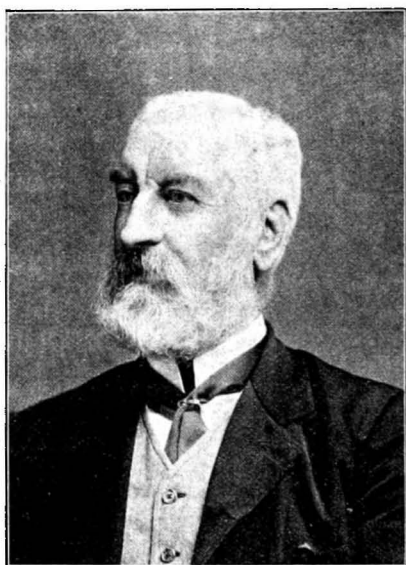


MEMORIES OF THE MUTINY.



Yours sincerely
Leaven C. Mead

MEMORIES OF THE MUTINY.

BY

FRANCIS CORNWALLIS MAUDE, V.C., C.B.

Late Colonel R.A., and formerly Commanding the Artillery of Havelock's Column.

WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED

THE PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

JOHN WALTER SHERER, Esq.,

Companion of the Star of India; formerly Magistrate of Futtehpoore, and afterwards of Cawnpore.

Author of "Who is Mary?"; "Helen, the Novelist," etc., etc.

VOLUME II.

REMINGTON AND COMPANY, LIMITED,
LONDON AND SYDNEY.

All Rights Reserved.

1894.

V2, L: 51. MS 7y7M:

C4.2

190

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

	PAGES
CHAPTER XIV.—A VICTORIOUS ROUT—A CAVALRY PURSUIT— A DANGEROUS UPPER CUT—THE ABSCONDING PAY CLERK —THE GARDEN OF THE WORLD—TAKING A CAST—CURIOUS WOUNDS—COOPER'S ADIEU !—THE ROYAL GUNNERS TO THE FRONT—A FATEFUL MOMENT—TRAGIC SIGHTS—HEROISM OF PRIVATE HOLMES—AGAINST TREMENDOUS ODDS—CORRECTING PREVIOUS HISTORIES—A HARVEST OF DECORATIONS—CON- FUSION AND DISORGANISATION—A PARTHIAN SHOT—FORTUNE FAVOURS THE BRAVE SEPOYS	281 to 305
CHAPTER XV.—A MEMORABLE EVENT—SOME WASTED OPPOR- TUNITIES—A GLORIOUS MUDDLE—LOSING THEIR HEADS— CIRCUMVENTING THE ENEMY—GOOD OLD BROWN BESS—A MYSTERIOUS EPIDEMIC—SHARP APPETITES AND SHORT COMMONS—STOLEN OR STRAYED?—A GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT—WAR CORRESPONDENTS—MR. ATKINS ON THE SITUATION—MUDDLING THE V.C.—THE GERMAN METHOD— HOW TO DEGRADE IT—CRYPTOGRAMS IN A FOG—SNIPING EXTRAORDINARY—A GHOST UNDERGROUND—THE CONFIDENCE TRICK—TRENTÉ ET QUARANTE—A GALLANT GUNNER— FLOGGING A DEAD HORSE—A DISPUTED HONOUR—TOBACCO— THE RETREAT	306 to 364
CHAPTER XVI.—ANXIOUS WEEKS—A MILITARY ENTHUSIAST— A DELICATE PALAVER—FOR VALOUR AND FOR WORTH—ON REVIENT TOUJOURS—THE CAMPBELLS AT LOGGERHEADS—MY WIFE IS MY WATCHWORD—A HERO MISUNDERSTOOD—THREE MOMENTOUS DAYS—NOT GOOD AT FALLING BACK—THE PARTING OF THE WAYS—THE LAST OF A BRAVE SOLDIER— CHILDREN AFTER A SIEGE—COOL AS A CUCUMBER—VARIED VERSIONS OF A VICTORY—THE CLEARANCE OF CAWNPORE— NEARLY ENGLISH—LOOTING THE LADIES—A CRUEL MURDER —FROM THE TARPEIAN ROCK	367 to 398

