The proximity of Barot to Dehlí seemed to promise him immunity from assault. Not so, however, thought Dunlop. This gentleman, angered at the ruthless destruction wrought by this brigand and his followers upon an unoffending people, sketched a plan for attacking the southern village of the Barot district by a rapid advance of the Kháki Risála and of such assistance as the general would afford him from Mirath. He laid his plan before the general, and obtained his assent to its execution. Dunlop knew well that considerable danger would attend the attempt, as forces would certainly be sent after him from Dehlí; but he trusted to the rapidity of his movements, to the increasing distance from Dehlí, as he should approach Sáh Mall's stronghold of Báj-rúl, and to the prestige inseparable from audacity.

Devastations
of Sáh Mall.

Dunlop
resolves to
check them.

His plans for
that purpose.

Towards the end of July the expedition, composed of two mountain-guns, fifty men of the Risála, forty men 60th Rifles, two sergeants, and twenty armed bandsmen, and twenty-seven armed native retainers, marched to the village of Dalhaura, on the Hindan, little more than twenty miles from Dehlí. There they heard heavy firing in the direction of Déolah, seven miles distant. The chauthári (headman) of Déolah, who was with the British force, was despatched at once to learn the cause of the firing. He returned during the night with information that Sáh Mall and his friends were lying at the Muhammadan village of Basánd, with the

The expedi-
tion sets out

intention of attacking Déolah the next day. Early next morning the small British party marched on Basáud. Their approach was sufficient. Sáh Mall and his followers evacuated the place, leaving large supplies in it. Basáud, long used as a store-house for the rebels, was burned; the prisoners taken were shot. The force then marched for Barot. No revenue had been collected from this subdivision since the commencement of the mutiny. In fact, the civil establishments had been driven out in May, and the country had been more or less overrun by the rebels. Dunlop now devised and carried out a daring plan to remedy the evil. Whilst the force marched away along the course of the east Jamnah canal he, taking with him a tahsildár * and two mounted orderlies, visited all the villages on the left bank, moving parallel with the force, collecting sheep and supplies for it as he went along, and trusting to his prestige as district officer for immunity from attack.

The experiment was at first most successful. From the first two villages, indeed, the inhabitants had fled, and Dunlop's care was to send out to reassure the zamindárs. The third village, Bichpúri, was a Gújar village, the inhabitants of which had taken a leading part in plunder and destruction. Dunlop, nevertheless, entered it; and here his prestige served him, for, he records, "numbers of armed men were leaving it as I arrived." In the four villages next visited his reception was not unfriendly; the inhabitants "appeared glad to see the tahsildár." From each he carried off one or two of the principal landowners as security for the Government revenue. The people of the next village, Barká, were known to be friendly. To his surprise, then, on arriving before it, Dunlop found the gates closed and the people swarming from their houses. A whisper from one of them sufficed to give the information that they were expecting an attack from Sáh Mall.

Dunlop stayed for a few minutes, endeavouring to calm the fears of the villagers, when a tremendous noise of shouting and bellowing from a neighbouring village convinced him that

* A native collector of revenue. The party was three days later joined by a native officer.

they were well founded. In a few seconds Sáh Mall, at the head of two thousand men, came in sight. Very soon their matchlock-balls were flying amongst the small party, only one of whom was an Englishman. Dunlop would willingly have faced them—but *cui bono*? One or two hundred Englishmen might, as they did in the pursuit of Tántiá Topí, face, and even successfully attack, four or five thousand rebels. But one man against two thousand! The odds were too great. Dunlop and his five companions unwillingly fell back, leaving the fifteen landowners and twelve sheep he had collected, unguarded, as a prey to the rebels.

Sáh Mall

forces Dunlop to retire.

But the danger was not over. A horseman, armed with a matchlock and drawn sword—subsequently ascertained to be Bagdá, nephew to Sáh Mall—rode at Dunlop. Under ordinary circumstances the combat would probably have been short. But Dunlop was riding that morning, for the first time, a horse which had an insane dread of fire-arms. His position would have been ludicrous but for its danger. “The animal,” he writes, “proceeded to the charge alternately tripping along sideways, or waltzing round on its hind legs, springing clear off the ground at every discharge of my revolver.” However, Dunlop succeeded in depriving Bagdá of his thumb and in mortally wounding his charger. He then rode after his friends, leaving his pith helmet, which had fallen off in the fight, as a trophy on the field.

Dunlop meets in single combat the nephew of Sáh Mall;

danger of bestriding a timid horse.

Ultimately

Dunlop deprives his antagonist of his thumb and his horse; but loses his own helmet.

Dunlop now made, with his small escort, for Barot. There he found that the column had had that morning an engagement with, and had put to flight, a body of rebels who were then being pursued. The cavalry had scarcely returned from the pursuit, when Sáh Mall led the men who had chased the small party in the morning to the attack. But it was Dunlop's turn now. The rebels, their flanks turned, soon broke and fled.

Defeat of Sáh Mall,

This affair proved to be most important. In the pursuit Sáh Mall was overtaken and killed by a young volunteer, by name Tonnochy, assisted by a native trooper. His head, stuck on a pole, materially influenced the decision of a third attack, which the remainder of the rebels, unaware of Sáh Mall's death, ventured to deliver the same afternoon.

who is slain,

It was repulsed with ease.* I should not omit to add that and Dunlop's helmet in the second fight of the day Dunlop's lost is recovered. helmet was recovered.

The effect of Sáh Mall's death was shown by the freedom with which the native dealers at once brought grain and other supplies into the British camp. That evening, too, the officers and men of the force enjoyed the gratification of encamping in and around a bungalow which Sáh Mall had set apart for himself as a hall of justice.

Great results of Sáh Mall's death.

From Barot the little column marched for Sirdhána, famous as the residence of Bégam Samrú. Here Dunlop made arrangements for the payment by the neighbouring villages of arrears of rent. But one village, Akalpúra, was refractory. This village belonged to one Narpai Singh, a notorious rebel. Under his auspices, then, the men of the place sent back Dunlop's messengers with the inquiry, "Who is the district officer and who is the tahsildár that they should demand revenue from Akalpúra?" and threatened the messengers with death should they return on a similar errand. In consequence of this message, it was deemed advisable to pay the refractory village a visit. The Khákis, then, started before daybreak, reached Akalpúra before the alarm had been sounded, surrounded and stormed it, Narpai Singh being among the slain. This prompt and successful action produced a marvellous effect on the turbulent spirits in the neighbourhood. The force then returned to Sirdhána.

Insolent message of Narpai Singh,

for which he atones with his life.

An act of justice such as the natives of India would thoroughly appreciate was performed about this time. There were two villages in the Rájput portion of the Míráth division, known as Solána and Dháulána. The inhabitants of both were Rájputs. The native official of the district was a Muhammadan, Toráb Áli, loyal to the British. As the district, however, was in close proximity to Muhammadan districts which had rebelled, the inhabitants of Dháulána, thinking to earn the

Dunlop metes out justice which can be understood and appreciated.

* In this affair, and indeed throughout the campaign of Khákí Risála, a young civilian made himself particularly distinguished for his coolness in danger and his courage in the field. This was Mr. A. C. Lyall, now Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, as remarkable for his ability now as he was for the sterner qualities in those troublous days.

praise of the court of Dehli, declared against the English, attacked the police station, and took prisoner Toráb Áli. Upon this the people of Solána, loyal to the English, attacked Dháulána and released Toráb Áli. The Dháulána men, knowing they had sinned beyond forgiveness, incited other villages to revolt. Whereupon Dunlop visited the district with the little column, defeated the rebels, and gave their lands over to the loyal people of Solána.

Shortly after this, the 21st of July, the little column, somewhat strengthened, proceeded to Hapur, thence to defeat the rebels at Galáuti—an achievement gallantly and successfully performed.

Other successful expeditions

An expedition on the 18th of September to Morwána was so far successful, that the report of its approach was sufficient to scare the rebels. It was followed by one of greater importance—to drive some rebels from Thána Bhawan, eighteen miles beyond Muzaffarnagar—a place whence they had repulsed the district officer and a fairly strong force. Dunlop's force, joined at Muzaffarnagar by that previously repulsed, was successful on this as it had been on every other occasion.

of the Kháki Risála.

With the fall of Dehli the necessity for such detached expeditions in the Mírath division practically ceased. The army, released from the labours of the siege, proceeded, as we have seen, to free the country in all directions. It is impossible to exaggerate the services which in the interval had been rendered by the little band of volunteers, of whom Mr. Dunlop was the original organiser, the constant companion. Who were these volunteers? The best answer to that query is that given in the work in which their deeds are recorded, and which tells in eloquent language of the results they accomplished.

With the fall of Dehli the necessity for its labours ceases.

"Few of those," wrote Mr. Dunlop at the time, "who so gallantly volunteered for a life of peril and adventure in lieu of patient anticipation while awaiting the issue of the struggle at Dehli, had any military experience to assist them, and their drill had to be commenced; but they possessed the hereditary courage of their race; they could all ride; many of them were sportsmen, some of them crack shots and admirable swordsmen. Made of such material, is it to be wondered at that they traversed the most distracted portions of the district in the height of the revolt;

Who and what were the volunteers?

that they fearlessly faced, with the support of two little mountain-train guns, manned by native artillerymen of doubtful loyalty, forty native najibs, and forty of the rifle regiment, the assembled hordes of one of the most enterprising leaders this rebellion has produced, and, with little or no loss to themselves, routed and destroyed in hundreds the same class of men as those whose unbridled villainy produced such mischief in the station on the night following the outbreak; that, maddened by the insults and massacres inflicted on their own relations, on their own brothers and sisters, they executed, if let loose on a rebel village, a vengeance which made it a terror and a fear to the country around?" It is impossible to show more clearly how it was that, in the most critical times of the mutiny, the Mírath division was prevented from falling a prey to the rebels.

The next in the Mírath division of which I have to write is Bulandshahr. This district has an area of Bulandshahr. nineteen hundred and fourteen square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about eight hundred thousand. It is bounded to the north by Mírath, to the west by the Jamnah, to the south by Áligarh, and to the east by the Ganges. Its chief towns are Bulandshahr and Khurjá.

In previous volumes * I have told some of the events which characterised the outburst and the suppression of the mutiny at Bulandshahr and Khurjá. But I propose now to supply some incidents which did not come strictly within the province of the military narrative.

In the third volume * I have merely stated that the detachment of the 9th Regiment of Native Infantry mutinied at Revolt at Bulandshahr. Bulandshahr on the 21st May, but had offered no violence. The fact is that on the news of the mutiny of the men of the head-quarters of their regiment at Áligarh the previous day reaching Bulandshahr, the magistrate, Mr. Brand Sapte, attempted to carry to Mírath the public money in his treasury, when he was attacked by a crowd of Gújars, and compelled to flee for his life. He and his companion, Mr. Melville, reached Mírath in safety, and there he had the satisfaction to find the gentlemen whom he had left at Bulandshahr—Mr. George Mr. Brand Sapte. Turnbull, whom he had but just relieved as chief civil officer,

* Vide Vol. III. page 103; Vol. IV. pages 62-5.

Mr. Ross, of the 9th Native Infantry, and Mr. Alfred Lyall, his assistant.

As soon as they had driven the English officers from the place, the Gújars sacked and burnt down their houses, released the prisoners from the gaol, and then destroyed the public offices and the records stored in them. The Sipáhis, who had probably been in league with the Gújars, had made their way to Dehlí. Sapte, however, who was an old Wykehamist, and, like all the men in India who hailed from the famous school near the Itchin, a man difficult to baffle, returned to Bulandshahr on the 25th with a few horsemen, intending, if they would only be staunch, to recover the place. To his joy he found halted there, on their way to join the army forming to march against the rebellious capital, the 1st Gurkhás. With the aid of these, Sapte and the officers who had accompanied him, Ross, of the 9th Native Infantry, his assistant, Lyall, and Tyrwhitt, of the 14th Irregulars, were able to seize, identify, and punish some of the men who had been most prominent in the outrage of the 21st. They then moved on Biláspur,* a village near to which Mr. Skinner, member of a well-known and much-respected Indian family, had fortified himself in his house and compound. They found Skinner well and cheerful, prepared to defend himself against any enemy. The next day the greater part of their cavalry deserted, and the Gurkhás had to push on to join the army. The power of Sapte to maintain order in the district ceased then for a time.

