

INDIAN MUTINY

OF

1857-8.

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

EDITED BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

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BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

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TO  
• MAJOR-GENERAL  
SIR VINCENT EYRE, K.C.S.I., C.B.

A FRIENDSHIP OF THIRTY YEARS'  
DURATION, THE VALUE OF WHICH I NEED NOT  
HERE ESTIMATE, IS MY SOLE, BUT SUFFICIENT, REASON  
FOR THE EXERCISE OF THE MOST GRACEFUL  
PRIVILEGE OF AN AUTHOR, IN DEDICATING TO YOU THESE  
PAGES, WHEREIN YOUR NAME OCCUPIES  
A CONSPICUOUS PLACE IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
MEMORABLE EVENTS WHICH I HAVE  
ENDEAVOURED, FAITHFULLY AND IMPARTIALLY,  
TO RECORD.

## PREFACE TO THE CABINET EDITION.

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IN offering this volume to the public I take the opportunity of stating that I have re-read and re-examined all the documents and authorities on which the first edition was based; and that, while I have found it impossible to change the opinions then recorded with respect to any one phase of the history or any one individual therein mentioned I have re-written many passages which seemed obscure, and have added notes on all points, the meaning of which might be misinterpreted. If I may judge from the criticisms which appeared on the previous editions, there were but two matters on which any difference of opinion really existed. The first of these differences related to the case of Mr. William Tayler of Patná; the other to Lieutenant-General Lionel Showers. The second of these I have treated alike in the text and in the Appendix. The first needs some further remark here.

The treatment in this edition of the occurrences of 1857 in the Bihár division of which Patná was the capital and Mr. William Tayler the Commissioner, stands precisely as it did in the first edition. When I first wrote on this subject in the year of the Mutiny, in a work which obtained honourable mention as "The Red Pamphlet," not only did I not know Mr. Tayler, but I had felt a strong prejudice against him, based upon his reputation as a caricaturist. In the presence, however, of facts which I witnessed on the spot, all my prejudices disappeared, and when I wrote of him, still not knowing him, I strove to render him the justice which his splendid conduct under most trying circumstances seemed to me to deserve.

Called upon, twenty years later, to complete the work which

Sir John Kaye had left unfinished, I again approached the subject with a mind absolutely unbiased. I had never looked forward to the prospect of writing a History of the Mutiny, and I had not concerned myself with Mr. Tayler's case since the days of the "Red Pamphlet." I determined then to study the subject *de novo*, and to record only such facts as would stand the test of the most minute inquiry. Had I been capable of being biased by my interests, I should not have inclined towards Mr. Tayler, for while he, comparatively poor, and possessing few influential friends, sat in the cold shade of the displeasure of the ruling powers, his opponent, Sir Frederick Halliday, basked in the warm sunshine of a seat in the Indian Council. But I thought only of finding out the truth, and of submitting the results of my investigations to my fellow-countrymen. The end of it was that my investigations confirmed the impressions which had been made upon me and upon all the independent minds of Calcutta and Bihár in 1857. I had the satisfaction also of knowing that the same process had led minds such as those of Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir John Low, Sir Vincent Eyre, Sir Henry Havelock, and most of the chief actors in the Mutiny, to the same conclusion; that Sir John Kaye, with all the resources of the India Office at his disposal, had recorded a similar verdict. Subsequently other gentlemen who approached the subject from a different standpoint—Mr. T. R. E. Holmes on the one side, and Captain Lionel Trotter on the other—equally resolved to search out the truth and to record it, were impelled to the same conviction. The evidence, in fact, is overwhelming; it has never been met; it is incontrovertible.

Ten years have elapsed since the volume containing my deliberate conclusions on the Tayler-Halliday question was published. Those conclusions were not questioned by a single critic. It soon appeared, in fact, that the minds of the thinking portion of the people of England had previously arrived at the conclusion that a great miscarriage of justice had occurred. My book was the spark which kindled that feeling into action; for, shortly afterwards, several members of the House of Commons, representing a very much larger body of men outside, petitioned the Government for an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the removal of Mr. Tayler from the office which he had held with such enormous advantages to the country. Amongst those who signed that petition was the present Under Secretary to the India Office, Sir John Gorst.

But, although, as I have said, ten years have elapsed, no inquiry has been allowed. The Government of the day, whichever side was in power, has always shirked the question. When, in the course of last year, Sir Roper Lethbridge and Sir Henry Havelock did ask for an inquiry, their demand was at once met by putting forward a side-issue, and by successfully persuading the House of Commons that this side-issue was the main issue. The arguments for the main issue, ably put by the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned, were left absolutely unanswered. They were not even referred to. The action of Sir John Gorst on this occasion reminded me of the action of a certain Counsel for the Crown, who, desiring to move the court against the pardon of a man who had been wrongfully transported for life, remarked, that whatever might be the merits of the case on which the man had been transported, it could not be denied that when he was a boy he had stolen an apple!

There can be no stronger testimony to the soundness of Mr. Tayler's case than the persistency with which Officialdom has always declined and still declines to meet it fairly.

Apart from this case and from the solitary objection of General Showers to the "merciful silence" with which I treated him in previous editions, there is no criticism which calls for remark. In many places the additions I have made are tantamount to a re-writing; I have endeavoured, in fact, as far as possible, to make the work complete. Conscious of the spirit in which it has been written, and the long labour freely given, I would fain hope that this volume, its predecessors, and its successors may find a permanent place on the shelves of those who are desirous of possessing a true record of the events of the great Indian Mutiny.

G. B. MALLESON.

27, West Cromwell Road,  
February 14, 1889.

LIST AND SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES  
MENTIONED IN THIS, AND NOT DESCRIBED  
IN THE PRECEDING VOLUME.

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- ĀBŪ**, Mount, a sanitarium in the Sirohī principality of Rājputānā. The highest peak is 5,700 feet above the sea. It is forty miles from Disā.
- AJMIŪ**, the division of, is separated from the bulk of the north-western provinces by Jaipur, Tonk, and other allied states. Its area is 2,672 square miles, and its population, in 1857, was 415,000 souls. The south-western part of it is called Mairwāra. The chief town, also called Ajmir, lies at the foot of a fortified hill, on which is the mausoleum of the first Muhammadan saint of India, Muīnuddīn Chishtī, of Sijistān, to whose tomb Akbar and his successors frequently made pilgrimages.
- ALĪGARH**, a district containing 1,860 square miles. The chief town, also called Alīgarh, is defended by a fort, which was stormed by Lord Lake in 1803. It is on the high road between Kānpūr and Mīrath.
- ALWAR**, a native state in Rājputānā, north of Jaipur, and west of Mathurā. Area, 3,573 square miles; population, 700,000. The chief town, Alwar, has a fort.
- AURANGĀBĀD**, a city in the dominions of the Nizam, on the Dūdhnā; is famous for its manufacture of silks, brocades, and tissues, and for its gardens. It lies 250 miles north-east of Bombay.
- ĀRAH**, chief town of the district of Shāhābād, in the division of Patnā.
- BUDĀUN**, a district in the Rohilkhand division. The chief town is also called Budāun.
- BHARATPŪR**, the district of, in Rājputānā, is bounded to the west by Alwar; to the south by Jaipur, Karaulī, Dholpūr, and Āgra district; to the east by Mathurā and Āgra; and to the north by the Panjāb. The inhabitants are principally Jāts. The chief town, also called Bharatpūr, is famous for the sieges it sustained against Lord Lake and Lord Combermere.
- BHOPĀL**, a native state in Mālwa, ruled over by a Muhammadan lady. The Narnadā forms its southern boundary. The chief town, near the Betwā, is also called Bhopāl.
- CHAMBAL**, the river, rises near Māu, flows by the towns of Kotā and Dholpūr, and falls into the Jamnah forty miles below Itāwah.