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XVII.—DUNCAN'S HOTEL—A BORN PURVEYOR— CLYDE—THE TWO KINGS—THE WRONG FIG BY THE EAR —DR. W. H. RUSSELL—HODSON—THE DELHI PRINCES— ALTERED TIMES—BOILING OUT THE CHOLERA—JOSEPH AND THE WORM — LORD CANNING'S MISTAKE — PRIVILEGED SMOKERS	399 to 419
--	------------

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE NAWAB'S HOUSE—AN ILLUSTRIOUS VISITOR—PEARLS AND POLITICS—PERCY HERBERT—CAMP IN WINTER—A HUMAN SACRIFICE—BRITISH LAW—A DEVOTEE AND HIS KETTLE DRUMS—THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION—RISKS OF CONFISCATION—LE SABRE DE MON PERE—DEPARTED NOBLES—AN IMAGINATIVE BARBER—THE FINE—A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY—THE BABOO'S TRIAL	420 to 443
---	------------

CHAPTER XIX.—AT THE ALUM BAGH—CAPTURE OF A HINDU DEITY—SHAKEN, BUT NOT HURT—BILLY, THE BULL- DOG—THE DEVIL'S PICTURE BOOKS—A STARTLING SUMMONS— BLACKING—AN INNOCENT SMUGGLER—THE VALUE OF READY MONEY—THE GUNNER'S GIFT—AN UNLUCKY CONNECTION—AN INNOCENT PRISONER—SIR EDWARD CLARKE—A MEMORABLE BATTLE GROUND	444 to 467
---	------------

CHAPTER XX.—THE AMNESTY—IN THE NORTH OF OUDH—ICE —PEPPER—BALCARRES RAMSAY—DISALLOWANCES—RUINED BY THE MUTINY—A BATTUE—AMONG THE BIG GAME— CHASED BY BEES—TUSKERS AND TIGERS—PROMOTION—ALL WORK AND NO PAY—A LUCKY INSPIRATION—OUR DANGERS IN INDIA—VARIOUS VIEWS—THE RISKS OF INVASION—SIGNS OF THE TIMES—DACOITEE—PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE	468 to 493
---	------------

POSTSCRIPT	494 to 503
--------------------	------------

APPENDIX —TRANSLATION OF THE NANA SAHIB'S PROCLAMATION —THE GREASED CARTRIDGES—ORIGIN OF THE TROUBLE— THE MYSTERIOUS CHUPATTIES—NATIVE LOYALTY—PANIC SUNDAY—AN ESCAPE IN OUDH—NEILL'S "INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPTAIN SPURGIN"—THE EX-KING OF OUDH—EXTRACT FROM HAVELOCK'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF CAWN- PORE—ANOTHER ACCOUNT—DETAILS OF THE BATTLE—"THE

CONTENTS.

TIMES " ON HAVELOCK'S MARCH—DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF BUSARAT GUNJ—RAJAH MAN SINGH—NEILL'S ORDER REGARDING THE BLOOD—BLOWING FROM GUNS— DELAFOSSÉ'S DEED OF DARING—NATIVE ARTILLERY—EX- TRACTS FROM OFFICIAL REPORT—EXTRACTS FROM LETTER BY CAPTAIN F. A. WILLIS—EXTRACTS FROM LETTER BY H. D. WILLOCK, ESQ.—HIS SERVICES—THE LATE SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, M.P.—SURVIVING OFFICERS—THE VICTORIA CROSS—DIVISIONAL ORDER BY GENERAL OUTRAM— FIELD FORCE ORDERS BY GENERAL HAVELOCK—FRASER- TYTLER AT CHAR BAGH—HIS SERVICES—THE 32ND MESS- HOUSE—THANKS FROM OUTRAM—EXTRACT FROM "OCCASIONAL PAPERS OF R.A. INSTITUTION "	507 to 568
A TRUST	569

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF VOLUME II.

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF COMPILER (1893)	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
CHARGING A BATTERY	297
THE BAILEY GUARD GATE AND HOSPITAL	303
STREET FIGHTING	309
THE REDAN BATTERY	315
THE RESIDENCY (WITH SEMAPHORE)	339
LISTENING FOR THE ENEMY'S MINERS	343
WAITING FOR THEM TO BREAK THROUGH	347
REMAINS OF 1,860 BODIES	355
THE 32ND MESS-HOUSE	359
FERAD BUKSH PALACE	365
HODSON SLAYING THE ROYAL PRINCES	409
ROUMI DURWAZA (MADRAS FUSILIERS ON GUARD)	451
A REBEL BATTERY (BREACHED BY OUR GUNS)	465
MAP OF ALUM BAGH AND ENTRANCE INTO LUCKNOW	<i>to face</i> 504
FACSIMILE OF THE NANA SAHIB'S PROCLAMATION	505

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATION OF THE NANA SAHIB'S PROCLAMATION.