The usual results followed. The Gújars, once more raising their heads, sacked the town of Sikandarábád, eight miles distant from Bulandshahr. The chief land-owner of Malagarh, Wálídád Khán, a man of considerable influence, asserted that he had received orders from the King of Dehlí to assume charge of the district, and, as an initial measure, he began to block the Mirath road. Under the same influence, the town of Khurjá, the second in importance in the district, was occupied, and to the standard

The Gújars.

Sapte returns

and punishes the ringleaders.

Is again left almost alone.

General revolt of the district.

* There are at least five places called Biláspur in India. One is a district in the Central Provinces, administered by a deputy commissioner; another is the town which is the capital of that district; a third is a state in the Panjáb; a fourth is its capital; a fifth is the village spoken of in the text.

raised there flocked the bulk of the disaffected Muhammadans of the district. The force at the disposal of Sapte had by this time been reduced to twenty men. It being impossible with these to effect anything against the surging rebels, Sapte turned his way towards Mirath. He had reached Galáuthí, a town twelve miles to the north of Bulandshahr, when he resolved to make a determined effort to assert British authority in that last-named town. But he found matters there as bad as they could well be. A number of men armed with muskets, and supported by three pieces of cannon, were drawn up to cover the entrance into the main street. In vain did Sapte and his companions endeavour to force this living barricade. After losing several horses from the grape-fire poured on them, he fell back on Galáuthí, baffling on his way a force sent from Malagarh to cut him off. His escort, meanwhile, had abandoned him.

Sapte is repulsed from Bulandshahr.

For the moment the district was lost. How, after the storming of Dehli, it was recovered; how, in succession, Sikandarábád, Balandshahr, Malagarh, and Khurjá were re-occupied by the British, has been told in the fourth volume.* Sapte, who meanwhile had joined and served gallantly in the Volunteer Horse, accompanied Greathead's column in its march through his district, of which, after the passage of that column, he retook charge. The charge was not a bed of roses. Though the principal centres had been re-occupied, there was still considerable disaffection. Hope had not been entirely crushed. One day Sapte received information that a Christian girl had been carried off by

Recovers, and restores, a Christian girl.

a rebel trooper, and was concealed in a village at no great distance. Thither, therefore, Sapte proceeded, accompanied by some horsemen. The villagers, all sturdy rebels, turned out to oppose the restitution of the girl. Sapte, however, beat them, and after a considerable search recovered the girl. But then began his greater trouble. The girl did not wish to quit the place. She had married the trooper, she said, and she wished to remain with her husband. To such a prayer Sapte could not be deaf. He granted her wish, though he assured her that her wedded bliss would not last long, as her husband

Married to a rebel trooper.

* Pages 61-4.

would be hanged if he were caught. It is satisfactory to believe that, during the year that followed, the husband was not caught. After that the amnesty covered him.

Sapte continued to render yeoman's service in his district, aided by the right wing of the 1st Balúch battalion, under Colonel Farquhar, and a body of Pathán horse under Major Stokes. It was due, in a great measure, to his untiring exertions that the Rohilkhand rebels were prevented crossing the Ganges into the Duáb. The loyal zamindárs, feeling that the time had arrived when they might safely show their zeal for their foreign masters, aided him loyally in these efforts. Prominent among these men was the Nawáb of Chatári, a loyal Muhammadan. Several villages likewise placed all their resources at his disposal. They had had a taste of Gújar rule, and they preferred that of the British. When, at the close of April 1858, success had been attained, Sapte was promoted to be district officer of Míráth. In the bestowal of honours he was not forgotten. He was made a Companion of the Bath, and it is satisfactory to record that few men have ever more deserved that coveted decoration. He had displayed all the qualities which distinguish the best Englishmen: courage and cheerfulness in difficult circumstances; calmness in danger; perseverance in holding his own; and mercy to the vanquished when he obtained the upper hand.

Sapte continues his splendid exertions.

Great qualities of Brand Sapte.

After his departure Bulandshahr ceased to have a history.

Of Áligarh, the next district, I have little to tell which has not been told in previous volumes. The district has an area of nineteen hundred and fifty-five square miles, and a population (in 1857) of something under a million. It is bounded to the north by the Bulandshahr district and the Ganges; to the east by the Ítah district; to the south by the Mathurá and Ágra districts; to the west by the Jamnah and the Mathurá district. The Ganges canal passes through its centre. Close to the Fort of Áligarh is the town of Koel.

The story of the mutiny at Áligarh has been told in the third volume, and its recapture is recorded in the fourth.* In the interval, the district had practically remained in the hands of the rebels. One or two expeditions were made by the

* *Vide* Vol. III. pages 102, 192; Vol. IV. pages 65, 201.

organised volunteers of the Ágra and Áligarh districts to save lives and to restore order. One of these especially deserves to be recorded. Of the horse volunteer force on service in the Áligarh district in the last days of June, the majority had been recalled to Ágra, and but eleven remained with Mr. Watson, the intrepid magistrate of the district. But these eleven were men of great daring and of sterling worth. They were: Mr. Cocks, of the Civil Service; Mr. Outram, of the same service, a son of Sir James Outram; Ensigns Ollivant and Marsh, of the Indian army; Messrs. Pat Saunders, J. O'B. Tandy, H. B. Harrington, Hind, Castle, and Birkingyoung, planters, and Dr. Stewart Clark. On the 30th of the month information reached these gentlemen that the rebel scum occupying Koel were about to attack the indigo factory in which they were temporarily residing; that they had even sworn that before nightfall the heads of the Faringhís should adorn the city gates. The danger was imminent, but it found our countrymen prepared. They had their horses saddled, their arms laid handy, and they kept a careful watch on the road by which the mutinous rabble must advance. Presently the word was passed that they were approaching. Instantly Watson sounded to saddle, then moved against the rebels, whose advanced guard numbered about five hundred, and charged.

Watson and his gallant comrades.

Their splendid repulse of the Áligarh rebels.

Never was a charge more successful. Fourteen of the enemy were laid low. The remainder, thoroughly panic-stricken, fled like hares, attacked and plundered in their flight by the villagers, who, probably, had many an old score to settle.

This brilliant exploit obtained only a temporary relief.

Eventually the volunteers had to seek refuge in Ágra; not, however, until they had lost two of their number, Marsh, a very promising officer, shot in a skirmish, and Tandy, who, on one occasion, taking his horse over the wall of an orchard crowded with fanatics, was promptly cut to pieces. It is melancholy, also, to have to record that the gallant Watson succumbed at Ágra, during the siege, to cholera.

How Áligarh was recovered after the storming of Dehli has been already told.

The Dehli division.

I propose to take the reader with me now into the Dehli division, forming, in 1857, a part of the

North-West Provinces, though, now incorporated with the Panjáb.

The division of Dehlí comprised, in 1857, the city of Dehlí, and the districts of Gurgáon, Hisár, Pánípat, and Rohtak.

The history of Dehlí antecedent to and during the period of the mutiny, has been so completely told in the preceding volumes of this history that further reference is unnecessary. I therefore propose to pass at once to Gurgáon.*

The district of Gurgáon possesses an area of nineteen hundred and thirty-eight square miles, and it had, in 1857, a population of something more than half a million. It is bounded to the north by the Rohtak district; to the west and south-west by the native States, Alwar, Nábha, and Jhínd; to the south by the district of Mathurá; to the east by the Jamnah; and to the north-east by the Dehlí district. Its principal towns were Gurgáon, the capital; Rewári, Pálwál, and Farrukhnagar. The principal river traversing it is the Jamnah.

Of this district it will suffice to say that its fate was decided by its proximity to the imperial city. Its chiefs and its people, especially the former, threw in their lot with the representative of the House of Taimur. Its fate, then, followed that of Dehlí. In the fourth volume † I have told how, after the conquest of that city, Brigadier Showers marched a column into the Gurgáon district and put down all opposition. After that exploit it ceased to have a history.

It was similar with the district of Hisár. This district had an area of three thousand five hundred and forty square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about four hundred thousand. It touches the Patiálá State, and part of the Sirsa district, on the north and north-west; the Jhínd state and Rohtak district in the south and east; the Bikánír state on the west. Its principal river is the Ghaggar; its chief town Hisár, which in prosperity has quite eclipsed the

* It is hardly necessary to indicate the pages which treat of the history of Dehlí. But, for form's sake, I refer the reader to the following: Vol. II. pages 1-31, 57-74, 137-145, 386-456; Vol. IV. pages 1-59, 75-83; Vol. V. pages 270, 271, and Appendix.

† See Vol. IV. pages 75, 76.

ancient, and in many respects famous, town of Hánís, and the town of Agrohah.

The remarks which have been made regarding the district of Gurgáon apply almost equally to that of Hisár. The Sipáhis and people alike sympathised with Dehlí in its revolt. The district returned to its allegiance only after the fall of that city.

Pánípat had the reputation of being the most turbulent district in the north-west. The district, then a separate and Pánípat. one, is now merged into that of Karnál, which then belonged to it. The plain in the immediate vicinity of the town is famous as having been the scene of three battles, each of which decided for the time the fate of India. The first was fought in 1526, when Bábar, by the defeat of Íbráhím Lodí, accompanied by his death, established the Mughul dynasty. The second, fought in 1556, when Akbar's general, Khán Zamán, defeated Hemu, and rendered firm and unshakable the throne of his master. The third, fought in January 1761, between Ahmad Sháh Durání and the Maráthás, checked for a period the advance of that powerful confederacy. The town of Pánípat is fifty-three miles to the north of Dehlí, and has a population of twenty-five thousand. That of the district amounted, in 1857, to about four hundred thousand.

It has been told in the second volume how, when General Anson marched to Karnál, the bulk of the contingent furnished by the Rájah of Jhínd was sent to Pánípat. Being in the straight line between Karnál and Dehlí, it continued to be occupied during the siege. Its record, therefore, is merely the record of troops passing through it. Whatever may have been the feelings of the people, they were carefully suppressed in the continual sight of red-coat and khákí, and the place remained without a history to the end of the war.

The district of Rohtak, now forming part of the Hisár division, but in 1857 one of the districts under the Rohtak. Commissioner of Dehlí, was bounded to the north by Karnál; to the east by Dujána and Dehlí; to the south by Gurgáon; to the west by Hisár and Jhínd. It had an area of eighteen hundred and eleven square miles, and a population, in 1857, of something short of half a million. The district consisted mainly of a level plain, watered by the Sáhíbf, which flows from the Ajmír hills; but the land receives the benefit of a supply of water from the Rohtak and Butána

branches of the western Jamnah canal. The chief towns were, Rohtak, forty-two miles to the north-west of Dehli; Jajhar, Majrá, Bahádurgarh, Gohána, and Narnúl.

It has been related in the second volume * how mutiny broke out at Rohtak, and it has been told in the fourth † how the revolt was suppressed. In the interval between the rise and the suppression; an interval which corresponded entirely to the duration of the siege of Dehli; the district was held for the rebels. There can be little doubt but that the sympathy of the people, from noble to peasant, was enlisted on behalf of the representative of the Mughul.

* Page 411.

† Pages 75-83.

CHAPTER V.