- DHOLPUR**, a native state in Rájputáná. The capital, of the same name, possesses several fine mosques and mausoleums, built by Sádik Khán, an officer of Akbar. The state is bounded on the north and north-east by the Ágra district; on the south-east by the Chambal; and on the west, by the Karaulí and Bharatpur states.
- FATHPUR-SIKRI**, south-west of Ágra; the residence of the Emperor Akbar, who gave it its prefix to commemorate his conquest of Gújrát, the original name having been SIKRI.
- GAYÁ**, chief town of the district of the same name in the division of Patná; famous for its places of pilgrimage and its Buddhistic remains.
- GHÁGRÁ**, the, a river in Oudh, which, rising in Nípál, runs through the districts of Kherí, Bahráich, Gondah, Bárah Bankí, and Faizábád, and falls into the Ganges at Chaprá.
- GORÁKHPUR**, a town in the division of the same name, on the Ráptí. The division is bounded on the north by Nípál; on the east by the Ghandak; on the south by the Ghághrá; and on the west by Oudh.
- GUMTÍ**, the, a river in the Sháhjahánpur district; runs a course of 500 miles through the Oudh districts of Kherí, Lakhnac, and Sultánpur, and falls into the Ganges not far from Banáras.
- GWÁLIÁR**, chief town of Sindhiá's dominions, on the Súbanrekhá, between Dholpur and Jhánsí. The fortress is one of the most famous in India.
- HAMÍRPUR**, chief town of a district in the Allahábád division, at the confluence of the Jamnah and B. twá.
- INDUR**, capital of the possessions of Mábárájah Holkar, situate on a plain on the left bank of the Khán river. It is distant, from Ágra, 402 miles; from Dehli, 494; from Nímach, 142; from Ságár, 224; from Allahábád, 557; from Calcutta, 1,030; from Bombay, 377.
- ITÁWAH**, chief town of a district of the same name in the Ágra division, on the river Jamnah.
- JALPÁIGURÍ**, on the Tistá, chief town of district of the same name in Koch Bihár.
- JAMNAB**, the, rises at the south-western base of the Jamnatri peaks, in Gahrwál, at an elevation of 10,849 feet, traverses the districts of Dehrá Dún, Saháranpur, Muzaffarnagar, Ambála, Karnál, Gurgáon, Miráth, Balandshahr, Aligarh, Mathurá, Ágra, Itáwah, Kánhpur, Jaláun, Hamírpur, Fathpur, Bandah, and Allahábád. After a course of 860 miles it mingles with the Ganges at the last-named place.
- JRÁNSÍ**, chief town of the division of the same name in Bundelkhand, south of Ágra.
- JODHPUR** (also called Márwár), a native state in Rájputáná. The capital is also called JODHPUR.
- KOTÁ**, capital of a native state of the same name in Rájputáná. It lies on the Chambal, and is strongly fortified.
- LALATPUR**, chief town of a district of the same name in the Jhánsí division.
- MATHURÁ**, a town in the Ágra division, renowned in Hindu mythological history. It is on the Jamnah, thirty miles from Ágra.

**MÁU** (incorrectly written Mhow, in spite of the fact that the original name is innocent of the letter "h"), a town and cantonment in the Indúr state (Holkar's); thirteen miles south-west of the town of Indúr.

**MEWÁR**: *vide* UDÁÍPÚR.

**MÍRZÁPÚR**, a town on the Ganges, fifty-six miles from Alláhábád.

**MURÁDÁBÁD**, chief town of the district of the same name in Rohilkhand, on the right bank of the Ráנגangá river.

**MOTIHÁRÍ**, capital of the Champáran district, Patná division; is also called Champáran. The largest town in the district is Bhetía.

**MUZAFFARGARH**, chief town of the district of the same name in the Multán division, Panjáb. The district is bounded on the north by the Derá Ismáíl Khán and Jhang districts; on the west by the Indus; on the east and south-east by the Chanáb. It forms the inmost triangle of the Sind Ságar Duáb, and is watered by the Chanáb and the Indus.

**MUZAFFARNAGAR**, chief town of the district so named in the Mírath division, on the road from Mírath to Landáur.

**MUZAFFARPÚR**, chief town of the Tirhut district of the Patná division. It is bounded to the north by Nipál. The town lies on the right bank of the Little Ghandak river.

**NÁGPÚR**, chief town of the district and division in the central provinces of the same name; formerly the capital of the dominions of the Bbonslá. The town is on the river Nág: hence its name. The civil station is Sítábaldí, famous in the military history of British India.

**NARBADÁ**, the, rises in the Biláspúr district, central provinces, and runs a course nearly due east to the Gulf of Cambay, thirty miles beyond Bharóch. From Talakwára to the sea, a distance of eighty-five miles, it is navigable for boats of considerable burthen. At Bharóch it is two miles wide, even when the tide is out. It is considered to be the boundary between the Dakhan and Hindustan, and, as a sacred stream, ranks second only to the Ganges.

**NASIRÁBÁD**, a cantonment in the Ajmír-Mairwára district of Rájputáná.

**NÍMACH**, a cantonment in the Gwáliár state, situated near the frontier of the native state of Udaipur. It lies 155 miles north-west of Máu, 371 south-west of Dehli, 312 south-west of Ágra, 306 west of Ságar, and 1,114 west of Calcutta.

**NIPÁL**, an independent state in the mountain range north of Bihar and Oudh. It is 500 miles long from east to west, and about 160 miles broad. It abounds in long, narrow, fertile valleys, 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, well watered and cultivated. The inhabitants are the Newáras, a Mongolian tribe, and their conquerors, the Gurkhás.

**RÁJPUTÁNÁ**, a portion of Western India, comprising eighteen principalities, with an area of 120,000 square miles, and nine millions of inhabitants. It is under the protection of the British.

**RÁJSHÁHÍ**, a division in Bengal, comprising the districts of Murshidábád, Dinájpúr, Máldá, Rájsháhí, Rangpúr, Bagúrá, and Pabná.

### SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.

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- SÍGAR**, chief town of district of same name in the Central Provinces. It lies ninety miles north-west of Jabalpúr, 185 north of Nágpur, and 223 south-west of Alláhábád. A large fort, built by the Maráthás, commands the town.
- SAHÁRANPÚR**, chief town of district of same name in Mirath division. It is on the Jamnah canal, and forms the head-quarters of its superintendent.
- SHÁHÁBÁD**, district in the Patná division, having Árah as its chief town.
- SHÁHJAHÁNPÚR**, chief town of district of same name in Rohilkhand.
- SITÁPÚR**, capital of district of same name in Oudh; lies on the banks of the Sarájan river, midway between Lakhnao and Sháhjahánpúr.
- SULTÁNÚR**, chief town of district of same name in the Rai-Barélf division, Oudh; lies on the right bank of the Gúmfi, fifty-nine miles north of Alláhábád, and ninety-two south-east of Lakhnao.
- UDAIPÚR** or **MÉWÁR**, chief town of the native state of the premier ruler, here called Rána, of Rájputána. It lies seventy miles to the west of Nímach.
- UNÁO**, chief village of district of same name in Oudh; it lies nine miles north-east of Kánhpúr, and forty-three miles south-west of Lakhnao.

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## APPENDIX A.

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(VIDE PAGE 174.)

IN May, 1881, General Lionel Showers published a pamphlet containing some correspondence he had had with me on the subject of the insufficient notice I had given of his exploits in the earlier editions of my history of the Indian Mutiny. The first and second letters of that correspondence speak for themselves. The first contained the complaint of General Showers; the second, my answer to that complaint. The third letter reiterated his shallow claims, and ended, characteristically, with a sneer at myself. Utterly indifferent to the sarcasms which were the natural consequence of my refusal to endorse his shadowy claims, I declined to bandy personalities with General Showers, and left his second letter unnoticed.

In the pamphlet of 1881 no attack was made upon the late Sir George Lawrence. Sir George Lawrence was alive, and the Lawrences were still a power; but General Showers had not forgotten that, at an unexampled crisis in the history of British India, he had served under Sir George Lawrence, and that Sir George Lawrence had recorded his opinion that, in that crisis, he had found him, "when every other officer hurried to his post," loitering at Abu and *en route*, neglectful of his orders, and guilty of repeated acts of disobedience and defiance of his authority. He waited, then, till that illustrious man should no longer be alive to reply to him; then, conveniently "clearing out a long-disused cabinet," he proceeded to concoct "a missing chapter of the Indian Mutiny," characterised by praise of himself and depreciation of his former chief. I say nothing of his remarks regarding myself; I plead guilty to the charge of declining to distort the truth in order to fabricate a hero out of inferior clay.

With respect to the conduct of General Showers during the Mutiny, I may repeat here what I have written in a footnote in the text, that the question was fully disposed of by the Governor-General of India in Council (Lord Canning), in letter No. 727, dated February 24, 1860. That letter thus concludes:

"On a full review of all the proceedings set forth in the correspondence, and especially of the particular instances above adverted to, his Excellency cannot avoid the conclusion that Captain Showers, notwithstanding his good abilities and his zeal for the public service, does not possess either the judgment or the temper required in an officer entrusted with political duties. His conduct has been marked by unjustifiable opposition to the orders of his superior, needless disputes with other officers, and a desire to

meddle with the duties which do not belong to him. He has failed to profit by the warning formerly addressed to him on this head. His Excellency therefore dismisses Captain Showers from the Rajpootana Agency, and directs that his services be placed at the disposal of the Military Department. You will accordingly take measures to relieve Captain Showers at once."

General Showers has the audacity to argue that that decision, which was final, and was never altered, was virtually cancelled by a letter addressed to him by the Secretary of State the 14th April, 1862. But what are the facts? Major Showers, as he then was, had represented to the Secretary of State that, in consequence of the non-confirmation by the Government of India of his appointment as Political Agent in Mewár, he had been subjected to a considerable pecuniary loss. The reply of the Secretary of State ran, with reference to that point, as follows :

"Adverting to the exceptional circumstances of the times, to the claims necessarily made on the hospitality of officers in the position you then held, and to the particular facts which you have stated, Sir Charles Wood is willing to take this part of your case into his favourable consideration. He will, therefore, call the attention of the Government of India to the subject, and to request that, if, as he believes, the full salary of the Mewár Agency has not been disbursed to any other officer, the difference between the allowances of the officiating and the confirmed appointment, during the period of your employment as Political Agent at Mewár, be disbursed to you."

The sense of this decision is too plain, one would think, to be capable of being distorted. The Secretary of State says, in so many words, to Major Showers: "We will not punish you by fine as well as by dismissal. You probably incurred expenses which your full salary was intended to meet; therefore you shall have that full salary." To those acquainted with the financial rules of the Government of India, even this explanation is superfluous. By those rules an officer who may not be confirmed in an acting appointment is entitled only to the half-staff salary. To disburse to him the full-staff pay the sanction of the Secretary of State is necessary; and when, as in the case of General Showers, exceptional circumstances occur, such sanction is rarely withheld.

The claim, then, made by General Showers, that the grant of his full-staff pay, accompanied as it was by an allusion to his "admitted zeal and ability," cleansed him from the condemnation of his conduct during the Mutiny by the Government of India, is, then, simply impudent. Nor would it be necessary to notice it further but that the impudence, set forth with all the hectoring of a Captain Bobadil, is liable to be accepted as truth by the untravelled Englishman, to whom the antecedents of General Showers, and the measure of him taken in India, may not be known.

It is by the character a man has borne in the country where he has spent the best years of his life that his worth or worthlessness must be

judged; not by the veneer he may assume after he has retired from the scene of his life-labours. Now, General Showers spent all the best years of his life in India. His character was well known in that country, alike by those in the service as by those out of it. Let us see how he was regarded there.

Perhaps the best mode of ascertaining this fact is to record the impression of him which his recent book, published in 1888, has called forth. The leading paper of the North-western Provinces is 'The Pioneer.' The following are the terms in which that able and honest journal reviews General Showers's latest work, 'A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny.\*'

"This brochure is, in the main, an attempt on the part of General Showers to vindicate himself, his action, and his policy as Political Resident in Mewár (Udaipur) from the blame, tacit and expressed, cast upon them at the time by the late General Sir George St. Patrick Lawrence. The vindication comes rather late in the day, and certainly loses all value and force from having been delayed until long after the death of the officer against whom it is mainly directed. Colonel Malleon, who, in his history of the Mutiny, took Sir George Lawrence's view of the matter, comes in for some harsh and bitter remarks, backed by a manipulated quotation from Shakespeare. He, however, is to the fore, and, should he think it worth while, which is hardly likely, can ably protect himself. Against Sir George Lawrence, General Showers will hardly be allowed to score an *ex-parte* decree. General Showers, moreover, states (p. 191) that, having been removed by the Local Government for acting without orders, presumably upon report by General Lawrence, he was restored to office by the Secretary of State on appeal. He gives no copies, either of the original report or of either of these orders, though he prints copies of several other papers far less to the point than these would have been. If General Showers 'left the Court without a stain upon his character, surrounded by his friends,' where the necessity for this long-delayed whitewash? General Showers' appeal was apparently made in February, 1862, and presumably his restoration took place in that year. (Somewhat characteristically, he gives, as the grounds of his restoration by the Secretary of State, an extract from his memorandum of appeal.) It is not clear, therefore, why—sixteen years thereafter, when his opponent and many of the other actors in those scenes have passed away—he has now seen fit to open up this matter in so polemical a fashion. The necessity for the present work is the less apparent as General Showers claims to have 'conclusively disposed of the matter' by the publication of a counterblast to Colonel Malleon in 1881.

