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KAYE'S AND MALLESON'S

OF THE

INDIAN MUTINY CAN, WITH THE
LARGE EXTENT
SUDDENLY.—

OF

1857-8.

EDITED BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

VOL. I.

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

CABINET EDITION.

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

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

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

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN preparing a new, and, if I may so call it, a consolidated, edition of the History of the Indian Mutiny—that is, an edition in which Colonel Malleeson's three volumes of continuation are blended with the two initiatory volumes of Sir John Kaye—I have had to encounter few difficulties beyond those of form. By difficulties of form I mean differences of arrangement, and differences in the spelling of Indian proper names. It seemed to me absolutely essential that in both these respects the two works should be brought into complete accord. I have, therefore, met the first difficulty by substituting, in Sir John Kaye's volumes, an initial "Table of Contents" for the chapter headings. Such a table, apart from other considerations, is more useful to a reader who may desire to refer to a particular incident. With respect to the other difference it was impossible to hesitate. The spelling of the past, based upon the impressions made upon men, ignorant of the Native languages, by the utterances of the Natives, a spelling based upon no system, and therefore absolutely fortuitous, has in these latter days given place to a spelling founded upon the actual letters which represent the places indicated. In its General Orders and in its Gazettes the Government of India of the present day adopts the enlightened system of spelling drawn up by Dr. Hunter, and this system has been adopted generally by the Indian Press, and by residents in India. Between the alternative of adhering to a barbarous system, fast dying if not already dead, and the more enlightened system of the present and of the future, there could not be a moment's hesitation. I have adapted, then, Sir John Kaye's spelling of Indian proper names to one more in accordance with modern usage, and in every respect more correct. In the text, I need scarcely say, I have not changed even a comma. That text remains, in these volumes, as he wrote and published it. Some of the indices,

the interest in which has waned, if not altogether died out, have been omitted; some have been abridged; and in one instance the salient part has been transferred to the note to which it properly belonged. Colonel Malleeson's three volumes have naturally met with far less indulgence at my hands. When these shall be published the reader will find that the severest critic of a work may be its author.

The work, when completed, will consist of Sir John Kaye's first and second volumes and of Colonel Malleeson's three. These, with the index, will make six volumes. It is needless to discuss all the reasons why Colonel Malleeson's first volume has been preferred to Sir John Kaye's third, for one will suffice. Kaye's third volume would not fit in with Malleeson's second volume, as it concludes with the story of the storming of Dehli, which forms the first chapter of Malleeson's second volume, whilst it omits the relief of Lakhnao, the account of which concludes Malleeson's first volume.

I may add that on the few occasions on which I have deemed it absolutely necessary to append a note, that note bears the initials of the Editor.

G. B. M.

1st October, 1888.

PREFACE

By SIR JOHN KAYE.

It was not without much hesitation that I undertook to write this narrative of the events, which have imparted so painful a celebrity to the years 1857-58, and left behind them such terrible remembrances. Publicly and privately I had been frequently urged to do so, before I could consent to take upon myself a responsibility, which could not sit lightly on any one capable of appreciating the magnitude of the events themselves and of the many grave questions which they suggested. If, indeed, it had not been that, in course of time, I found, either actually in my hands or within my reach, materials of history such as it was at least improbable that any other writer could obtain, I should not have ventured upon so difficult a task. But having many important collections of papers in my possession, and having received promises of further assistance from surviving actors in the scenes to be described, I felt that, though many might write a better history of the Sipáhi War, no one could write a more truthful one.