It has been heard from a traveller, who has just arrived in the city of Cawnpore from Calcutta, that before serving out the cartridges for the purpose of taking away the religion of the people of India, the Sahibs met in council, and this was the decision of the Council. That, seeing this is a matter of religion, seven or eight thousand European soldiers and English gentlemen will be killed, and fifty thousand Indians be destroyed, and then the whole of India will be Christianised. And a letter to this effect was sent to Queen Victoria, and her approval of it was received; and then a second time a Council was held, and some English merchants were also members of this Council.

This was determined: that assistance should be applied for, or the English troops, in proportion to the strength of the Hindostan troops; so that when the rebellion gained headway, the British should not get the worst of it. When that letter was read in England, thirty-five thousand European soldiers were very quickly embarked in ships, and despatched to Hindostan. News of their departure reached Calcutta, and then the order was given out in Calcutta to distribute the cartridges, for the whole object was to Christianise the Indian Army; for when the Army had been Christianised, there would be no delay in the people of India becoming Christians, and the cartridges were made up with the fat of pigs and cows. This information was received from the Bengalees who were employed in making up the cartridges, and of those who made it known one was sentenced to death, and the remainder to imprisonment. So

these people were in this way making their arrangements out here ; while there (in London) the Ambassador of the Sultan of Turkey sent information from London to his Sultan, that 35,000 soldiers are about to be sent from thence to Christianise India.

The Sultan of Turkey issued a Firman to the Pasha of Egypt, of which the following was the purport :—" You are at peace with Queen Victoria. This is not a time for peace ; because I have been informed by my Ambassador that 35,000 English troops have been despatched to India, for the purpose of Christianizing the army and people of India Under these circumstances it is still possible to prevent them, and if I am negligent, how shall I show my face before God ? The same thing will happen some day to me ; for, if the English Christianise India, then they will try to do the same to my country."

When the Pasha of Egypt received the Firman from the Sultan of Turkey, and previous to the arrival of the English troops, he assembled and formed his own army near Alexandria—for that is the route to India. Immediately on the arrival of the English troops, the Pasha of Egypt opened fire with his cannon from all sides, and destroyed and sunk the ships, so that not a single European escaped. The English in Calcutta, after issuing the order for biting the cartridges, and on this rebellion and disturbance gaining head, were in expectation of the assistance of the troops from London, but God Almighty, in His mighty power, had already disposed of them. When the news of the destruction of the troops from London arrived, the Governor-General was extremely grieved, and beat his head. At night he was making plans for death and plunder ; in the morning he had neither a body for a head, nor a head for a crown. By one turn of the lotus-like heavens, neither Nadir was in its place, nor was there a Nadir.

Printed by order of His Excellency the Peishwah, 13th Zilkadah, in the 1273, year of the *Ægira*.

This proclamation of the Nana Sahib was picked up in Cawnpore on my arrival there with Havelock's Force.

(Signed),

July, 1857.

FRED. A. WILLIS.

A.—THE GREASED CARTRIDGES.

Extracts from the Parliamentary Papers of the Session of 1857 :—Major Bontein, Commanding the depot of Musketry at Dum Dum, writes on January 23rd, 1857 : “ I last evening paraded all the native portion of the depot, and called for any complaints the men might wish to prefer. At least two thirds of the detachment immediately stepped to the front, including all the Native (Commissioned) Officers. In a perfectly respectful manner, they very distinctly stated their objections to the present method of preparing cartridges for the new rifle musket. The mixture employed for greasing cartridges was opposed to their religious feeling, and, as a remedy, they begged to suggest the employment of wax and oil, in such proportions as, in their opinion, would answer the purpose required.”