"Captain Showers placed on record, at the Board of Control, India Office (*sic*), in the spring of 1856, a memorandum in which, while criticising the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, he foretold the Mutiny as a result

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\* 'A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny:' by Lieutenant-General Charles Lionel Showers. Longmans, Green and Co., London and New York.



thereof. A copy of this memorandum he brought out to India in the same year and laid before Lord Canning. It is unfortunate that so weighty a document as this must have been, and one so useful to future historiographers, has been lost to the world. The original is lost, the copy given to Lord Canning is not forthcoming, and the author of so important a State paper seems to have kept no copy of it. General Showers states, in words given as Lord Canning's own, that that statesman, while convinced, or nearly so, by the views set forth in this paper, refrained from acting upon them because 'what he (Captain Showers) advocates would involve a reversal of the policy which I am sent to carry out, viz., the consolidation of the Empire (?) through the absorption of the Native States.' The Italics and query are our own. We take liberty very gravely to doubt if Lord Canning ever permitted himself to say anything of the sort. Not only in this sentence, but in several other places, General Showers antedates the 'Empire' of India. He more than once styles the Queen of 1857-58 by her recently assumed Imperial title, as when he speaks of 'assumption by the Queen-Empress of direct rule over India at the latter end of 1858.'

"We learn from this work (p. 8) that it was to Captain Showers that we owed the first inception of the design of the diversion of the troops of the China Expedition to the aid of India. We had been under the impression that that idea had first emanated, whence so many heroic ideas sprang, from Sir Henry Lawrence, who advised Lord Canning somewhat to that effect immediately after hearing of the events of the 11th May at Mirath.

"Into the controversial matter, which is clearly the main *motif* of the work, we need not enter further. As a contribution to the history of the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857-58 there is little that is new. The title is a misnomer. There is no 'missing chapter' of that time which is now told for the first time. The only things 'missing'—and as to those we have to take General Showers' authority—are Captain Showers' despatches of the time, or some of them, which he roundly charges General Lawrence with having burked or misrepresented. The historical part of the work is an account of the occurrences of the Mutiny in Mewár, principally at Udaipur and Nimach and the neighbourhood, which has all been told and recorded, officially and otherwise, far more ably and clearly than it is recounted in this book; for General Showers' is not the pen of a ready writer. Some local touches and episodes, both before and behind the scenes, such as could only be given by a leading local actor in the drama, there undoubtedly are. In particular, the staunch and universally recognised loyalty of the House of Mewár, in the person of the Maháráj Ráná Sarup Singh, is set forth more precisely, and with greater insistence and detail, than we remember to have seen elsewhere. Indeed, one of the chief *raison d'être* of the book is the establishment of the position, that the active loyalty of the Maháráj Ráná in those troublous and trying times, and the powerful material aid given by the Durbar to the British arms, were mainly due to the policy of Captain C. L. Showers, which set aside and was, *ab initio* and throughout, antagonistic to that previously

pursued and subsequently advocated by his predecessor and thereafter chief, Brigadier-General George St. Patrick Lawrence."

But this is not all. General Showers had apparently forgotten that, although the Old Lion was dead, there were young lions ready and resolute to vindicate their father's fame. One of these, Mr. A. J. Lawrence, as soon as he read the review I have just quoted from the 'Pioneer,' hurled at the presumptuous libeller of his sire's name the sharp-pointed javelin I have extracted from that paper. Addressing the editor of the 'Pioneer,' Mr. Lawrence wrote :

"Your notice of General Showers' attack on my late father requires some notice. I gather from the little mention made of this book in my letters from home that neither my brother nor any of Sir George's old assistants think Showers worth powder and shot. He was re-employed in Gwáliár in 1864, and after six months was dropped. The Gwáliár officials have probably a warm remembrance of him. Most native states where he served found him expensive, and, if my recollection is right, the attack on Nimbhára and the Tonk intrigue were the cause of his leaving Rájputána, and of his (long-delayed) abuse of Sir George Lawrence. Showers had a certain cleverness and facility with his pen, which, however, by your account, seems to have left him; but he was vain, unscrupulous, and self-laudatory. Refused employment by the Foreign Office, not wanted by the Army, he did general duty at Pesháwar for some time. I have the best authority for knowing the opinion there held of him. He offered himself, in Lord Mayo's time, as a member of the Legislative Council, on the supposed strength of his acquaintance with the criminal tribes of India. Great was Lord Mayo's surprise and indignation on hearing of this suggestion. Showers subsequently lived, and tried to raise cotton, at Dehrá Dun; and his last appearance in India was an unsuccessful application for exemption of stamp duty. And this is the man who presumes, five years after my father's death, and thirty years after the time of which he professes to be the only true historian, to attack a man with whom, when Lord Lawrence came out as Viceroy, and my father was with him in Calcutta, he was willing and anxious to renew his acquaintance.

"Allahabad, 20th July.

(Signed) A. J. LAWRENCE."

In this letter Mr. Lawrence describes his father's assailant as "vain, unscrupulous, and self-laudatory." The description will be accepted by all who knew General Showers in India. In that country the qualities denoted by those adjectives were constantly leading him into hot water. In a word, they did much to ruin his career. I much fear that in this, the last of his many warfares—all of his own seeking—they have not contributed to his reputation with posterity. It can scarcely be a consolation to General Showers to know that, whilst his two self-laudatory books are but little known now, and will be absolutely unknown to the generation that will come after, this self-sought *exposé* of himself will be read wherever the English language is spoken.

## APPENDIX B.

*Official Report of the Defence of Lakhnao* (vide Chapter II. Book IX.).

“FROM BRIGADIER INGLIS, *Commanding Garrison of Lakhnao*, TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT MILITARY DEPARTMENT, *Calcutta*.

Dated, “Lakhnao, 26th September, 1857.

“SIR,—In consequence of the very deeply-to-be-lamented death of Brigadier-General Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., late in command of the Oudh Field Force, the duty of narrating the military events which have occurred at Lakhnao since 29th June last, has devolved upon myself.

“On the evening of that day several reports reached Sir Henry Lawrence that the rebel army, in no very considerable force, would march from Chinhat (a small village about eight miles distant on the road to Faizábád) on Lakhnao on the following morning; and the late Brigadier-General therefore determined to make a strong reconnoissance in that direction, with the view, if possible, of meeting the force at a disadvantage, either at its entrance into the suburbs of the city, or at the bridge across the Gokral, which is a small stream intersecting the Faizábád road, about half-way between Lakhnao and Chinhat.

“The force destined for this service, and which was composed as follows, moved out at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 30th June:—

*Artillery*.—Four guns of No. — Horse Light Field Battery.

Four ditto of No. 2 Oudh Field Battery.

Two ditto of No. 3 ditto ditto ditto.

An eight-inch Howitzer.