So, relying on these external advantages to compensate all inherent deficiencies, I commenced what I knew must be a labour of years, but what I felt would be also a labour of love. My materials were too ample to be otherwise than most sparingly displayed. The prodigal citation of authorities has its advantages; but it encumbers the text, it impedes the narrative, and swells to inordinate dimensions the record of historical events. On a former occasion, when I laid before the public an account of a series of important transactions, mainly derived from original documents, public and private, I quoted those documents freely both in the text and in the notes. As I was at that time wholly unknown to the public, it was necessary that I should cite chapter and verse to obtain credence for my statements. There was no ostensible reason

why I should have known more about those transactions than any other writer (for it was merely the accident of private friendships and associations that placed such profuse materials in my possession), and it seemed to be imperative upon me therefore to produce my credentials. But, believing that this necessity no longer exists, I have in the present work abstained from adducing my authorities, for the mere purpose of substantiating my statements. I have quoted the voluminous correspondence in my possession only where there is some dramatic force and propriety in the words cited, or when they appear calculated, without impeding the narrative, to give colour and vitality to the story.

And here I may observe that, as on former occasions, the historical materials which I have moulded into this narrative are rather of a private than of a public character. I have made but little use of recorded official documents. I do not mean that access to such documents has not been extremely serviceable to me; but that it has rather afforded the means of verifying or correcting statements received from other sources than it has supplied me with original materials. So far as respects the accumulation of facts, this History would have differed but slightly from what it is, if I had never passed the door of a public office; and, generally, the same may be said of the opinions which I have expressed. Those opinions, whether sound or unsound, are entirely my own personal opinions—opinions in many instances formed long ago, and confirmed by later events and more mature consideration. No one but myself is responsible for them; no one else is in any way identified with them. In the wide range of inquiry embraced by the consideration of the manifold causes of the great convulsion of 1857, almost every grave question of Indian government and administration presses forward, with more or less importunity, for notice. Where, on many points, opinions widely differ, and the policy, which is the practical expression of them, takes various shapes, it is a necessity that the writer of cotemporary history, in the exercise of independent thought, should find himself dissenting from the doctrines and disapproving the actions of some authorities, living and dead, who are worthy of all admiration and respect. It is fortunate, when, as in the present instance, this difference of opinion involves no diminution of esteem, and the historian can discern worthy motives, and

whose ways he may think erroneous, and whose course of action he may deem unwise.

Indeed, the errors of which I have freely spoken were, for the most part, strivings after good. It was in the over-eager pursuit of Humanity and Civilisation that Indian statesmen of the new school were betrayed into the excesses which have been so grievously visited upon the nation. The story of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 is, perhaps, the most signal illustration of our great national character ever yet recorded in the annals of our country. It was the vehement self-assertion of the Englishman that produced this conflagration; it was the same vehement self-assertion that enabled him, by God's blessing, to trample it out. It was a noble egotism, mighty alike in doing and in suffering, and it showed itself grandly capable of steadfastly confronting the dangers which it had brought down upon itself. If I have any predominant theory it is this: Because we were too English the great crisis arose; but it was only because we were English that, when it arose, it did not utterly overwhelm us.

It is my endeavour, also, to show how much both of the dangers which threatened British dominion in the East, and of the success with which they were encountered, is assignable to the individual characters of a few eminent men. With this object I have sought to bring the reader face to face with the principal actors in the events of the Sipáhi War, and to take a personal interest in them. If it be true that the best history is that which most nearly resembles a bundle of biographies, it is especially true when said with reference to Indian history; for nowhere do the characters of individual Englishmen impress themselves with a more vital reality upon the annals of the country in which they live; nowhere are there such great opportunities of independent action; nowhere are developed such capacities for evil or for good, as in our great Anglo-Indian Empire. If, then, in such a work as this, the biographical element were not prominently represented—if the individualities of such men as Dalhousie and Canning, as Henry and John Lawrence, as James Outram, as John Nicholson, and Herbert Edwardes, were not duly illustrated, there would be not only a cold and colourless, but also an unfaithful, picture of the origin and progress of the War. But it is to be remarked that, in proportion as the individuality of the English leaders is distinct and strongly marked, that of the chiefs of the insurrec-

tionary movement is faint and undecided. In the fact of this contrast we see the whole history of the success which, by God's providence, crowned the efforts of our countrymen. If the individual energies of the leaders of the revolt had been commensurate with the power of the masses, we might have failed to extinguish such a conflagration. But the whole tendency of the English system had been to crush out those energies; so again, I say, we found in the very circumstances which had excited the rebellion the very elements of our success in suppressing it. Over the Indian Dead Level which that system had created, the English heroes marched triumphantly to victory.