The Inspector-General of Ordnance and Magazines, Fort William, writes, on the 29th January : “ As soon as I heard of objections having been made to the use of grease by the native soldiers of the Practice Depot at Dum Dum, I enquired at the Arsenal as to the nature of the composition that had been used, and found it was precisely that which the instructions received from the Court of Directors directed to be used—viz., a mixture of tallow and bees-wax. No extraordinary precaution seems to have been taken to insure the absence of any objectionable fat. Captain Boxer (Woolwich) is quite unable to offer any decided opinion as to the particular description of animal from which the tallow is derived. . . . It is certainly to be regretted,” the Inspector adds, “ that the ammunition was not prepared expressly without any grease at all, but the subject did not occur to me.”

The Correspondent of the *Times* wrote on the 23rd of February, '57 : “ We have had a very disagreeable business at Barrackpore. The cartridges for the new Enfield rifle are greased at one end to make them slip readily into the barrel. The Government ordered mutton fat for the purpose. Some contractors, to save a few shillings, gave pigs' and bullocks' fat instead. The Sepoys found this out, and there was an immediate explosion of caste feeling. Government, they said, was going to make them Christians. They

held, it is said, nocturnal meetings, and discussed wild plans for seizing the Fort and Treasury of Calcutta. The Government instantly directed the fat to be withdrawn, and ghee substituted. Then they got a new fancy. The paper, they said, had animal fat in it. I dare say this is true, the paper being made in England and mixed with animal size. There was a very high degree of feeling, and the Brigadier at last addressed the men, told them Government had no notion of making them Christians, and pledged his word that there was no such design. The men were again quieted, but they soon got a new crotchet. The news, they said, had reached their homes, and they would be turned out of caste before they could explain. This is nonsense, and Government stands prepared to use force, on the first overt refusal to do duty. I believe the excitement will pass away without the occurrence of so frightful a necessity.”—(From the *Times* of 3rd April, '57.)

B.—ORIGIN OF THE TROUBLE.

There is no trace of any conspiracy having existed previously to the issue of the new cartridges. The first manifestations of feeling were, as might be expected, on the part of the Hindoos. A low-caste man, employed in the Dum Dum Magazine, asked a Brahmin Sepoy to let him drink from his lotah (brass drinking vessel). The Brahmin replied: “I have scoured my lotah, you will defile it by your touch.” The low-caste man rejoined: “You think much of your caste; but wait a little, the ‘Sahib lòg’ will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat! and then where will your caste be?” The report was not long in travelling to Barrackpore and other stations; where the Sepoys brooded over it, until it took hold of their minds as a fact. About the same time, the Commander-in-Chief (General Anson) passed through Umballah, with an escort composed of two companies of one of the Regiments which were practising at the rifle school at that place. The Sepoys belonging to the detachments invited their newly-arrived comrades to an entertainment. But the latter declined, on the ground that they would lose caste by eating with those

who had imbibed the polluted cartridges. This spread the feeling through the up-country stations.

There is abundant evidence that, in the first instance, the Mahomedan Sepoys were by no means forward to join in the mutinous proceedings which grew out of the religious panic. But after such active agents as Azimollah Khan, Ali Nukkee Khan, the Nana Sahib, Tantia Topee, and others, had sedulously fomented the sedition, the Mussulmans were won over, and became even more hostile than the Hindus; the occupation of Delhi, as well as the insurrection at Lucknow, being of a decidedly Mahometan character.

C.—THE MYSTERIOUS CHUPATTIES.

With regard to the "Chupattie" story, a curious coincidence took place in 1818, just after the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, had been vanquished, and had abdicated; at the close, in fact, of the Pindaree Campaign. At every village there suddenly arrived a messenger in hot haste, the bearer of a coconut, which he delivered to the "Potail," or Head Man, with instructions to forward instantly to the nearest hamlet, whence it was conveyed onwards in the same rapid and mysterious manner. About twenty of these nuts were brought to Sir John Malcolm, then residing at Mhow, but some time elapsed before he discovered any clue to their hidden meaning. By some they were considered to notify the establishment of British supremacy, while others looked forward to a general rising in favour of the Peishwa. But no State secrets were then concealed within these "hard shells." It appears that a Brahmin at Jypore had sent round to his distant acquaintances a number of coconuts in honour of the birth of a son, and these, through the stupidity of the messengers, were soon wandering over the face of the land on an errand of mystery. An immense tract of country was thus thrown into a state of dangerous excitement, from Jypore in the north to the Deccan in the south, and from Guzerat to Bhopal.