*Cavalry*.—Troop of Volunteer Cavalry.

120 Troopers of Detachments belonging to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Oudh Irregular Cavalry.

*Infantry*.—300 Her Majesty's 32nd.

150 13th Native Infantry.

60 48th Native Infantry.

20 71st Native Infantry (Sikhs).

“The troops, misled by the reports of wayfarers—who stated that there were few or no men between Lakhnao and Chinhat—proceeded somewhat further than had been originally intended, and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advance guard by concealing themselves behind a long line of trees in overwhelming numbers. The European force and the howitzer, with the native infantry, held the foe in check for some time, and had the six guns of the Oudh

Artillery been faithful, and the Sikh Cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of an immense disparity in numbers. But the Oude artillerymen and drivers were traitors. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the Brigadier-General in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels. Every effort to induce them to stand having proved ineffectual, the force, exposed to a vastly superior fire of artillery, and completely outflanked on both sides by an overpowering body of infantry and cavalry, which actually got into our rear, was compelled to retire with the loss of three pieces of artillery, which fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the rank treachery of the Oudh gunners, and with a very grievous list of killed and wounded. The heat was dreadful, the gun ammunition was expended, and the almost total want of cavalry to protect our rear made our retreat most disastrous.

"All the officers behaved well, and the exertions of the small body of Volunteer Cavalry—only forty in number—under Captain Radcliffe, 7th Light Cavalry, were most praiseworthy. Sir Henry Lawrence subsequently conveyed his thanks to myself, who had, at his request, accompanied him upon this occasion, Colonel Case being in command of H.M.'s 32nd. He also expressed his approbation of the way in which his staff—Captain Wilson, Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant James, Sub-Assistant Commissary General; Captain Edgell, Officiating Military Secretary; and Mr. Couper, C.S.,—the last of whom had acted as Sir Henry Lawrence's A.D.C. from the commencement of the disturbances,—had conducted themselves throughout this arduous day. Sir Henry further particularly mentioned that he would bring the gallant conduct of Captain Radcliffe and of Lieutenant Bonham, of the Artillery, (who worked the howitzer successfully until incapacitated by a wound), to the prominent notice of the Government of India. The manner in which Lieutenant Birch, 71st N.L., cleared a village with a party of Sikh skirmishers, also elicited the admiration of the Brigadier-General. The conduct of Lieutenant Hardinge, who, with his handful of horse, covered the retreat of the rear-guard, was extolled by Sir Henry, who expressed his intention of mentioning the services of this gallant officer to His Lordship in Council. Lieutenant-Colonel Case, who commanded H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, was mortally wounded whilst gallantly leading on his men. The service had not a more deserving officer. The command devolved on Captain Steevens, who also received a death-wound shortly afterwards. The command then fell to Captain Mansfield, who has since died of cholera. A list of the casualties on this occasion accompanies the Despatch.

"It remains to report the siege operations.

"It will be in the recollection of His Lordship in Council that it was the original intention of Sir Henry Lawrence to occupy not only the Residency, but also the fort called Machchi Bhawan—an old dilapidated edifice, which had been hastily repaired for the occasion, though the

defences were even at the last moment very far from complete, and were, moreover, commanded by many houses in the city. The situation of the Machchi Bhawan with regard to the Residency has already been described to the Government of India.

"The untoward event of the 30th June so far diminished the whole available force, that we had not a sufficient number of men remaining to occupy both positions. The Brigadier-General, therefore, on the evening of the 1st July, signalled to the garrison of the Machchi Bhawan to evacuate and blow up that fortress in the course of the night. The orders were ably carried out, and at 12 P.M. the force marched into the Residency with their guns and treasure without the loss of a man; and shortly afterwards the explosion of 240 barrels of gunpowder and 6,000,000 ball cartridges, which were lying in the magazine, announced to Sir Henry Lawrence and his officers—who were anxiously awaiting the report—the complete destruction of that post and all that it contained. If it had not been for this wise and strategic measure, no member of the Lucknow garrison, in all probability, would have survived to tell the tale; for, as has already been stated, the Machchi Bhawan was commanded from other parts of the town, and was, moreover, indifferently provided with heavy artillery ammunition, while the difficulty, suffering, and loss which the Residency garrison, even with the reinforcement thus obtained from the Machchi Bhawan, has undergone in holding the position, is sufficient to show that, if the original intention of holding both posts had been adhered to, both would have inevitably fallen.

"It is now my very painful duty to relate the calamity which befell us at the commencement of the siege. On the 1st July an 8-inch shell burst in the room in the Residency in which Sir H. Lawrence was sitting. The missile burst between him and Mr. Couper, close to both; but without injury to either. The whole of his staff implored Sir Henry to take up other quarters, as the Residency had then become the special target for the round-shot and shell of the enemy. This, however, he jestingly declined to do, observing that another shell would certainly never be pitched into that small room. But Providence had ordained otherwise, for on the very next day he was mortally wounded by the fragment of another shell which burst in the same room, exactly at the same spot. Captain Wilson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, received a contusion at the same time.

"The late lamented Sir Henry Lawrence, knowing that his last hour was rapidly approaching, directed me to assume command of the troops, and appointed Major Banks to succeed him in the office of Chief Commissioner. He lingered in great agony till the morning of the 4th July, when he expired, and the Government was thereby deprived, if I may venture to say so, of the services of a distinguished statesman and a most gallant soldier. Few men have ever possessed to the same extent the power which he enjoyed of winning the hearts of all those with whom he came in contact, and thus ensuring the warmest and most zealous devotion for himself and for the Government which he served. The successful

defence of the position has been, under Providence, solely attributable to the foresight which he evinced in the timely commencement of the necessary operations, and the great skill and untiring personal activity which he exhibited in carrying them into effect. All ranks possessed such confidence in his judgment and his fertility of resource, that the news of his fall was received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all by the loss of a public benefactor and a warm personal friend. Feeling as keenly and as gratefully as I do the obligations that the whole of us are under to this great and good man, I trust the Government of India will pardon me for having attempted, however imperfectly, to portray them. In him every good and deserving soldier lost a friend and a chief capable of discriminating, and ever on the alert to reward merit, no matter how humble the sphere in which it was exhibited.

"The garrison had scarcely recovered the shock which it had sustained in the loss of its revered and beloved General, when it had to mourn the death of that able and respected officer, Major Banks, the Officiating Chief Commissioner, who received a bullet through his head while examining a critical outpost on the 21st July, and died without a groan.