SINDH AND THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

THE story of the disturbances in the Cis-Satlaj States, in the Panjáb, in some districts of the Bombay Presidency, and in Bombay itself, has been told in sufficient detail in the preceding volumes. I do not propose, then, to add a single word with respect to them in this chapter. To this general rule Sindh, however, forms an exception, for though there was no disturbance in that province, there were circumstances connected with it which deserve full mention. I propose, then, to devote a few pages to Sindh, and then to complete the story by recording in such detail as may be necessary, the action of those Native States which have not been prominently mentioned in preceding volumes.

How Sindh became a British province, and how the attempt to garrison it with Sipáhis from the Presidency of Bengal without giving them the extra allowances to which by custom and regulation they were entitled, landed the Indian Government of the day in a sea of difficulties has been told in the first volume.* In a comparatively short time, however, under the wise administration of Sir Charles Napier, Sindh became as tranquil and as easily governed as the most orderly of the older provinces. I might say, indeed, that the more recent recollection by the inhabitants of the grinding sway of the Amírs whom the wise policy of Lord Ellenborough had displaced, rendered them more easy to control, more amenable to the lighter hand of the British ruler, than they probably would have been had they never felt the grinding tyranny from which the British had released them.

In 1857 the Commissioner of Sindh was Mr. Bartle Frere,

* Vol. I, pages 202-21.

better known to the present generation as Sir Bartle Frere. Bartle Frere was a very eminent man who had won his way to the high post of Chief Commissioner of Sindh by conscientious work to which he had devoted the very great natural ability with which he was endowed. Immediately after the conquest of the province in 1843 it had been, I have said, ruled by the conqueror, Sir Charles Napier.

Bartle Frere.

Napier had been a very able administrator. Energetic, painstaking, indefatigable, he had instilled into his subordinates a right conception of the nature of the work he wished to be performed, and a portion of his own spirit in the performing of it. The result was that at the close of the four years of his Government, the province which had ever been regarded as the most oppressed and misgoverned province in India, ranked amongst the best administered and most contented. Napier took a firm military grasp of the country; then formed and trained from amongst the natives a police so efficient that it became a model to other provinces; lightened the assessment on the ground-down cultivators of the soil; exempted traders from imposts; and laid down, at Karáchi, the principle of a harbour, which, perfected, should become the harbour for western and north-western India.

Sir Charles
Napiercompletely
pacifies Sindh.

To carry on the work so well begun by Napier Frere was nominated Chief Commissioner of Sindh in December 1850. Few men held in higher admiration the organising genius of Sir Charles Napier than did the new Chief Commissioner. The lines upon

Frere becomes
Chief
Commissioner
in 1850.

which he proceeded, then, were distinctly marked out for him. Entirely above the petty passion of jealousy, Frere devoted himself to this work with all the ardour of his earnest and practical nature. He visited every portion of the province, and then set to work. He developed an efficient road-system; he enlarged the Bigári canal; submitted a plan for the introduction of railroads; and devoted himself to the development of the harbour of Karáchi. The harbour, as it is now, may indeed be said to be his work, for though Sir Charles Napier had marked the spot, it was left to Frere to carry out the design, and this he did with a zeal that speedily overcame all obstacles. With respect to his frontier policy he inaugurated a system which produced the most admirable results. It was a policy of demanding from the

Success of his
policy.

rude Balúchís who might attack the Sindh villages the surrender of the actual offenders. In course of a short space of time this policy had the effect, not only in causing a cessation of border outrage, but of enlisting on behalf of the administrator who understood so well how to combine justice with the maintenance of order the sympathies of the entire population.

Under the rule of Frere, then, not only had order been maintained, and a system established by which it should be permanently assured, but, as a natural consequence, trade had increased: the population, mostly Muhammadan, had become reconciled to British rule: the revenues had been placed upon a solid footing: whilst the cultivators of the soil had been made happy by the fixing of a regular settlement on the plan which prevailed in many parts of the Bombay Presidency, that of reserving proprietary rights, and establishing fixity of tenure.

The results

Frere visits
England in
1856.

The hard work and the anxieties of his Government had affected the health of Frere, and in the early part of 1856 he visited England. Whilst he is absent I propose to describe more minutely the province he was administering.

Rough
description of
the province.

The province of Sindh* consists of the lower valley and delta of the Indus. It is bounded to the north by Balúchistán, the Panjáb, and Baháwalpúr; to the east by Jaisalmir and Jodhpúr; to the south by the Ran of Kachh and the Indian ocean; to the west by Balúchistán. It has an area of 48,014 square miles, and had a population, in 1857, somewhat in excess of two millions. The chief towns are Haidarábád, the ancient capital, superseded now by Karáchí, one of the finest of the modern towns of India, with a magnificent harbour, and Shikarpúr. It has but two permanent rivers, the Indus and the Hab. But it contains two deserts; one of the north-west, in the Shirkarpúr district, called *Pat*, and the desert in the east and south-east called *Thar*. There

* Sometimes barbarously and incorrectly spelt "Scinde." Blochmann, who is a high authority in such matters, thus writes regarding the derivation of the name. "Sindh derives its name from the Indus river (for *s* is often exchanged in Sindhi with *h*; hence Sindh makes Hind, whence Indus and Hindustan). From ancient times," adds Blochmann, "Sindh has been divided into Lower Sindh, or *Lar*, Middle Sindh, or *Vichálo*, and Upper Sindh, or *Siro*. The Indus has considerably shifted its course from what it was in former times."

are three collectorates, one of which is practically divided into two parts. The collectorates are: 1, Karáchi, the head-quarters of which are in the town of that name. In the same division are Schwán, in the north, near the Indus, and east of the Lake Manchur; and Tattah or Thathah, east of Karáchi in the Indus delta; 2, Haidarábád, four miles from the Indus and six miles south of Míáni, where in 1843 Sir Charles Napier defeated the Amírs; and Amrkót, to the east, the birthplace of Akbar. Attached to the Haidarábád collectorate, and constituting its second division, are Thar and Párkhar, forming its southern portion, and extending along the Ran of Kachh. The chief towns in this division are Diplú, Islámkót, Víravan, and Nagar Párkhar; 3, the Shikápur collectorate, with an area of 11,000 square miles. This collectorate comprises the districts of Rohrí, Jacobábád, Shikápur, Larkhaná, and Mehar. The chief town, Shikápur, carries on a brisk trade with Afghánistán. Larkhaná, west of the Indus, is the chief town of a well-watered district.

To return to the period when Frere left Sindh to visit England. During his absence there broke out that Persian war which necessitated the despatch to the Persian Gulf of a considerable force from India. The war was concluded just as Frere returned in March 1857. But though a small danger had passed, Frere found a greater looming in a very close future. Everywhere he heard of the strange excitement which pervaded the minds of the Sipáhis generally, especially those of Bengal, on the subject of the greased cartridges. He found the mind of Lord Elphinstone fully impressed with the danger, especially of that particular danger which arose from the fact that many of the Bombay regiments were recruited from the same country as were those of Bengal. Still, up to the time of his arrival no overt act had been committed; but the air was charged with rumours, and it was evident that, in Bengal especially, mistrust ruled powerfully the native mind. The occurrences at Barhampúr and Barrackpúr came to add to the prevailing gloom, but nothing of the nature of a preconcerted outbreak had occurred when Frere left Bombay for Sindh in the beginning of May.

Scarcely, however, had he set foot in Karáchi when he received a telegram conveying an account of the revolt of the 10th of May at Mirath. Frere

Frere returns
from
England.

Warnings
of the
Mutiny.

Arrives at Karáchi and
hears of the Mutiny.

at once comprehended the magnitude of the crisis. He, at least, did not regard the emotions called forth by this glaring act of mutiny as a passing and groundless panic.* He realised, on the moment, the fact that a crisis had arrived which would test to the utmost the resources of the Empire. Taking a rapid survey of the position all over India, he saw that the immediate fate of the country must depend on the attitude of the Panjáb. Should the warlike people of that province declare against the British, the North-Western Provinces, at the very least, must be lost. Reasoning

Clear
diagnosis of
Frere.

thus, he asked himself how he, as Commissioner of Sindh, could best aid to prevent such a misfortune.

He had at his command two weak European regiments, one of them little more than half its normal strength, a troop of Horse Artillery, four Native Regiments, two battalions of Native Foot Artillery, the Sindh Horse, and the mutinous 6th Bengal Cavalry. With such a force, composed of so many diverse materials, he had to consider the following question. Supposing that the mutiny at Mirath should merge into a general uprising of the entire population, how could he, with the Europeans of the force just enumerated and the Sindh Horse, effectually overawe the other native troops, keep in subjection two millions of Muhammadans, and yet serve the general interests of British India? There was but one way, and that way Frere adopted. He telegraphed to Lord Elphinstone to the effect that with the view of averting possible danger it was

Despatches
his strongest
regiment to
Múltán.

his intention to despatch his strongest regiment, the 1st Fusiliers, to Múltán. Feeling that even an hour's delay might have fatal results he did not await the reply to his telegram before issuing the

marching order to the regiment. Lord Elphinstone, as I have already told,† gave an immediate reply in the affirmative. But the initial idea was as much Frere's as Elphinstone's. The minds of the two men seem to have arrived at the same moment to the same conclusion. Frere proposed to do, and did do, in Sindh, what Elphinstone proposed to do, and did do, in Bombay. But there can be no question as to the courage, the statesman-like prescience, the unselfishness, of Mr. Frere's proposal. Responsible for the safety of the province committed to his charge, he deliberately risked that safety to aid in the preservation of

* Vide Vol. III. page 1.

† Vol. V. page 3.

the Empire. The fortress of Múltán has always been regarded as one of the keys of India. Frere risked his own province to secure that key, and he did not risk it in vain. The regiment sent by him from Karáchi to Múltán held that fortress and Firúzpúr during the worst days of the revolt. His noble self-abnegation was rewarded. Whilst contributing to save the Empire, he maintained a firm hold on his province.

It is true that, during the long months which followed the despatch of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers to Múltán, outbreaks did occur in the three larger stations in Sindh, but in every case they were suppressed on the spot, without much trouble, and without external aid. The military police, referred to in a previous page as having been established by Sir Charles Napier, behaved on every occasion with fidelity, zeal, and energy. The consequence was that not a single mutineer escaped. Nor was the ordinary law strained to secure their punishment. The prisoners were tried by regular courts, composed of native officers, and these native officers awarded them the full penalty of their crime, and nothing more.

Represses three outbreaks with his police.

But Mr. Frere's exertions on behalf of the common weal did not confine themselves to the despatch of the 1st Fusiliers to Múltán. By degrees, as he felt his hand, and as necessities arose in other parts of the Empire, he still further denuded his own province. In a preceding volume* I have told of the risings in the Southern Maráthá country, and of the manner in which those risings were repressed. To aid in that repression Frere made a further contribution of European troops from his Sindh garrison. Though he would only have been too glad to retain the 1st Balúchís at Karáchi, he considered that their presence was required elsewhere, and therefore despatched them to the Panjáb. In a word, he employed all the resources at his disposal for the purposes of the general need of British India in a time of exceptional trial.

Further energetic measures of Mr. Frere.

I propose now to turn to the Native States of India, and mark the conduct of their rulers. The subject is not unprofitable. Though the splendid genius of Marquess Wellesley had established British preponderance in Southern, in Western, in Central, and in North-

The Native States.

* Vide Vol. V. pages 13-27, and 164-72.

Western India, the policy of his immediate successors, directed from the India Office, had had the effect, in Central and Western India especially, of neutralising the great efforts he had made to secure throughout India the British overlordship. From the very moment of his departure to the time of the Pindári war, a period of about twelve years, Rajpútáná had been systematically pillaged and plundered by Maráthá robbers. The scandal, at last grew too terrible to be tolerated, and in 1818, Lord Hastings, after a successful campaign against the Peshwá, against Holkar, and against the Pindáris, found himself in a position to restore the Wellesley policy. Clutching at the opportunity, he established the system which has ever since existed. The Native Princes of India became protected princes, debarred from making war against one another, bound to receive a British resident at their courts, and guarded against aggression from beyond the borders by the paramount power. The latter attained then the position designed for it by the Marquess Wellesley, the position of the predominant and protecting power in the peninsula. When the mutiny broke out in 1857 this system had been working for nearly forty years.