Although no serious consequences ensued on that occasion, the incident shows how easily an agitation may be created, owing to the peculiarly impulsive temperament of the natives,

and the extraordinary system of network which unites together every town, village, and hamlet throughout Hindostan.

The following is the substance of a report which, however absurd it may seem to us, was fully believed in the lines and bazaar of the largest station in the South of India; and shows that the Sepoys acted under a general alarm for their religion.

"The Padres (Missionaries) addressed an Urzee (petition) to the Queen, representing that Tippoo Sultan made thousands of Hindoos become Mahomedans, while your Majesty has not made one Christian.

"Under your Majesty's orders are Sepoys of all castes. We therefore pray you to adopt this plan, namely, to cause to be mixed up together, bullock's fat and pig's fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which your Sepoys put into their mouths, and after six months to have it made known to the Sepoys how they have thereby lost their caste, and by this means a certain road will be opened for making many Christians."

"When the Queen read the Urzee she was greatly pleased, and said:

"This is a very good thought, and by this means I shall have every Sepoy made a Christian."

D.—NATIVE LOYALTY.

Mr. Greathead, the Commissioner of Meerut, wrote officially to the Indian Government as follows:

"Amid all the villainies and horrors of which we have been witnesses, some pleasing traits of native character have been brought to light. All the Delhi fugitives have to tell of some kind acts of protection and rough hospitality. Only yesterday a Faquir came in with a European child he had picked up on the banks of the Jumna river. He had been a good deal mauled on the way. but had made good his point. He refused any present; but expressed a hope that a well might be made to commemorate the act. I promised to attend to his wishes; and Imâm Bhartee, of Dhunoura, will, I hope, long live in the memory of man. The parents of the child have not been discovered, but there are plenty of good Samaritans here."—(*Bengal Hurkaru*, June 22, '57.)

E.—PANIC SUNDAY.

The following are extracts from an account of "Panic Sunday" in Calcutta, from "The Red Pamphlet," p. 105. A gentleman living in Chowringhee; the most palatial quarter of "The City of Palaces," described what he saw from the top of his house.

"It has been said, by a great writer, that there is scarcely a less dignified entity than a 'Patrician in a Panic.' The veriest sceptic as to the truth of this aphorism could have doubted no longer had he witnessed the living panorama of Calcutta on the 14th June. All was panic, disorder, and dismay. The wildest reports were in circulation. . . . Those highest in office were the first to give the alarm (always, of course, excepting Lord Canning, who never blanched or quailed, even for an instant). . . . There were Secretaries to Government running over to Members of Council, loading their pistols, barricading their doors, sleeping on sofas—Members of Council, with their families, abandoning their houses and taking refuge on board ship; crowds of lesser celebrities, impelled by these examples, having hastily collected their valuables, were rushing to the Fort, only too happy to be permitted to sleep under the Fort guns. Horses, carriages, palanquins, vehicles of every sort and kind, were put into requisition, to convey panic-stricken fugitives out of the reach of imaginary cut-throats. In the suburbs almost every house belonging to the Christian population was abandoned. Half-a-dozen determined fanatics could have burned down three-parts of the town. A score of London thieves would have made their fortunes by plundering the houses in the neighbourhood of Chowringhee alone, which had been deserted by their inmates."

F.—AN ESCAPE IN OUDH.

Lieutenant George Holmes Burnes, late Adjutant of the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry, narrowly escaped the fate that befel his uncles, Sir Alexander and Charles, at Cabul. He wrote to his brother, an officer of the avenging Force at

Jubbulpore—(In the original the names of the friendly Rajah and his fort were written in Greek character)—

“ MITAWLEE, Sunday, Sept. 13th, 1857.