"The description of our position, and the state of our defences when the siege began, are so fully set forth in the accompanying Memorandum, furnished by the Garrison Engineer, that I shall content myself with bringing to the notice of His Lordship in Council the fact that, when the blockade was commenced, only two of our batteries were completed, part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition, and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. Indeed, our heaviest losses have been caused by the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the native nobility, the necessity of destroying which had been repeatedly drawn to the attention of Sir Henry by the staff of Engineers; but his invariable reply was, 'Spare the holy places, and private property, too, as far as possible;' and we have consequently suffered severely from our very tenderness to the religious prejudices and respect to the rights of our rebellious citizens and soldiery. As soon as the enemy had thoroughly completed the investment of the Residency, they occupied these houses, some of which were within easy pistol-shot of our barricades, in immense force, and rapidly made loop-holes on those sides which bore on our post, from which they kept up a terrific and incessant fire day and night, which caused many daily casualties, as there could not have been less than 8,000 men firing at one time into our position. Moreover, there was no place in the whole of our works that could be considered safe, for several of the sick and wounded who were lying in the Banqueting Hall, which had been turned into an hospital, were killed in the very centre of the building, and the widow of Lieutenant Dorin and other women and children were shot dead in rooms into which it had not been previously deemed possible that a bullet could penetrate. Neither were the enemy idle in erecting batteries. They soon had from

twenty to twenty-five guns in position, some of them of very large calibre. These were planted all round our post at small distances, some being actually within fifty yards of our defences, but in places where our own heavy guns could not reply to them, while the perseverance and ingenuity of the enemy in erecting barricades in front of and around their guns, in a very short time rendered all attempts to silence them by musketry entirely unavailing. Neither could they be effectually silenced by shells, by reason of their extreme proximity to our position, and because, moreover, the enemy had recourse to digging very narrow trenches about eight feet in depth in rear of each gun, in which the men lay while our shells were flying, and which so effectually concealed them, even while working the gun, that our baffled sharpshooters could only see their hands while in the act of loading.

"The enemy contented themselves with keeping up this incessant fire of cannon and musketry until the 20th July, on which day, at 10 A.M., they assembled in very great force all around our position, and exploded a heavy mine inside our outer line of defences at the water gate. The mine, however, which was close to the Redan, and apparently sprung with the intention of destroying that battery, did no harm. But, as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan. But they were received with such a heavy fire, that, after a short struggle, they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes's post, and came on to within ten yards of the palisades, affording to Lieutenant Loughnan, 13th N.I., who commanded the position, and his brave garrison, composed of gentlemen of the Uncovenanted Service, a few of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, and of the 13th N.I., an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks at almost every outpost, but were invariably defeated, and at 2 P.M. they ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us unceasingly as usual. Matters proceeded in this manner until the 10th August, when the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the Brigade Mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house occupied by Mr. Schilling's garrison. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared, through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the Brigade Mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their numbers lying on the crest of the breach. While this operation was going on, another large body advanced on the Cawnpore battery, and succeeded in locating themselves for a few minutes in the ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling ladders, which

they planted against the wall; but here, as elsewhere, they were met with the most indomitable resolution, and, the leaders being slain, the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loop-holed defences, from whence they kept up for the rest of the day an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th August the enemy sprung another mine in front of the Sikh lines with very fatal effect. Captain Orr (unattached), Lieutenants Mecham and Soppitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air, but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a severe shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried alive under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty. But they succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses in our position, from which they were driven in the evening by the bayonets of H.M.'s 32nd and 84th Foot. On the 5th September the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine, a few feet short of the bastion of the 18-pounder gun, in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large heavy scaling ladders, which they planted against the wall, and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily driven back with loss by hand grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the Brigade Mess, and advanced boldly; but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking old native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. Their loss upon this day must have been very heavy, as they came on with much determination, and at night they were seen bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges in the direction of the cantonments. The above is a faint attempt at a description of the four great struggles which have occurred during this protracted season of exertion, exposure, and suffering. His Lordship in Council will perceive that the enemy invariably commenced his attacks by the explosion of a mine, a species of offensive warfare for the exercise of which our position was unfortunately peculiarly situated; and, had it not been for the most untiring vigilance on our part in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would probably have been much more numerous, and might, perhaps, have ended in the capture of the place. But, by countermining in all directions, we succeeded in detecting and destroying no less than four of the enemy's subterraneous advances towards important positions, two of which operations were eminently successful, as on one occasion not less than eight of them were blown into the air, and twenty



suffered a similar fate on the second explosion. The labour, however, which devolved upon us in making these countermines, in the absence of a body of skilled miners, was very heavy. The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council will feel that it would be impossible to crowd within the limits of a despatch even the principal events, much more the individual acts of gallantry, which have marked this protracted struggle. But I can conscientiously declare my conviction that few troops have ever undergone greater hardships, exposed as they have been to a never-ceasing musketry fire and cannonade. They have also experienced the alternate vicissitudes of extreme wet and of intense heat, and that, too, with very insufficient shelter from either, and in many places without any shelter at all. In addition to having had to repel real attacks, they have been exposed night and day to the hardly less harassing false alarms which the enemy have been constantly raising. The insurgents have frequently fired very heavily, sounded the advance and shouted for several hours together, though not a man could be seen, with the view, of course, of harassing our small and exhausted force, in which object they succeeded, for no part has been strong enough to allow of a portion only of the garrison being prepared in the event of a false attack being turned into a real one. All, therefore, had to stand to their arms, and to remain at their posts until the demonstration had ceased; and such attacks were of almost nightly occurrence. The whole of the officers and men have been on duty night and day during the eighty-seven days which the siege has lasted, up to the arrival of Sir J. Outram, G.C.B. In addition to this incessant military duty, the force has been nightly employed in repairing defences, in moving guns, in burying dead animals, in conveying ammunition and commissariat stores from one place to another, and in other fatigue duties too numerous and too trivial to enumerate here. I feel, however, that any words of mine will fail to convey any adequate idea of what our fatigue and labours have been—labours in which all ranks and all classes, civilians, officers, and soldiers, have all borne an equally noble part. All have together descended into the mines, all have together handled the shovel for the interment of the putrid bullock, and all, accoutred with musket and bayonet, have relieved each other on sentry without regard to the distinctions of rank, civil or military. Notwithstanding all these hardships, the garrison has made no less than five sorties, in which they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns, and blew up several of the houses from which they had kept up their most harassing fire. Owing to the extreme paucity of our numbers, each man was taught to feel that on his own individual efforts alone depended in no small measure the safety of the entire position. This consciousness incited every officer, soldier, and man to defend the post assigned to him with such desperate tenacity, and to fight for the lives which Providence had entrusted to his care with such dauntless determination, that the enemy, despite their constant attacks, their heavy mines, their overwhelming numbers, and their incessant fire, could never succeed in gaining one single inch of ground within the bounds of this straggling position,

which was so feebly fortified that, had they once obtained a footing in any of the outposts, the whole place must inevitably have fallen.

"If further proof be wanting of the desperate nature of the struggle which we have, under God's blessing, so long and so successfully waged, I would point to the roofless and ruined house, to the crumbled walls, to the exploded mines, to the open breaches, to the shattered and disabled guns and defences, and, lastly, to the long and melancholy list of the brave and devoted officers and men who have fallen. These silent witnesses bear sad and solemn testimony to the way in which this feeble position has been defended. During the early part of these vicissitudes, we were left without any information whatever regarding the posture of affairs outside. An occasional spy did, indeed, come in with the object of inducing our sipâhis and servants to desert; but the intelligence derived from such sources was, of course, entirely untrustworthy. We sent our messengers daily, calling for aid and asking for information, none of whom ever returned until the 26th day of the siege, when a pensioner named Angad came back with a letter from General Havelock's camp, informing us that they were advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in five or six days. A messenger was immediately despatched requesting that on the evening of their arrival on the outskirts of the city two rockets might be sent up, in order that we might take the necessary measures for assisting them while forcing their way in. The sixth day, however, expired, and they came not; but for many evenings after officers and men watched for the ascension of the expected rockets, with hopes such as make the heart sick. We knew not then, nor did we learn until the 29th August—or thirty-five days later—that the relieving force, after having fought most nobly to effect our deliverance, had been obliged to fall back for reinforcements; and this was the last communication we received until two days before the arrival of Sir James Outram, on the 25th September.