Rajpútáná. It will be interesting to notice how it had affected the conduct of the Princes of Rajpútáná whom we had rescued in 1818 from the most cruel oppression; of the Hindu dynasty of Maisúr, where it had been working for nearly sixty years; of the Nizam, our constant ally ever since the British influence at his court had superseded that of the French; of the various Rájahs of Southern, Western, and North-Western India; and of other minor princelets.

Some of this, indeed, has been already told. The preceding volumes have told at great length of the conspicuous loyalty of Mahárájah Sindhiá, whose predecessor sixty years before had devised the plan for the expulsion of the English from India. The reasons which probably influenced the able representative of the most powerful of the Maráthá rulers have likewise been fully considered. Of Sindhiá, then, I do not propose to speak in this chapter. Nor, I take it, is it necessary to make further allusion to Holkar. Of him, and of the mutiny at his capital, I have written at sufficient length in the third volume.*

The story of Sindhiá and Holkar has been already told.

* Vol. III. pages 132-61.

The question, whether Holkar was loyal or disloyal, is there discussed and decided. The late Mahárájah Holkar was not a fighting man; he had about him none of the instincts of the warrior. Essentially a money-grubber, he valued too highly the security afforded by the British overlordship to risk it for a shadow. When, then, in the chapter referred to, I recorded my opinion that Holkar was free from complicity with the mutineers; that his soldiers had slipped out of his hands; that his presence amongst them on the 1st July would have been misinterpreted; and that subsequently he did his best to serve British interests, I rather understated than overstated the case. Subsequent investigation has satisfied me that during that crisis Holkar was quite as much afraid of his own soldiers as a non-combatant in a station, the troops in which had mutinied, would have been afraid of the Sipáhis. Regarding Holkar, then, it is unnecessary to add a word to the story contained in the preceding volumes. It is very different with the princes of Rajpútáná. Those princes had up to the year 1818 suffered grievously from the plundering ^{Rajpútáná.} and the tyranny of the Maráthás and Pindáris. From that plundering and that tyranny the British had rescued them. They had therefore had nearly forty years' experience of the advantages or disadvantages of the British overlordship, and it seemed natural that in the presence of a revolution which threatened to destroy the protecting power, they would display the real feelings by which they were each individually animated.

How George St. Patrick Lawrence maintained the British supremacy throughout Rajpútáná I have shown in previous volumes.* But the headquarters of my narrative have been, so to speak, at the place occupied by the Agent to the Governor-General. I propose in the following pages to transfer those headquarters now to the courts of the native princes.

Rajpútáná comprises eighteen principalities: it has an area of 128,750 square miles, and, in 1857, its population was somewhat less than nine millions. The States ^{Composition of Rajpútáná.} within it, all of which with one exception, that of Tonk, are ruled by Rajpút princes, are: Bikánír, Jaisalmér, Krishngarh, Karaulí, Alwar, Tonk, Dholpúr, Udaipúr or Mewár, Dungapúr, Bánsvárá, Partábgarh, Jaipúr, Jodhpúr or Márwár,

* *Vide* Vol. III. pages 163-74; Vol. IV. pages 385-404.

Bhartpúr, Búndí, Kotá, Jháláwar, and Sirohí. I propose to consider as briefly as possible the action of their rulers in 1857-8 so far as it has not been referred to in previous volumes.

I begin with Bikánír. Bikánír is the easternmost of the states of Rajpútáná. It is bounded to the north-west by the state of Baháwalpúr; to the north by the Panjáb; to the east by Jaipúr; to the south and south-west by Jaipúr and Jaisalmír. It has an area of 22,340 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of something less than half a million. It occupies a considerable portion of the Rajpútáná desert: water is rarely found at a depth short of three hundred feet.

Up to the year 1835 the Rájah of Bikánír had been engaged in constant feuds with his neighbour, the Rájah of Jaisalmír. The evil had reached such a point in the year mentioned that the British Government, compelled to interfere, deputed an officer with powers to bring about a settlement. The exertions of the British officer soon realised the wished-for result. Both Rájahs renounced their previous ill-will, and entered into a pact of friendship. That pact was existing when the Rájah who made it, Ratan Singh, died (1852), and was succeeded by Sirdár Singh, who also observed it. Sirdár Singh was ruling when the Mutiny broke out at Mírath. The event did not disturb either himself or the people whom he ruled. Bikánír was out of the line of the mutineers. It was a poor country, sparsely populated, and the

events occurring in other parts of India affected it but slightly. The ruler, Sirdár Singh, was in the happy position of having no grievance. His northerly neighbours, the Panjáb and Baháwalpúr, were loyal to the British master. The British districts between himself and Dehlí, Hánsí and Hisár, had indeed risen in sympathy with the capital, but the tendency of the rebels was to march in a direction the exact opposite of that which led to his desert home. In the other parts of Rajpútáná British authority, though threatened, was upheld. In the truest sense, of the term, then, the British were nearer to him than were the rebels. Under the circumstances it was manifestly his policy to remain loyal to his overlord so long as that overlord should display vitality. He was loyal, therefore, throughout the troublous times. He could not, indeed, afford very great assistance in the field, for his entire military force

Sketch of recent history of Bikánír.

Loyalty of Sirdár Singh.

did not exceed three thousand men, but what he could do he did. Not only did he shelter British fugitives from Hánís and Hisár, but he sent parties into those districts to co-operate against the rebels. The Government of India did not forget these services. They assured to him the right of adoption; they added to his territory forty-one villages from the Sirsá (Hisár) district; they confirmed his right to a salute. This loyal chief lived till 1872.

Rewards
apportioned
to Bikánír.

Jaisalmír is the nearest Rajpút neighbour of Bikánír. It is bounded to the north by Baháwalpur; to the east by Bikánír and Jodhpúr; to the south by Jodhpúr and the Thar and Párkhar districts of Sindh; to the west likewise by Sindh. It has an area of 16,447 square miles, but a great part of this is desert. It rejoices in but one stream, the Kakní. The chief of this principality is styled the Maháráwal.

Jaisalmír.

The ruler of Jaisalmír who concluded the pacific arrangement with Bikánír referred to in the notice of that principality was Maháráwal Gaj Singh, a man of considerable ability and force of character. His just administration made him extremely popular with his people. In the first Afghán war he assisted his overlord by supplying the British army with camels. The Indian Government of the day did not forget this service, for when Napier conquered, and Lord Ellenborough wisely annexed, Sindh, the latter transferred to the Rajpút prince three important forts which, in previous wars, the Amirs of Sindh had wrongfully wrested from Jaisalmír. This great ruler died in 1856, the year before the Mutiny, leaving his territories to the disposal of his widow. She at once adopted a relative, Ranjít Singh, and this prince was ruling throughout the troublous times of 1857-9. His own territory remained quiet and loyal. The troops at his disposal never exceeded a thousand men, and he kept these wisely at home. Throughout the period referred to Jaisalmír was absolutely without a history. It has as happily continued to have none.

Previous
immediately
antecedent
history of
Jaisalmír.

It had no
history in
1857.

The next state to be noticed is Krishngarh. Krishngarh is a small state with an area of 724 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 100,000. The chief town, also called Krishngarh, lies on the road from Nasrábád to Hánís, twenty-one miles north-east of the former, and two

Krishngarh.

hundred and twenty-two south-west of the latter. The chief adopts the title of Mahárájáh.

From the period when this state came under British protection, 1818 till 1840, this little territory was the scene of constant confusion, caused by the oppression and extortions of the Mahárájáh, Kalián Singh. But, in 1859, this chief was succeeded by Pírthí Singh. Pírthí Singh was ruler during the troublous times of the Mutiny. He was a mild, inoffensive man, whose sympathies were entirely with his overlord. The total number of troops at his disposal did not exceed five hundred and fifty, and he kept these as much as he could for the protection of himself and his capital.

Next in order comes the state of Karaulí, the earlier history of which has been told in the first volume.* Karaulí lies between Jaipur and Dholpúr. It has an area of 1,208 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 130,000. To the south-east, the river Chambal separates it from the Gwáliár territory: to the south and west it is bounded by that of Jaipur: and to the north and north-west by Dholpúr and Bhartpúr. In 1857, the Mahárájáh was still that Madan Pál whose accession in 1853-4 had only been recognised after a reference to the Home Government. That accession had been accompanied by the withdrawal of the British agency from Karaulí, and by the intimation to the ruler that if he should fail in the annual payment of the debt due to the paramount power, the British Government would take possession of one or more of his districts until the whole debt, amounting then to 94,312 rupees, should be liquidated.

Madan Pál found not only that he was unable to comply with this condition, but that the debt became larger with each succeeding year. When the mutiny broke out in 1857 he was, then, in the condition of a man who, under the terms of his occupation, ought to desire the death of his overlord, for that death alone would apparently wipe out his obligation. But Madan Pál was a loyal and far-seeing man. He preferred the little finger of the British to the loins of the revolted Sipáhis. He exerted himself heart and soul therefore to further the

Antecedent
history of
Kriahgarh.

It is loyal in
1857.

Karaulí.

Madan
Pál.

Conditions
made to him
on his acces-
sion.

Excellent
conduct of
Madan Pál
in 1857-8.

* Vide Vol. I. pages 66-9.

interests represented in Rajpútáná by George St. Patrick Lawrence. So true and loyal was his conduct throughout those troublous times, that, when peace was restored, the British Government remitted the whole of his debt, then amounting to 117,000 rupees; bestowed upon him a dress of honour; and increased his salute. There could not have been a greater justification of the conduct of the Court of Directors in refusing to allow the Government of India to treat Karaulí as a lapse than was given by Mahárájáh Madan Pál within four years of his recognition as chief of that state.

The State of Alwar is bounded on the north by Gurgáon and the district of Kot Kásin; on the east by Mathurá and Bhartpúr; on the south and on the west by Jaipúr. The principality forms a portion of Mewát or the country of the Mewátís. It has an area of 3,024 square miles, a population (in 1857) of something over half a million, and has, as principal towns, Alwar, the capital, Rájgarh, and Rámgarh. When the year 1857 dawned, the chief of Alwar was that Ráo Rájah Beneí Singh who had defied Lord Combermere at the time of the second siege of Bhartpúr, and who had between his submission after that siege and the beginning of 1857 given repeated proofs of the possession of a turbulent spirit, especially resentful of the restraints imposed in the interests of the general peace of the country by the British overlordship.

Beneí Singh died just after the Mutiny had broken out, and was succeeded by his son, Ráo Rájah Leodán Singh, then thirteen years old. His accession was the signal for a struggle between the two parties in the State, the Muhammadan faction, always strong in Alwar, and the Rájput Thákurs or barons, representing chiefly the landed interest of the principality. For the moment, the Muhammadan faction gained the upper hand. The struggle for power within the State apparently blinded the eyes of both parties to the occurrences beyond its borders. The struggle was long and desperate. But, in 1858, the Thákurs prevailed, and the Muhammadan ministers were expelled and deported to Banáras. The paramount power then appointed a resident to advise the Ráo Rájah, to assist the council of administration formed to conduct affairs during the chief's minority. His principality was not affected by the Mutiny.

Alwar.

Ráo Rájah
Beneí Singh.Alwar is
too much
occupied by
domestic
rivalry to take
part in the
mutiny.

Tonk, the one principality in Rajpútáná ruled by a Muhammadan sovereign, has an area of 2,509 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of just over 300,000. It consists of six detached districts, named after the principal town in each, the districts of Tonk, Rámpúrah, Nimbherá, Sironj, Chaprá, and Peráwá. The capital, Tonk, lies on the river Banás, two hundred and eighteen miles to the south-west of Dehlí.