“ I fear that for many months you must have mourned me as dead, and my escape has indeed been wonderful : for since the 3rd of June (the date of the mutiny and massacre at Seetapore) I have been prowling in the jungles, exposed to sun and rain, and pursued by Sepoys and a small party of Irregular Cavalry. But I have hitherto escaped and hope yet to get off, as I am now protected by a friendly Rajah, who has fed me and those with me to this hour, and now that things seem bettering, I trust he will increase his care for us Much have I to write, and but little space to put it, On the 3rd of June, the Seetapore troops, about 3,300 men, broke out into open mutiny, and shot their officers and every European man, woman, and child they could lay their hands on. I cannot now dwell upon the horrible scenes that ensued ; so will relate briefly the part more immediately affecting myself. I was standing in front of the centre of the left wing, exhorting the men to be faithful to their salt, and to the colours they had so lately and so sacredly sworn to defend. They listened with the utmost respect, and evinced no sign of disobedience until the 41st and 9th (B. I.) came within 120 yards, when the right company broke their ranks, and, seizing me, took me to the rear, begging me to run and save myself, as they wished me no harm. Seeing my Commanding Officer and second in command going, I followed with a heavy heart, and not taking much notice of the volleys the troops were treating us to. I went to the house of Mr. Christian, the Commissioner, where all the remaining people of the station had assembled. Behind the house flowed a small deep river, and beyond was a jungle of thick cypress and brushwood ; all agreed to cross and hide in the jungle. The house was now being surrounded, the police were in the garden, and had occupied a small temporary bridge across the river, where they shot a number of men, women, and children. Some escaped by a ford ; as for me I followed in the rear, and came up with Mrs. Christian, the Commissioner's wife, struggling to get on with her little child in her arms—a girl, two-and-a-half years old ; her husband carrying the boy

about six months old. . . . I took the child from her arms, and with the help of Quartermaster-Serjeant Morton, of my regiment, got it away safe and sound ; all three escaping unscathed through the fearful shower of bullets sent after us as we crossed the river, and hid ourselves in the friendly jungle. We went some 20 miles that day, taking the child by turns. . . . I have since heard that Mr. and Mrs. Christian and the little boy were killed, so my little ward is an orphan ; she is a very nice little child. I send this through an officer with whom I am totally unacquainted, but we sent a letter in French, by a Brahmin, to Cawnpore, and received an answer from Captain Gordon to-day, which enlightened us as to what is going on in India. I could not communicate before; or of course should have done so. I have since heard that Lieutenants Dorin and Snell, commandant and second in command of my Regiment, were shot near the river. I have lost all I had in the world ; but I most regret my poor mother's jewels. I thought of them, and tried to go into my house after leaving the parade, but the mutineers were there and fired at me, so I went off without an article to my name. God bless you, my father and brothers ; write and tell them about me."

G.—NEILL'S "INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPTAIN SPURGIN,"

in command of a Detachment proceeding on steamer to Cawnpore. Allahabad. 2nd July, 1857. "You are to push on as quickly as you can to Cawnpore ; the object is to relieve Sir H. Wheeler. Land nowhere ; but, if necessary and opposition is shown, open fire and destroy as many Rebels as you can. On getting to Cawnpore, to the Ghaut nearest the entrenchment-camp best adapted for landing, communicate with Sir Hugh, let him know what you have on board, give him all the news of Renaud's Column, *which will be at Cawnpore on the 8th*. Land your men and stores as Sir Hugh Wheeler may direct, and I hope the steamer will be made available by Sir Hugh to bring down here all the ladies and children, also sick and wounded officers. The Veteran Artillerymen on board will be a guard down the river, and will be, with the two guns, sent back here.

“Should Cawnpore have fallen, endeavour to communicate with Major Renaud. Let the steamer take up a good position in the river, where your guns can be best used, and hold your own. When it can be done, steam up, and attack the enemy if within reach of you, to bring off any who may have escaped. General Havelock starts on Saturday morning (4th of July) with nearly 1,000 men and three guns. You must remain (where?) until you hear from him. Your detachment will join him, and you have with you Renaud's baggage. You will be required to assist the Force in crossing the river. Any insurgents that may fall into your hands hang them at once, and shoot all you can.

(Signed) “J. G. NEILL,
“Lieut.-Colonel Commanding,
“Allahabad.”

(On the same half-sheet of paper.) “3rd July, '57. Intelligence having been received last night that Cawnpore *may* (!) have fallen, you are to proceed up the river with the greatest caution. As you approach within 40 miles of it, you must be most vigilant in avoiding compromising yourself by getting within fire of guns : move up with caution as far as you can, obtain all the information possible of the state of affairs at Cawnpore, communicate with Major Renaud's Column, now at Lohunda, the railway terminus, near which he will remain until General Havelock overtakes him : the united Force will reach Futtehpore about the 8th (it actually reached on the 12th). You must communicate with the General, and advance up the river at the same rate as he advances, you will then secure the river on his right flank.