"Besides heavy visitations of cholera and small-pox, we have also had to contend against a sickness which has almost universally pervaded the garrison. Commencing with a very painful eruption, it has merged into a low fever, combined with diarrhoea; and, although few or no men have actually died from its effects, it leaves behind a weakness and lassitude which in the absence of all material sustenance save coarse beef and still coarser flour, none have been able entirely to get over. The mortality among the women and children, and especially among the latter, from these diseases and from other causes, has been perhaps, the most painful characteristic of the siege. The want of native servants has also been a source of much privation. Owing to the suddenness with which we were besieged, many of these people who might, perhaps, have otherwise proved faithful to their employers, but who were outside the defences at the time, were altogether excluded. Very many more deserted, and several families were consequently left without the services of a single domestic. Several ladies have had to tend their children, and even to wash their own clothes, as well as to cook their scanty meals entirely unaided. Combined with

the absence of servants, the want of proper accommodation has probably been the cause of much of the disease with which we have been afflicted. I cannot refrain from bringing to the prominent notice of His Lordship in Council the patient endurance and the Christian resignation which have been evinced by the women of this garrison. They have animated us by their example. Many, alas! have been made widows, and their children fatherless, in this cruel struggle. But all such seem resigned to the will of Providence, and many, among whom may be mentioned the honoured names of Birch, of Polehampton, of Barbor, and of Gall, have, after the example of Miss Nightingale, constituted themselves the tender and solicitous nurses of the wounded and dying soldiers in the hospital.

"It only remains for me to bring to the favourable notice of His Lordship in Council the names of those officers who have most distinguished themselves, and afforded me the most valuable assistance in these operations. Many of the best and bravest of these now rest from their labours. Among them are Lieutenant-Colonel Case and Captain Radcliffe, whose services have already been narrated; Captain Francis, 13th N.I.,—who was killed by a round-shot—had particularly attracted the attention of Sir H. Lawrence for his conduct while in command of the *Machchi Bhawan*; Captain Fulton, of the Engineers, who also was struck by a round-shot, had, up to the time of his early and lamented death, afforded me the most invaluable aid; he was, indeed, indefatigable. Major Anderson, the Chief Engineer, though, from the commencement of the siege, incapable of physical exertion from the effects of the disease under which he eventually sank, merited my warm acknowledgments for his able counsel; Captain Simons, Commandant of Artillery, distinguished himself at Chintah, where he received two wounds, which ended in his death; Lieutenants Shepherd and Arthur, 7th Light Cavalry, who were killed at their posts; Captain Hughes, 57th N.I., who was mortally wounded at the capture of a house which formed one of the enemy's outposts; Captain McCabe, of the 32nd Foot, who was killed at the head of his men while leading his fourth sortie; as well as Captain Mansfield, of the same corps, who died of cholera—were all officers who had distinguished themselves highly. Mr. Lucas, too, a gentleman volunteer, and Mr. Boyson, of the Uncovenanted Service—who fell when on the look-out at one of the most perilous outposts—had earned themselves reputations for coolness and gallantry.

"The officers who commanded outposts—Lieutenant-Colonel Master, 7th Light Cavalry; Major Aphorpe, 41st N.I.; Captain Gould Weston, 65th N.I.\*; Captain Sanders, 41st N.I.; Captain Boileau, 7th Light

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\* G. G. O., No. 1546, dated, *Fort William*, 15th November 1858: "Major-General Sir J. E. Inglis, K.C.B., formerly commanding Lucknow Garrison, having brought to notice that the name of Captain G. Weston, 65th Regiment Native Infantry, was inadvertently omitted in his despatch of the 26th September, 1857, the Hon. the President of the Council of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council, with the concurrence of his Lordship,

Cavalry; Captain Germon, 13th N.I.; Lieutenant Aitken, and Lieutenant Loughnan, of the same corps; Captain Anderson, 25th N.I.; Lieutenant Graydon, 44th N.I.; Lieutenant Langmore, 71st N.I.; and Mr. Schilling, Principal of the Martinière College—have all conducted ably the duties of their onerous position. No further proof of this is necessary than the fact which I have before mentioned, that throughout the whole duration of the siege the enemy were not only unable to take, but they could not even succeed in gaining one inch of the posts commanded by these gallant gentlemen. Colonel Master commanded the critical and important post of the Brigade Mess, on either side of which was an open breach, only flanked by his handful of riflemen and musketeers. Lieutenant Aitken, with the whole of the 13th N.I. which remained to us with the exception of their Sikhs, commanded the Bailey Guard—perhaps the most important position in the whole of the defences; and Lieutenant Langmore, with the remnant of his regiment (the 71st), held a very exposed position between the hospital and the water gate. This gallant and deserving young soldier and his men were entirely without shelter from the weather, both by night and by day.

“My thanks are also due to Lieutenants Anderson, Hutchinson and Innes, of the Engineers, as well as to Lieutenant Tulloch, 58th N.I., and Lieutenant Hay, 48th N.I., who were placed under them to aid in the arduous duties devolving upon that department. Lieutenant Thomas, Madras Artillery, who commanded that arm of the service for some weeks, and Lieutenants Macfarlane and Bonham rendered me the most effectual assistance. I was, however, deprived of the services of the two latter, who were wounded, Lieutenant Bonham no less than three times, early in the siege. Captain Evans, 17th B.N.I., who, owing to the scarcity of Artillery officers, was put in charge of some guns, and was ever to be found at his post.

“Major Lowe, commanding H.M.’s 32nd Regiment; Captain Bassano, Lieutenants Lawrence, Edmonstoun, Foster, Harmar, Cook, Clery, Brown, and Charlton, of that corps, have all nobly performed their duty. Every one of these officers, with the exception of Lieutenants Lawrence and Clery, have received one or more wounds of more or less severity. Quartermaster Stribbling, of the same corps, also conducted himself to my satisfaction.

“Captain O’Brien, H.M.’s 84th Foot; Captain Kemble, 41st N.I.; Captain Edgell, 53rd N.I.; Captain Dinning, Lieutenant Sewell, and Lieutenant Worsely, of the 71st N.I.; Lieutenant Warner, 7th L.C.; Ensign Ward, 48th N.I. (who, when most of our Artillery officers were killed or disabled, worked the mortars with excellent effect); Lieutenant Graham, 11th N.I.; Lieutenant Mecham, 4th Oude Locals; and Lieu-

desires to rectify that omission, and is pleased to direct that that officer’s name be added to the paragraph commencing with the words ‘the officers who commanded the outposts,’ and inserted after the name of Major Apthorp, 41st Native Infantry. Order Books to be corrected accordingly.”

tenant Keir, 41st N.I., have all done good and willing service throughout the siege, and I trust that they will receive the favourable notice of his Lordship in Council.