In 1857, the Nawáb of Tonk was Wazír Muhammad Khán, son of the famous freebooter Amír Khán, the founder of the principality. He was of middle age when the Mutiny of 1857 broke out, and he was wise. The principality carved out by his father in a period of disturbance and plunder had been confirmed to his father's family by the British, and could be secured only by loyal service to them. Such service Wazír Muhammad Khán rendered throughout 1857-8 to the best of his ability. He could do but little actively, for his military establishment consisted of but from five to six hundred horse. But what little he could do, especially at the time of Tántiá Topi's raids, was done heartily and earnestly. The reader will find a short account of his action in the fifth volume.* Wazír Muhammad lived to June 1864.

Dholpúr is bounded to the north and north-east by the Ágra district: to the south-east by the Chambal, which separates it from the Gwáliár territory: to the west by Karaulí and Bhartpúr. It has an area of 1,200 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 210,000. Its chief towns are Dholpúr, the capital, Bári, and Rájakhherá. The Ránás of Dholpúr have a hereditary enmity to the house of Sindhiá.

In 1857, the Ráná was Bhagwant Singh, then in the twenty-first year of his reign. His mature age had given him many opportunities of noticing the great advantage of the protection of a paramount power. That protection, and that alone, had saved him in 1841 from the vengeance of Sindhiá, whom he had grossly insulted. When, then, the Mutiny occurred, he cast in his lot with his overlord. When the outbreak took place at Gwáliár, in the manner described in the third volume,† he sent his carriages and escorts to convey the fugitives to Ágra. It is true that

* *Vide* Vol. V, pages 222, 223.

† Vol. III, page 115.

his minister, Déo Háns, less prescient than himself, believing that the hour of doom had sounded for the British, endeavoured to enrich himself by taking advantage of the defenceless state of the country to plunder villages in the Ágra district; and that, having nefariously succeeded, he endeavoured then to supplant his master. But this development took place after the Mutiny had been suppressed. It resulted in the removal to Banáras, as a State prisoner, of the intriguing minister. For his services in 1857-8, Ráná Bhagwant Singh was made a knight of the Star of India in its highest grade.

I now come to the most ancient and most important of all the States of Rajpútáná, the State of Udaipúr or Mewár. Udaipúr is bounded to the north by Ajmír; Udaipúr. to the east by the States of Bundí, Gwáliár, Tonk, and Partábgarh; to the south by Bánswára, Dungarpúr, and the Mahí Kántha; to the north-west by Sirohí, Godwár, and Mhairwára-Ajmír. It has an area of 12,670 square miles, and a population numbering (in 1857) over a million, of whom about 45,000 were Bhíls. The chief town, seventy miles west of Nímach, is also called Udaipúr. The other chief places are, Gogúndah, to the north-west of the capital, where Mán Singh defeated Ráná Kíká in 1576; Chitór, between the capital and Nímach, a renowned fortress, containing a large pillar of victory erected by Ráná Kumbá in 1440, but which had to succumb to both Allah-úd-dín and Akbar. The Ráná of Udaipúr maintains a force of 263 guns, 1,338 artillerymen, 6,240 cavalry, and 13,900 infantry.

The prince who reigned in Udaipúr when the Mutiny broke out was Maháráná Sarúp Singh. This prince had succeeded his brother Maháráná Sirdar Singh, an Maháráná
Sarúp Singh. unpopular ruler, in 1842. The experience he had of ruling had convinced Sarúp Singh that his own welfare, the very maintenance of his power, were bound irrevocably to the assertion of the supremacy of his British overlord.

The Governor-General's agent at Udaipúr, Captain Lionel Showers, was at Mount Abu, in the neighbouring state of Sirohí, when the news of the outbreak of the 10th of May at Mírath reached that capital. Captain L.
Showers The Ráná fully appreciated the gravity of the crisis. But his position was a difficult one, for he could not tell how far he might be able to control the troops—Muhammadans and Hindus—who formed his army. His anxiety increased when a few

days later he heard of the mutiny at Nasirábád on the 28th of May, and of the rising at Nímach on the 3rd of June.* Showers returned from Abu on the 29th of May. In this emergency, the Mahárána, anticipating the period when the progress of events would deprive his state of the protection it had always enjoyed since 1818, proposed, on the advice of his officers, to concentrate his troops in Udaipúr. But on the advice of Showers, he resolved to take a more distinct step in the way of espousal of the British cause, and to that end he publicly placed his army at the disposal of the Agent.

How, with these troops and the gallant Ráo of Bedlá, Showers succeeded in rescuing the fugitives from Nímach has been told in a previous volume.† Showers went on to Nímach, whilst the Ráo of Bedlá escorted the fugitives to Udaipúr. There they met a right royal welcome from the Rána, who placed at their disposal one of the palaces on his beautiful lake. The same kindness and the same consideration characterised all the Rána's actions during that eventful period. He continued loyal and true to the end; assisted the British by all the means at his disposal; never despaired of their ultimate success; and rejoiced at their final victory. A vista of what Rajpútáná might become if the protecting arm of the overlord were withdrawn was vouchsafed to him and his countrymen during the raids of Tántiá Topí, described in the fifth volume. Sarúp Singh lived till 1861. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sambhú Singh.

The next State in the order I have given is Dungapúr. It has an area of a thousand square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 125,000, of whom more than 50,000 were Bhíls. It is bounded to the north by Udaipúr; to the east by Udaipúr, the river Máhí, and Bánswára; to the south by the Máhí; and to the west by the Máhíkantá States. The rivers are the Máhí and the Sóm. The chief towns are the capital, Dungapúr, and Galiakót. The ruler is styled the Maháráwal.

When, in 1818, the British Government assumed the protection of the States of Rajpútáná, the ruling Maháráwal was Jaswant Singh. But he was not only incompetent as a ruler, but was addicted to the lowest

rescues the
fugitives from
Nímach.

Loyalty of
the Mahárána.

Dungapúr.

Curious
disposal of
authority in
Dungapúr.

* *Vide* Vol. III, pages 168, 169.

† Vol. III, page 169.

and most degrading vices. Consequently, in 1825, he was deposed, and his adopted son, Dalpat Singh, grandson of Sáwant Singh, chief of Partábgarh, was made regent. But in 1844, the succession to Partábgarh devolved on Dalpat Singh. The question then arose whether Dungapúr and Partábgarh should be united into one state; whether a fresh adoption should be made for Dungapúr; or whether Partábgarh should escheat to the British Government. It was finally decided, after considerable discussion, that Dalpat Singh should adopt as his successor in Dungapúr Udái Singh, son of the Thákur of Sablí, and that he should continue to rule during his minority. This arrangement worked, however, so unsatisfactorily that, in 1852, the British Government in India transferred the chief authority in Dungapúr from Dalpat Singh to a native agent of their own selection until the adopted chief should attain his majority. Dungapúr was under the management of this agent when the Mutiny broke out in 1857. He was true and faithful to his trust, and the territory, during the two eventful years, had no history. Maháráwal Udái Singh subsequently assumed the direction of affairs.

Fidelity of
Dungapúr.

Bánswára lies to the south-east of Dungapúr. It has an area of 1,500 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of 136,000. Its chief river is the Máhí; and its principal town is Bánswára. This town lies on the high road from Máu to Dísa, being 123 miles to the north-west of the former, and 178 miles to the south-east of the latter. It is a fine town, with many gardens, a picturesque palace, and a beautiful tank.

Bánswára.

During the events of 1857-8 the Maháráwal was Lachman Singh, who was true and loyal to his overlord. Bánswára was traversed more than once in 1857, by troops coming from Bombay, and, towards the close of 1858 Tántiá Topí and his followers took a momentary refuge in the jungles of the principality. The British troops in pursuit of Tántiá pursued him, and aided by the Bhils of the district, who "followed his track as the vulture follows the wounded hare,"* eventually expelled him. Throughout the raid of Tántiá Topí, the sympathies of prince and people were strongly with the British.

Bánswára is
faithful.

* *Vide* Vol. V. pages 248, 249.

Partábgārḥ lies to the south of Udaipúr; is bounded to the east by Gwáliár, Jáurá, and Ratlam; to the south-west by Bánsvárá. It has an area of 1,460 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 65,000. Its capital is also called Partábgārḥ.*

In the reference to Dungapúr I have shown how in 1844, Dalpat Singh, who had been adopted Maháráwal of that principality, succeeded to the chiefship of Partábgārḥ, and how, in 1852, the Government of India relieved Dalpat Singh of his duties in Dungapúr. His rule in the latter state was uneventful, being disturbed only towards the end of 1858 by the raid of Tántiá Topi. The Rájah was true to his liege lord, and emerged from the crisis without a stain.

The next state is the important state of Jaipúr. Jaipúr has an area of 14,465 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of over two millions. It is bounded on the north by Bikánír and Hisár; to the east by Alwar and Bhartpúr; to the south by Karaulí, Gwáliár, Búndí, Tonk, Mewár, and Ajmír; to the west by Krishnagarḥ, Márwár, and Bikánír. Its chief mountains are parts of the Aravallí hills: its chief rivers are the Jamnah and its tributaries, the Sabí, and the Kaotlí: its chief towns are Jaipúr, Amber (the ancient capital), Basáu, Bágrá, and Chatsú. South-east of Jaipúr, near the confluence of the Banás and the Chambal, is Fort Rantanbhúr, often mentioned in Indian history.

In 1857, the Mahárájah was Rám Singh, an intelligent prince, fully alive to the duties which devolved upon him as ruler, and anxious to perform them. He was in the prime of early manhood, being twenty-five years of age, and had benefited greatly from the lessons instilled into him by the officer who had been Political Agent at Jaipúr between January 1844 and December 1847, Major Ludlow. When the Mutiny broke out, then, he acted in no uncertain manner. He at once placed † the whole of his

* There are many towns of this name in India. There is one in the district of the same name in the Rái Barlí division of Oudh; one, a hill-fort, in the Satárah district; and one in the Bhandará district of the Central Provinces.

† *Vide* Vol. III. pages 171, 172. See also the Political History of the State of Jaipúr, in Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta, 1868.

forces, amounting to between six and seven thousand troops, at the disposal of the Political Agent, Major Eden, leaving only seven hundred Sipáhis and eighteen hundred police for the defence of the capital. The Jaipúr troops marched with the Political Agent to Riwári and Gurgáon, and subsequently to Palwal, thirty miles to the south-east of Gurgáon, after the troops from Bhartpúr and Alwar had joined the rebels, as related in an earlier part of this volume. The Jaipúr troops rescued several Europeans, and escorted them safely to Ágra. They also restored order in the plundering villagers of Mewát, but, when that had been accomplished, Major Eden receiving a hint from their officers that it would not be prudent to try them further, wisely ordered them back to Jaipúr. Considering that the men who composed the Jaipúr army were of the same class as the Sipáhis in the British service, were exposed to the same influences, and were animated by a spirit quite as much disposed to mutiny, it speaks volumes for the influence of their officers, all Rajpúts, and for the tone of native society in Jaipúr, that they behaved as well as they did. The Mahárájah, certainly, set them a noble example. He sheltered the family of the Political Agent in his own palace, and by his wise and careful conduct, assisted by the exhortations of the chief pandit, and by the loyal feeling of the members of his Court, succeeded in steering Jaipúr safely through the perilous crisis. When the evil days were passed the Government of India did not forget his eminent services. They showed their appreciation by transferring to him, from the neighbouring district of Gurgáon, the parganah of Kót-Kásim. The Mahárájah lived for several years after the Mutiny was quelled. He opened out roads, constructed railways, and gave an impulse to education. During the scarcity of 1868 he abolished transit duties on the frontiers of his dominions. Twice was he nominated a member of the Viceroy's Council.