In conclusion, I have only to express my obligations to those who have enabled me to write this History by supplying me with the materials of which it is composed. To the executors of the late Lord Canning, who placed in my hands the private and demi-official correspondence of the deceased statesman, extending over the whole term of his Indian administration, I am especially indebted. To Sir John Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes, who have furnished me with the most valuable materials for my narrative of the rising in the Panjáb and the measures taken in that province for the re-capture of Dehli; to the family of the late Colonel Baird Smith, for many interesting papers illustrative of the operations of the great siege; to Sir James Outram, who gave me before his death his correspondence relating to the brilliant operations in Oudh; to Sir Robert Hamilton, for much valuable matter in elucidation of the history of the Central Indian Campaign; and to Mr. E. A. Reade, whose comprehensive knowledge of the progress of events in the North-Western Provinces has been of material service to me, my warmest acknowledgments are due. But to no one am I more indebted than to Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, who has permitted me to consult the official records of his Department—a privilege which has enabled me to make much better use of the more private materials in my possession. No one, however, can know better or feel more strongly than myself, that much matter of interest contained in the multitudinous papers before me is unrepresented in my narrative. But such omissions are the necessities of a history so full of incident as this. If I had yielded to the temptation to use my illustrative materials more freely, I should have expanded this work beyond all acceptable limits.

LONDON, *October*, 1864.

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APPENDIX.

THE NÁNÁ SÁHIB AND AZIM-ÚLLAH KHAN.

[The visit of the Náná Sáhib to Lakhnao, in April, 1857, referred to at page 424, is thus described by Mr. Martin Gubbins in his history of the Mutinies in Oudh:]

“I must here mention a visit which was made to Lakhnao, in April, by the Náná of Bithur, whose subsequent treachery and atrocities have given him a pre-eminence in infamy. He came over on pretence of seeing the sights at Lakhnao, accompanied by his younger brother and a numerous retinue, bringing letters of introduction from a former Judge of Kánhpúr to Captain Hayes and to myself. He visited me, and his manner was arrogant and presuming. To make a show of dignity and importance, he brought six or seven followers with him into the room, for whom chairs were demanded. One of these men was his notorious agent, Azim-úllah. His younger brother was more pleasing in appearance and demeanour. The Náná was introduced by me to Sir Henry Lawrence, who received him kindly, and ordered the authorities of the city to show him every attention. I subsequently met him parading through Lakhnao with a retinue more than usually large. He had promised before leaving Lakhnao to make his final call on the Wednesday. On the Monday, we received a message from him that urgent business required his attendance at Kánhpúr, and he left Lakhnao accordingly. At the time his conduct excited little attention; but it was otherwise when affairs had assumed the aspect which they did at Kánhpúr by the 20th of May. His demeanour at Lakhnao and sudden departure to Kánhpúr appeared exceedingly suspicious, and I brought it to the notice of Sir Henry Lawrence. The Chief Commissioner concurred in my suspicions, and by his authority I addressed Sir Hugh Wheeler, cautioning him against the Náná, and stating Sir Henry's belief that he was not to be depended on. The warning was unhappily disregarded, and, on the 22nd of May, a message was received stating that ‘two guns and three hundred men, cavalry and infantry, furnished by the Maharajah of Bithur, came in this morning.’”

Many readers will smile at the statement that the Náná Sáhib was in correspondence with Russia, and received an answer to his overtures. But it is by no means improbable that Azim-úllah Khan entered into communication with some Russian officers, responsible or irresponsible, and it is certain that at the time of the Crimean War nothing could have better served the interests of Russia than a revolt in India. That Azim-úllah visited the Crimea we know upon the best possible authority—that of Mr. Russell, who has given, in his “Diary in India,” an interesting account of his meeting with the Náná's agent in the trenches before Sebastopol.

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