"I beg particularly to call the attention of the Government of India to the untiring industry, the extreme devotion and the great skill which have been evinced by Surgeon Scott (superintending surgeon) and Assistant-Surgeon Boyd, of H.M.'s 32nd Foot; Assistant-Surgeon Bird, of the Artillery; Surgeon Campbell, 7th Light Cavalry; Surgeon Brydon, 71st N.I.; Surgeon Ogilvie, Sanitary Commissioner; Assistant-Surgeon Fayrer, Civil Surgeon; Assistant-Surgeon Partridge, 2nd Oude Irregular Cavalry; Assistant-Surgeon Greenhow; Assistant-Surgeon Darby, and by Mr. Apothecary Thompson, in the discharge of their onerous and most important duties.

"Messrs. Thornhill and Capper, of the Civil Service, have been both wounded, and the way in which they, as well as Mr. Martin, the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhnao, conducted themselves, entitles them to a place in this despatch. Captain Carnegie, the Special Assistant Commissioner, whose invaluable services previous to the commencement of the siege, I have frequently heard warmly dilated upon, both by Sir H. Lawrence and by Major Banks, and whose exertions will probably be more amply brought to notice by the Civil authorities on some future occasion, has conducted the office of Provost Marshal to my satisfaction. The Reverend Mr. Harris and the Reverend Mr. Polehampton, Assistant Chaplains, vied with each other in their untiring care and attention to the suffering men. The latter gentleman was wounded in the hospital, and subsequently unhappily died of cholera. Mr. McCrae, of the Civil Engineers, did excellent service at the guns, until he was severely wounded. Mr. Cameron, also, a gentleman who had come to Oudh to enquire into the resources of the country, acquired the whole mystery of mortar practice, and was of the most signal service until incapacitated by sickness. Mr. Marshall, of the Road Department, and other members of the Uncovenanted Service, whose names will, on a subsequent occasion, be laid before the Government of India, conducted themselves bravely and steadily. Indeed, the entire body of these gentlemen have borne themselves well, and have evinced great coolness under fire.

"I have now only to bring to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the conduct of several officers who composed my Staff:—Lieutenant James, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General, was severely wounded by a shot through the knee at Chinhat, notwithstanding which he refused to go upon the sick list, and carried on his most trying duties throughout the entire siege. It is not too much to say that the garrison owe their lives to the exertions and firmness of this officer: Before the struggle commenced, he was ever in the saddle, getting in supplies, and his untiring vigilance in their distribution, after our difficulties had begun, prevented a waste which otherwise, long before the expiration of the eighty-seven days, might have annihilated the force by the slow process of starvation.

" Captain Wilson, 13th N.I., Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, was ever to be found where shot was flying thickest, and I am at a loss to decide whether his services were most invaluable, owing to the untiring physical endurance and bravery which he displayed, or to his ever-ready and pertinent counsel and advice in moments of difficulty and danger.

" Lieutenant Hardinge—an officer whose achievements and antecedents are well known to the Government of India—has earned fresh laurels by his conduct throughout the siege. He was officiating as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General and also commanded the Sikh portion of the cavalry of the garrison. In both capacities his services have been invaluable, especially in the latter, for it was owing alone to his tact, vigilance, and bravery, that the Sikh horsemen were induced to persevere in holding a very unprotected post under a heavy fire.

" Lieutenant Barwell, 71st N.I., the Fort Adjutant and officiating Major of Brigade, has proved himself to be an efficient officer.

" Lieutenant Birch, of the 71st N.I., has been my A.D.C. throughout the siege. I firmly believe there never was a better A.D.C. He has been indefatigable, and ever ready to lead a sortie, or to convey an order to a threatened outpost under the heaviest fire. On one of these occasions he received a slight wound on the head. I beg to bring the services of this most promising and intelligent young officer to the favourable consideration of His Lordship in Council.

" I am also much indebted to Mr. Couper, C.S., for the assistance he has, on many occasions, afforded me by his judicious advice. I have, moreover, ever found him most ready and willing in the performance of the military duties assigned to him, however exposed the post or arduous the undertaking. He commenced his career in Her Majesty's Service, and consequently had had some previous experience of military matters. If the road to Kánbpúr had been made clear by the advent of our troops, it was my intention to have deputed this officer to Calcutta, to detail in person the occurrences which have taken place, for the information of the Government of India. I still hope that, when our communications shall be once more unopposed, he may be summoned to Calcutta for this purpose.

" Lastly, I have the pleasure of bringing the splendid behaviour of the soldiers, viz., the men of H.M.'s 32nd Foot, the small detachment of H.M.'s 84th Foot, the European and Native Artillery, the 13th, 48th, and 71st Regiments N.I., and the Sikhs of the respective corps, to the notice of the Government of India. The losses sustained by H.M.'s 32nd, which is now barely three hundred strong; by H.M.'s 84th and by the European Artillery, shew at least that they knew how to die in the cause of their countrymen. Their conduct under the fire, the exposure, and the privations which they have had to undergo, has been throughout most admirable and praiseworthy.

" As another instance of the desperate character of our defence, and the difficulties we have had to contend with, I may mention that the number

of our artillerymen was so reduced that, on the occasion of an attack, the gunners—aided as they were by men of H.M.'s 32nd Foot, and by Volunteers of all classes—had to run from one battery to another wherever the fire of the enemy was hottest, there not being nearly enough men to serve half the number of guns at the same time. In short, at last the number of European gunners was only twenty-four, while we had, including mortars, no less than thirty guns in position.

“With respect to the native troops I am of opinion that their loyalty has never been surpassed. They were indifferently fed and worse housed. They were exposed—especially the 13th Regiment—under the gallant Lieutenant Aitken, to a most galling fire of round-shot and musketry, which materially decreased their numbers. They were so near the enemy that conversation could be carried on between them; every effort, persuasion, promise, and threat was alternately resorted to, in vain, to seduce them from their allegiance to the handful of Europeans, who, in all probability, would have been sacrificed by their desertion. All the troops behaved nobly, and the names of those men of the native force who have particularly distinguished themselves have been laid before Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., who has promised to promote them. Those of the European force will be transmitted in due course for the orders of his Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief.

“In conclusion, I beg leave to express, on the part of myself and the members of this garrison, our deep and grateful sense of the conduct of Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., and of the troops under those officers who so devotedly came to our relief at so heavy a sacrifice of life. We are also repaid for much suffering and privation by the sympathy which our brave deliverers say our perilous and unfortunate position has excited for us in the hearts of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of Her Majesty's dominions.

“I have, &c.,

(Signed) “J. INGLIS, Colonel,

“H.M.'s 32nd, Brigadier.”

NOTE.—To preserve uniformity I have applied to the spelling of the names of places in the Appendices the system which has been used throughout the work.—G. B. M.