Jodhpúr, or Márwár, is bounded to the north by Bikánír and Jaipúr; to the east by Jaipúr and Krishngarh; to the south-east by the Ajmír district; to the south Jodhpúr. by Sirohí and Palanpúr; to the west by the Ran of Kachh, and the Thar and Párkhar districts. It has an area of 37,000 square miles, and had, in 1837, a population of about a million and a half. The chief river is the Loní and its tributaries: the chief mountains are the Aravallis, but there are several high hills, the Nádolai and others: the chief towns are Jodhpúr the

capital, Páli, and Mertá. The ruler in 1857 was Mahárájah Takht Singh.

In the fourth volume* I have shown how insurrection rose and spread in the Jodhpúr territories; how, also, thanks to the energy and daring of George St. Patrick Lawrence, it was stamped out. It seems only necessary to add that the Mahárájah himself was thoroughly loyal, and that the disturbances were caused far more by the rebellion against his authority of one of his powerful Thákurs, than by any ill-feeling against the British. So little sympathy indeed had the rebel Thákur with the revolted Sipáhis that he hesitated long before he would avail himself of their proffered co-operation, nor did he do so until the Political Agent at Jodhpúr had declined the responsibility of making the slight concessions which he demanded from his liege lord. Sir George Lawrence, I have stated, acting with the full sympathy and concurrence of the Mahárájah, restored order; and on the return of peace and tranquillity the good disposition of the latter was acknowledged.

Bhartpúr is bounded to the north by Gurgáon; to the east by Mathurá and Ágra; to the south and south-west by Dholpúr, Karaulí, and Jaipúr; to the west by Alwar. It has an area of 1974 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of a little over half a million. The chief towns are Bhartpúr and Díg, both famous in Anglo-Indian history. The chief river is the Utangham.

The Rájah of Bhartpúr in 1857 was a minor, and the State was ruled by a Council of five nobles, under the superintendence of the Political Agent. How loyally disposed was this Council the events already told in this volume have fully illustrated.† They sent their troops to Mathurá and towards Dehlí. But the loyalty of the troops did not correspond to the loyalty of their rulers. How they cast in their lot with the rebels has been told. The sins of the troops were not, however, visited on the Rájah on the restoration of tranquillity. The privileges which were granted to other native chiefs were extended to him.

Bándí is bounded to the north by Tonk, Jaipúr, and Krishngarh; to the east by Sindhiá's dominions;

Loyalty of the Council and mutiny of the troops.

Bándí.

* *Vide* Vol. IV. pages 385-404.

† *Vide* pages 89-94. See also Vol. III. page 101 and beyond.

to the west by Ájmír and Mewár; to the south by Kotá and Mewár. It has an area of 2300 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of about 210,000. Its chief town is Búndí, ninety-five miles south-east of the town of Ájmír.

The ruler of Búndí in 1857 was the Ráo Rájah Rám Singh, then forty-seven years old. Rám Singh had acceded to his high office in 1821, and during that period his conduct had not been altogether of a nature to conciliate respect. A quarrel of a domestic nature with Jodhpúr in 1830, had resulted in the murder of his very able prime minister, Kishan Singh, and, but for the prohibition of the paramount power, this quarrel would have led to war between the two States. Whether the prohibition brooded in the mind of Rám Singh, or whether he nursed other fancied wrongs, it is difficult to state with certainty. But when the Mutiny of 1857 occurred, he showed no disposition to make common cause with his overlord. It is true that when Tántiá Topí marched on his capital, Rám Singh shut the gates in his face.* But the Tántiá was at the time a fugitive, closely pursued by a British force, and Rám Singh felt that to ally himself with a fugitive rebel would be to court destruction. His conduct, however, in other respects was so unfriendly that, on the restoration of peace, the paramount power showed its sense of his disloyalty by declining to resume confidential intercourse with him. It conferred upon him, nevertheless, the same privilege it bestowed upon the other princes of Rajpútáná, the privilege of the right to adopt; and in 1860, it extended to him complete forgiveness.

Lukewarmness of the Rájah.

Kotá was, originally, an offshoot from Búndí. It lies due south of, and contiguous to, that principality. Its area extends over 3797 square miles, and it had, in 1857, a population of about 450,000. Its chief river is the Chambal and its tributaries. The ruler, in 1857, was Maháráo Rám Singh.

Kotá.

It should be premised that, in pursuance of a treaty with the paramount power, the Maháráo had, since 1838, maintained an auxiliary force, officered by British officers, and called the Kotá Contingent. It was composed of the three arms. How this force mutinied in 1857, first at Ágra, afterwards at Kotá itself, and how the last-named outbreak resulted in

Mutiny of the Kotá Contingent and its consequences.

* Vide Vol. V. page 223.

the murder of the Political Agent, Major Burton, and his sons, I have told in the preceding volumes.* How far the Maháráo was guilty, or whether he was merely passive, cannot with certainty be stated. It is an ascertained fact, however, that he made no attempt to put down the revolt, nor to aid Major Burton. How a British force under General Roberts speedily recovered the town has been recorded in the pages immediately following those just referred to. On the restoration of tranquillity throughout India, the Government evinced its displeasure by reducing by four the number of salute-guns theretofore allowed to the Maháráo. This curtailment, which was deeply felt, continued in force throughout the remaining years of the life of that prince. But on his death in 1866, the Viceroy of the day took the opportunity to restore to his son and successor the suspended honours.

Of the next State, Jhaláwar, which is separated from Kotá by the Mukandrá range, which had in 1857 a population of about 280,000, in an area covering 2694 square miles, the capital of which is Jhálrá Patan, and the rivers the Parwán, the Newáj, the Kálí Sind, the An, and the Chhota Kálí Sind, it is only necessary to state that the Maháráj Ráná, Prithí Singh, displayed throughout the Mutiny unflinching loyalty. He rendered excellent service by conveying to places of safety several Europeans who had taken refuge in his districts. His record was absolutely without a stain. How Tántiá Topí attacked him in his capital, and how the loyal prince fled to Máu for refuge, has been told in sufficient detail in a previous volume.†

The last state in Rajpútáná to be noticed is Sirohí. Sirohí is bounded to the north by Jodhpúr; to the east by Udaipúr; to the south by Palanpúr and the Mahíkanthá States of Ídar and Dántá; and to the west by Jodhpúr. It has an area of 3020 square miles, and, in 1857, its population numbered about 120,000. The Arawallí range separates Sirohí from the table-land of Mewár. It is divided into ten parganahs inhabited by Rajpúts, Bhíls, Mínás, and Grásiás. Its chief

* *Vide* Vol. III. page 179; Vol. IV. pages 397-9.

† *Vide* Vol. V. pages 227, 8. It is a fact well worthy of note that, at Jhálrá Patan, as at Gwáliár, and as at Indúr, the native troops of the state were not so loyal as their master. Even at Kotá, it is by no means certain that the Maháráo could have restrained his soldiers, if he had tried. Certainly Prithí Singh could not, Sindhiá could not, and, I believe, Holkar could not.

town, Sirohí, lies sixty-seven miles to the north-east of Nasirábád. At Erinpúram, a town in the principality, seventy-eight miles south of Jodhpúr, was the head-quarters of the Jodhpúr legion, officered by British officers. The sanitarium, Mount Ábu, a mountain connected with the Aravallí range, but rising far above any other point of that range, is the place where the Governor-General's agent, and the other political officers of Rajpútáná can take refuge from the extreme heat of the plains. Its greatest height is 5650 feet above the sea. Mount Ábu* lies forty miles to the north-east of Disá, a military station in the Bombay Presidency.

In 1857 the nominal chief of Sirohí was the Maháráo Shéo Singh. But Sirohí had always been a troublesome state to govern, and, in 1854, the British Govern-
Troubles in
Sirohí.
ment, at the earnest request of Shéo Singh, had taken upon itself the administration of the country. It was under British management when the mutiny broke out. How, at the first alarm, the Governor-General's agent, Sir George Lawrence, hastened to his post in the plains and thence took decisive measures to ensure the safety of the several districts, has been told in the third volume. How mutiny broke out at Erinpúram, how the mutineers attempted to surprise and master Mount Ábu, and how that outbreak was ultimately suppressed, has been related with some detail in the fourth.† These events combine the whole material history of events in Sirohí, in 1857-8. It only remains to add that the Maháráo, Shéo Singh, though not exercising sway, evinced the most friendly and loyal spirit. The Indian Government rewarded him by reducing his tribute by one-half. He died in 1861, and in 1865, the debt of the state having been entirely liquidated, the rule of the native prince, son of Shéo Singh, was restored in its integrity.

I have now, at some length, given the reader an outline of

* The visitor to India should make a point of riding to the top of Mount Ábu. It is a famous place of pilgrimage, especially for the Jains, whose place of worship is at Dulwára, situate about the middle of the mountain, five miles distant from the highest point, Gúrisikar. The group consists of four marble temples, ranged in the form of a cross. Of this group Colonel Tod wrote: "Beyond controversy this is the most superb of all the temples in India, and there is not an edifice besides the Táj Mahall that can approach it."

† Vide Vol. III. pages 163-74; Vol. IV. pages 385-404.

the history of the large tract known as Rajpútáná, during the eventful period 1857-9. The reader will have noticed, I am sure with pleasure, that, with scarcely an exception, the princes who ruled the eighteen states which formed that division of India, were loyal to the paramount power. An experience of the protection of Great Britain lasting over thirty-nine years had given them proof that under no other supreme Government would their rights and privileges be so thoroughly secured. It may be added that the loyalty of the nobles and of the Rajpút population did not fall short of the loyalty of the princes. The fact that the Thákur of Áwah rose in rebellion against his liege lord, as shown in the last chapter of the fourth volume, and that he resisted the British troops, was a fact that stood alone. But even he, though he accepted the services of the revolted Sipáhis, had no sympathy with their cause, and employed them only to use them against his own master. That the Sipáhis in the service of the Rajpútáná princes should revolt was to be expected, for they were enlisted from the class which supplied the British Native Regiments, and were animated by sentiments akin to those by which the latter were inspired. How little they were able to effect in the territory in which they were employed has been shown in the narrative. Thanks to the cordial understanding between George St. Patrick Lawrence and the chiefs of Rajpútáná, every hostile movement was baffled, every rising was nipped in the bud. Those chiefs or their fathers had had a sad and bitter experience of a period when no British protection was accorded to Rajpútáná. The memory of that terrible period was strong within them. Then—between 1805 and 1818—disorder was rampant; no one was secure of his house, his lands, his cattle, his life. Then—to use the phrase they were wont to employ—“the buffalo was to him who held the bludgeon.” The misery of those twelve or thirteen years, when the Maráthá and the Pindárí stalked ruthlessly over their fields, still remain a legend, fraught with bitter memories, in the minds of the people of Rajpútáná. With the inauguration of British protection all this misery disappeared. The change was marvellous. The princes and people were secured against an enemy from outside, and were forbidden to fight amongst themselves. Whatever differences they had were referred to and settled by the paramount power. To the principal States political agents were nominated, under the

Summary of
the attitude of
Rajpútáná.

control of the Governor-General's agent for the entire province, to guide, assist, and counsel the Rájah or Ráná in his internal administration. Under the fostering influence of these gentlemen, specially selected as a rule for their qualifications, reforms were inaugurated, state-debts were paid off, inhuman sacrifices were abolished, the general condition of society was greatly improved. Under this new order prosperity grew apace. There was not a man in the country who did not feel and rejoice in the change. Security took the place of its opposite: order of disorder; contentment of misery. The Rajpútáná of 1857 was, in all the circumstances which make a country happy, prosperous, and peaceful, as different from the Rajpútáná of 1805-17, as the Ireland of 1689-90 differed from the Ireland of our own time. There was no part of India in which the Sipáhis would be less likely to find sympathy than in Rajpútáná. The presence of the lawless bands of revolted contingents, and of Tántiá Topí and his following, gave a terrible foretaste of miseries which had been endured; which, since 1818, indeed, had been absent, but which the fall of the British power would most certainly re-introduce. The attitude of Rajpútáná in those years of trial, 1857-9, was, then, a striking testimony to the success of the British rule, a convincing proof that there at all events British overlordship was regarded alike by princes and people as a blessing.

Nor was it less so in the vast tract comprising 83,600 square miles, and a population of nearly eight millions, known as the Central Indian Agency. Of the conduct of the two most powerful princes in this part of India I have already spoken in this chapter, and I will now only refer to them to repeat my testimony. Sindhiá and Holkar were, and remained, loyal, though the troops of both princes slipped from their hands. Dhár rebelled, but its Rájah was a minor. The Rájahs of Dewás were loyal; so, likewise, was the Nawáb of Jáura. The services of this prince to his British overlord were indeed of a marked character. It was mainly owing to him that the British Government was indebted for valuable information in more than one important conjuncture. It was, moreover, the Náváb of Jáura who informed the Governor-General's agent of the day, the late Sir Henry Durand, of the understanding between the troops of Holkar and the revolted outside Indúr; and, when

Similar conclusions to be drawn in Central India.

The Nawáb of Jáura.

Sir Henry took the field, the Nawáb of Jáurá was the only chieftain who boldly and promptly joined him in camp. His name was Gháus Muhammad. He was thirty-four years of age, and he lived till April 29, 1865, honoured and respected.

The other Muhammadan state in Central India, Bhopál, was conspicuously loyal. Of this state I may be allowed to say a few words. It was governed by a lady of remarkable ability and strength of will, Sikandar Bégam. This lady, after some opposition on the part of rivals and others, had assumed the reins of power in February 1847, as regent for her daughter. In that office she had a large field for the display of her talents, and she more than justified the expectations which had been formed of her. In six years she paid off the entire public debt of the State; she abolished the system of farming the revenue, and made direct arrangements with the heads of villages; she put a stop to monopolies of trades and handicrafts; she brought the mint under her own management, and she re-organised the police. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, she was still at the helm. Most loyally and truly did she behave. As early as April she communicated to the British Agent the contents of a lithographed proclamation which had been sent to her, urging the overthrow and destruction of the English. In June she expelled from Bhopál a native who was raising troops for purposes which he did not care to avow. In July she afforded shelter to the British officers who had been driven from Indúr by the mutinous troops of Holkar. She had enormous difficulties to contend with. Her mother, who had become a bigot, and her uncles, who were weak-minded and priest-ridden, were constantly urging upon her to declare a religious war against the infidel. The contingent raised in her own capital, and officered by British officers, mutinied. Other men, not wanting in position and influence, murmured that she was losing a great opportunity. But Sikandar Bégam never wavered. She caused the British officers to be escorted safely to Hoshangábád; then, with infinite tact, and a display of unshakable firmness, allayed the excitement in her capital; put down the mutinous contingent with a strong hand, and restored order throughout the Bhopál territory. Then, when the tide turned, she was as prompt and vigorous in another way with her assistance. To the British camp she despatched supplies, soldiers, carriages, all that could be useful. No one

in the same situation could have done more than did this noble lady.*

Nor, casting the eye over the north-eastern division of the Central India Agency, can I lay my finger on any blot. Of Rewah and its loyal Rájah, guided by the chivalrous Willoughby Osborne, I have told the tale in the fifth volume.† In the same volume I have described the true service of the Rájah of Urchhah.‡ In the third I have shown how the Rání of Chhatarpúr assisted the fugitives from Náogáon.§ Datiá, when the Mutiny broke out, was in a state of civil war, the Regent-Rání attempted to oust the adopted son of the Rájah who died in 1857. In the small state of Samptar there were no disturbances.

It will thus be seen that the native state of Central India had felt equally with those of Rajpútáná the beneficent over-rule of the British. Not one single prince of mature age rose in revolt. One state alone, and that a very small one, acted upon by influences which would not have risen into life had the prince been other than a child, did revolt. The others, one and all, showed by their loyal concurrence with the paramount power, even in the darkest days of the Mutiny, that they preferred the supervising hand of England to the revived rule of the Mughul, or a new experiment under any other native prince.

Of Jhánsí and of some of the minor princelets in the Ságár and Narbadá territories, it is unnecessary to say more than has been said already. The Rání of Jhánsí had, in my opinion, suffered great wrongs, and she resented them in the manner which was natural to her. In the fifth volume || I Bundelkhand. have given reasons why the minor chiefs of Bundelkhand felt justly aggrieved. Some of its chiefs nobly forgave the grievance; others attempted to work a remedy with the sword. It was, as I have pointed out, the working of the detested Thomasonian principle that drove those chiefs into revolt.

* It is satisfactory to record that the splendid services of the Bégam of Bhopál met with splendid recognition. The British Government recognised her as ruler in her own right, with succession to her daughter and to the daughter's descendants according to the Muhammadan law; made over to her the district of Bairsia, forfeited by Dhár, having an area of 456 square miles; presented her with four guns; and invested her with the highest grade of the order of the "Star of India."

† Pages 75-7.
Pages 128, 9.

‡ Page 110.
|| Vide Vol. V. pages 61-5.

But, in western India,—the southern Maráthá territory excepted,—the same feeling prevailed which had influenced the action of the chiefs of Rajpútáná and central India. At Barodah, the Gaekwár, Khandé Ráo, was true and loyal. In the words of Lord Canning, “he identified his cause with that of the British Government.” At Kolhapúr, in 1857, the state was under British management. It is true that the native regiments at that station mutinied, as, likewise, did those at Belgáon and Dhárwár. How these mutinies arose, and how they were suppressed, has been told in the fifth volume.* In the same volume is related the story of the abortive rising of the chief of Nargúnd, and of the causes which led to it. But in Sáwant-wári not only was there no disaffection, but even the two chiefs who had been deprived of power, Khem Sáwant and Ánná Sáhib, showed a firm attachment to the interests of the paramount power. In Kachh, too, Ráo Daisal displayed the same loyalty.

If we travel into southern India we shall find the display of the same feeling. Here, as in the other parts referred to, the exceptions only prove the rule. Of Haidarábád I have written in the fifth volume.† Maisúr, once so formidable, ably guided by Sir Mark Cubbon, displayed a fidelity to the overlord beyond praise. Travankúr was equally loyal. So likewise was the able Rájah of Kochin, Rájah Rávi Vúrmá. Nowhere, except at Shorapúr, and for a moment at Haidarábád and Aurangábád, was there a symptom of disaffection in the southern Presidency. Even the exceptions I have referred to, and which have been described in the fifth volume,‡ were mere passing outbursts, to be succeeded by a fervent display of loyalty.

I think, then, it will be generally conceded that the attitude of the principal protected chiefs throughout India, during the most terrible crisis to which English rule has ever been subjected, was of a character to justify generally the antecedent administration of the foreign overlord. The action of the native chiefs was, in fact, a barometer full of encouragement and yet not wanting in warning for the future. It was gratifying to see that the indicator gave evidence of, in the great majority of cases, just and beneficent dealing. In fact, in those

* *Vide* Vol. V. pages 13-27; also pages 164-72.

† *Vide* Vol. V. pages 80-8.

‡ Pages 8-12 and 82-4.

parts of India in which the British rule had been beneficent, for instance, in Rajpútáná, in central India, in western India (except the southern Maráthá territory), in southern India, including Haidarábád and Maisúr, the native chiefs were loyal, often as anxious and energetic on behalf of their overlord as though that cause had been their own. In other places where the natives had not appreciated the rule of their masters, in places for instance where these had displayed a hard and unsympathising resolution to graft western ideas on an eastern people—in, for example, the North-West Provinces of India, in the Sagar and Narbadá territories, in Jhánsí, in western Bihár, in the southern Maráthá territories, in Oudh, the native chiefs and people, acting in concert, evinced a hatred to the British rule which led them to risk all they possessed in the world to shake off their yoke. It is consolatory to know that the good impressions produced by British rule largely predominated over the dislike engendered by British mistakes, and that the foreign race which held supreme power in India could point to an amount of sympathy, of energetic action, of co-operation such as no native ruler of the past, with the possible exception of the illustrious Akbar, could have called forth.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDIAN NAVY.

IN another part of this history * I have recorded the gallantry of a young midshipman of the Indian navy, Arthur Mayo—a gallantry which was rewarded by the bestowal of the Victoria Cross. This display of courage and conduct was emulated by very many of the profession to which Mayo belonged, and I feel that it is only due to the members of a service which no longer exists, but whose bright and brilliant deeds form an important part of the story of English adventure and English rule in India, to devote a short chapter to the more prominent of those services.

The officers
of the Indian
Navy.

The gallant service of Lieutenant Lewis, Mr. Mayo, and their comrades at Dhákah, has been already related. It has been truly remarked † that “if the Indian naval detachment had been repulsed in their attack on the mutineers’ position, and had been obliged to retreat, a general massacre would probably have ensued, for in their rear lay the city of Dhákah with a large fanatical Muhammadan population in a very excited state.” The gallantry of the sailors was thus mainly instrumental in saving eastern Bengal from pillage and slaughter.

Lewis and
Mayo at
Dhákah.

The same officers, accompanied by others, took a very leading part in an expedition against the Abor hillmen in February 1859. This operation, though occurring before the Mutiny had been finally crushed in central India and in Oudh, cannot properly be brought within the range of its events. I refer to it here only to mention that the officers who were prominent at the Dhákah affair in 1857 were again well to the front on this occasion, and, with Lieutenant Davies, Indian navy,

The officers
and men who
saved Dhákah
distinguish
themselves
again in
1859.

* Vol. IV. page 293.

† Low’s *History of the Indian Navy*.

were most favourably mentioned by the military officer commanding.

In the Jagdispúr jungles, Lieutenant Carew, Indian navy, rendered excellent service. I have related * how, on the 23rd of April, 1858, Captain Le Grand of the 35th Foot had been defeated in those jungles by Kúnwar Singh with the loss of two guns; how this disaster had thrown the district once more into disorder; how the safety of Árah was threatened, and how a panic had reigned at Chaprá. I have recorded, also, how for the time the arrangements made assured the safety of these stations, and that a few days later Sir E. Lugard and Colonel Corfield had beaten the rebels continuously.

In these contests Lieutenant Carew, serving under Corfield, took a prominent part. Carew, after making several most earnest requests, had been allowed to serve in that part of the country in command of a battery which he had formed himself. His battery was supplied with two 9-pounders and two 5½-inch mortars, and was manned by a hundred and ten sailors. Serving under him were two midshipmen, Brownlow and Cotgrave. In Corfield's action with the rebels on the 11th of May at Hétampúr, Carew's battery took a very prominent part. They "worked their guns admirably." † And yet that very day they had marched fourteen miles, and before they had time to take a meal had to march against the rebels under a sun which struck dead seven men of the 6th Regiment marching with them. Though the Indian navy sailors were more acclimatised than their brethren of the royal army, yet even they lost three of their comrades that very day from the effect of exposure. The same cause compelled, a little latter, Carew to resign his command to Mr. Midshipman Cotgrave.

Lieutenant, afterwards Commander, Batt did splendid service in the same district. Batt had distinguished himself by his activity in the Ganges between Allahábád and Kánhpúr, in July and August 1857, by shelling the rebels out of their position in the fort of Kálí Kankí. Subsequently he commanded at Baksar where he repaired the fort, made gun-carriages, and trained his men. Later on, in the autumn of 1858, he assisted in the measures taken to drive the followers of Kúnwar

Lieutenant-
Carew;

his services
under Cor-
field in the
Jagdispúr
jungles.

Lieutenant
Batt;

his gallant
and useful
services.

* Vol. IV. pages 335-40.

† Corfield's despatch.

Singh from the jungles of Jagdispúr, being always to the front. On one of the many occasions in which he was in action, an officer serving under him, Acting-Master George Chicken, gained the Victoria Cross. The force to which Chicken was attached was engaged with and had driven back the rebels near Pirú on the 4th of September, 1858. In the pursuit Chicken suddenly came alone upon a group of twenty preparing to rally and open fire on their scattered pursuers. He at once charged them. Surrounded on all sides, Chicken fought most desperately and killed five of the rebels. He would, however, have succumbed had not four native troopers arrived in the nick of time to his rescue. He escaped with a severe wound.

Mr. Chicken
gains the
Victoria
Cross.

In the western Bihár division, Lieutenant Duval, Midshipmen Wray and Scamp, and later, Lieutenant Barron, rendered good service after the mutiny of the Sipáhis at Dánápúr had introduced disorder there. In the repression of the mutinies in Chutiá Nágpúr,* Captain Burbank, of the Bengal Marine, and Lieutenant Windus, Indian navy, and the seamen under them, were most efficient and useful. The latter received the special thanks of the Government, and it is clear that he was a man who was equally at home when at work in the field and when engaged in organising arrangements for that work. There was nothing he could not turn his hand to. Captain Burbank's services with Mr. Yule in pursuit of the Dhákah rebels have been already recorded.†

Duval, Wray,
Scamp, and
Barron,

Burbank of
the Bengal
Marine,
Windus.

On the western coast the services of the Indian navy in the suppression of the Mutiny were invaluable. "In the months of July and August," writes Mr. Low, "though in the height of the south-west monsoon, the *Berenice*, Lieutenant Chitty, and the *Victoria*, Lieutenant Sweeny, were engaged carrying troops from Bombay to Karáchi, and landing them on that open and storm-beaten coast, sixteen miles below Jargarh, near Ratnaghari, and at Goa. . . . These officers made several voyages with troops, including portions of the 33rd and 86th Regiments and the 2nd Bombay Europeans.‡

The Indian
navy on the
western
coast.

Chitty,
Sweeny,

* Vol. IV. pages 304-8.

† Vol. IV. pages 297-303.

‡ These were the troops landed on the coast referred to on pages 27-9 of the fifth volume, whose opportune arrival disconcerted the mutineers of Kohlapúr. Lord Elphinstone specially thanked Lieutenants Chitty and

The services of Griffith Jenkins have been previously referred to in connection with the despatch by Lord Elphinstone to the Cape and to the Mauritius for reinforcements, but it is due to that gallant sailor to add that he possessed all the qualifications necessary to ensure the success of a delicate negotiation, and that Sir George Grey and Governor Higginson alike expressed their sense of the admirable manner in which he discharged his duties. Captain Jenkins had the gratification of receiving from the highest quarter an official Griffith Jenkins. acknowledgment of his services. "I have been commanded," wrote Sir C. Wood to him from the India Office, "to convey to you the gracious approbation of Her Majesty of your conduct during that critical period."

With regret I confine myself to this short notice of the services of the officers of the Indian navy. Those officers knew well, when in Bengal they gave their fullest energies to a service which was not properly their own, that they were serving under the cold shade of officialism; that though the brows of their brethren in the army might be crowned with laurels, their modest deeds would remain comparatively unnoticed. Knowing this, they yet vied with the bravest in daring, with the most zealous in energy and devotion, and when the Mutiny came to an end they had the satisfaction of knowing that they had deserved well of their country. They had little more. Besides the war medal, which the detachments engaged with the rebels received in common with the army, and two Victoria Crosses gained by personal valour, not a decoration was bestowed upon any one of them. Shortly after the Mutiny, the noble service with which they had been connected was abolished, the survivors were pensioned, and nothing remained but the consolation of heroes—the conviction of duty performed, of honour unsullied, of great services rendered to their country!

With one episode, slight though it may be as compared with others recorded in this history, yet reflecting, in the One final episode. story of one officer, the conduct of many placed in circumstances not altogether dissimilar, this chapter will fitly conclude.

Sweeny for the "good services they rendered in carrying the different detachments of European troops down the coast at the height of the monsoon, by which movement, under Providence, the peace of the southern Maráthá country and of the presidency was preserved."

When the Mutiny broke out at Míráth on the 10th of May, 1857, two companies of the 53rd Native Infantry, then at Kánhpúr, were on detached command duty at Uráf, on the right bank of the Jamnah, about eighty miles from Kánhpúr.

Alexander
and Tomkin-
son at Uráf.

The officers commanding these companies were Captain Alexander and Lieutenant Tomkinson. The native regiments stationed at Kánhpúr surpassed all the other regiments of the native army in the cruelties and barbarities they perpetrated; but the men of the detachment at Uráf, free from the contamination produced apparently by the close vicinity to the wronged province of Oudh, displayed a spirit far more amenable to reason. Everything remained quiet at Uráf till the end of May. On the 3rd of June, however, the deputy Commissioner of that station received orders to send to Gwáliár the money he had in the treasure-chest. The Sipáhis, on hearing of this order, evinced a great inclination to dispute it. However, they did not do so, and on the 4th Tomkinson started for

Tomkinson
escorts
treasure to
Gwáliár.

Gwáliár with the treasure and a detachment of his men. Leaving him for a moment, I may mention that on the 6th of June the regiments at Kánhpúr mutinied. When this news reached the men stationed at Uráf, they provided Captain and Mrs. Alexander with a camel, and recommended them to make the best of their way to Ágra, which they eventually succeeded in doing.

Meanwhile Tomkinson and his men arrived safely with the treasure, on the 12th of June, in the vicinity of Gwáliár. At that time the troops at Gwáliár were very shaky; it was

Tomkinson's
party is for-
bidden by the
political
agent to
enter
Gwáliár,

known that Tomkinson's regiment had mutinied at Kánhpúr; fear and distress were in every man's mind. Major C. Macpherson, then the political agent at Gwáliár, on hearing of Tomkinson's approach, sent out a party to relieve him of the treasure, but at the same time forbade him to enter Gwáliár, and

directed him to proceed to Ágra. Tomkinson would have obeyed had it been possible, but meanwhile Mr.

and Ágra is
barred to
them by Mr.
Colvin.

Colvin had been communicated with at Ágra, and Mr. Colvin, as distrustful as Macpherson, had telegraphed that no native troops were to proceed thither.

Left to himself, Tomkinson stayed with his men until the state of the country forced them into action. They made no

attempt on his life; on the contrary, they expressed on parting with him the greatest regret that they were forced to take the line they were about to follow.

Tomkinson is forced to separate from his men.

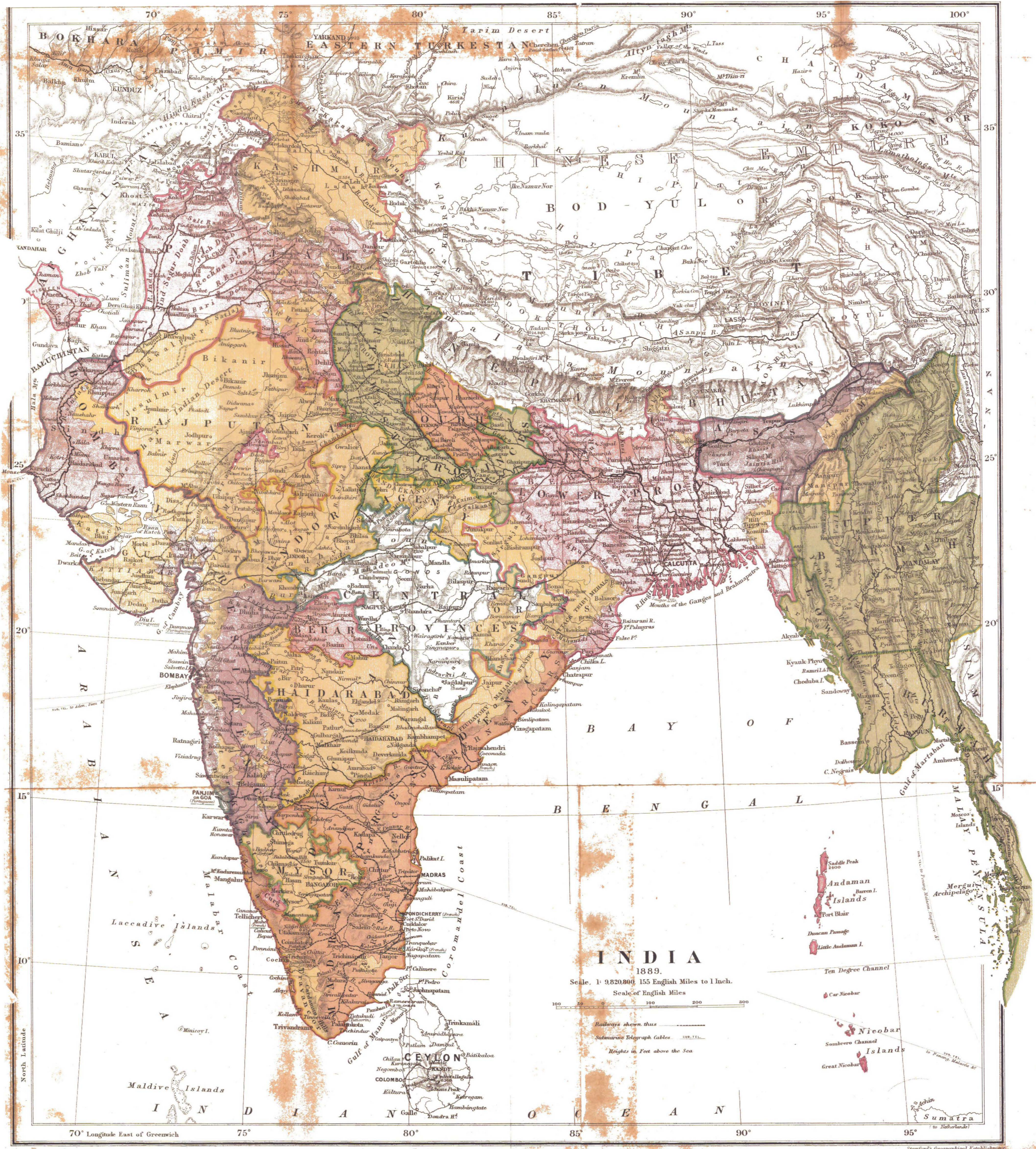
Left alone, it would seem that the villagers, intent on plunder, deprived him of his horse and his gun, and it would have gone hard with him but for the kindness of a native. Hungry and destitute, having nothing but the clothes on his back, he was seen by a Muhammadan villager wandering in the fields in apparent distress. The poor man took him to his home in the village of Amain, and concealed him there till the month of October. A man of substance in the village supplied him with clothes and paid for his food. Tomkinson apparently chafed under this life, and longed for active work; but the country around him was in revolt. He persuaded his host on one occasion to take a letter into Kánhpúr, but the news that met the poor man on the way so frightened him that he destroyed the letter. At length, towards the end of October, an opportunity of rendering service to his country seemed to offer. Information reached the village that a body of rebels, with a large quantity of ammunition, was about to pass in its vicinity. If he could only explode the ammunition, Tomkinson thought, he would perform an act which would paralyse their movements. He resolved to attempt to explode it. Accordingly, on the 23rd of October, he crept out, reached the rebel camp, and made the effort. He was, however, discovered and killed.

His life is preserved by a Muhammadan.

I hope that a story which paints the devotion to duty of an Englishman, and the kindness and fidelity of a Muhammadan, may be considered as an episode not unworthy to take a place in the History of the Indian Mutiny.

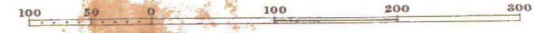
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- Car Nicobar
- Nicobar Islands
- Sombro Channel
- Great Nicobar

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