“Having obtained certain news of the state of affairs at Cawnpore, move up and relieve it if it still holds out, if it has fallen, either remain where you receive the intelligence, if a good place to remain, or drop quietly down near the Infantry column to a secure position, and wait until the advance of the Force.

(Signed) “J. G. NEILL.
“Lieut.-Colonel Commanding,
“Allahabad.”

The above Orders which (except the punctuation) are an exact copy of the original, show the uncertainty which still prevailed as to the real "state of affairs at Cawnpore." There is a splendid audacity in the order to "move up and relieve Cawnpore if it still holds out;" remembering that the Force at Spurgin's disposal consisted only of 100 Fusiliers, and two guns manned by "Veteran" Bengal Artillerymen! There is strange confusion also in the dates. Renaud is spoken of as being "due at Cawnpore on the 8th July." Whereas, we overtook him, with comparative ease, at Lohunda, on the 11th, a long way south even of Futtehpore. There can be no sort of doubt that the junction which we then effected with him saved his Force from an awful disaster: as well as, in all probability, those on board the "Burrampootee."

F. C. M.

H.—THE EX-KING OF OUDH.

Malleson, who had excellent opportunities of information, thus describes the King of Oudh, just before the annexation of his country, and when Lord Hardinge had allowed him two years in which to set his house in order (Malleson's "History of the Indian Mutiny," vol. I., pp. 95-96.) "Nervous and excitable at all times, and greatly affected, the King essayed to speak, but the power of utterance had gone from him. So he took a sheet of paper and wrote upon it that 'he thanked the Governor-General, and would regard his counsels as though they had been addressed by a father to his son.' There are no counsels so habitually disregarded; *the King therefore kept his word.* He betook himself to his old courses. Sunk in the uttermost abysses of enfeebling debauchery, the King pushed aside business, which he felt himself incapable of transacting, and went in search of new pleasures. Stimulated to the utmost by unnatural excitements his appetites were satiated by the debaucheries of the Zenana. There was hardly an atrocity committed, from one end of Oudh to the other, that was not, directly or indirectly, the result of the profligacy and corruption of the Court."

Justice was not dispensed. The revenue was wrung from the people at the point of the bayonet. The expenses of the Royal Household were enormous. Hundreds of richly-caparisoned elephants ate up the wealth of whole districts, or carried it in glittering apparel on their backs. A multitudinous throng of unserviceable attendants; bands of dancing girls; throngs of parasites; costly feasts and ceremonies; folly and pomp, and profligacy of every conceivable description drained the coffers of the State.

I.—EXTRACT FROM HAVELOCK'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF CAWNPORE.

"The enemy's Infantry once more rallied. The beating of their large drums, and numerous mounted officers in front, announced the definitive struggle of the Nana for his usurped dominion. I had previously ordered my Volunteer Cavalry to adventure a charge on a more advanced part of the enemy's horse, and I have the satisfaction to report that they conducted themselves most admirably. One of their number, Mr. Carr, was killed in the charge.*

"But the final crisis approached. My Artillery cattle, wearied with the length of the march, could not bring up the guns to my assistance; and the 1st Madras Fusiliers, 64th, 78th, and 84th Detachments, *formed in line*, were exposed to a *heavy fire from the 24-pr. on the road*. I was resolved that this state of things should not last, so calling upon my men, *who were lying down in line*, to leap on their feet, I directed another steady advance. It was irresistible. The enemy sent round-shot into our ranks until we were within 300 yards, and then poured in grape with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling, and my *Aide-de-Camp, who had placed himself in their front*, were not to be denied.

"Their rear showed the ground strewed with wounded; but on they steadily and silently came, then with a cheer, charged, and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour. The enemy lost all heart, and, after a hurried fire of musketry, gave way in total rout. Four of my guns came up, and completed their discomfort by a heavy cannonade, and, as it grew dark, the roof

* This only left us eighteen sabres.—F.C.M.

less barracks of our Artillery were dimly descried in advance, and it was evident that Cawnpore was once more in our possession. The points of this victory I shall have afterwards to describe."

J.—ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

The following short account of the Battle of Cawnpore is from the pen of an officer of the 1st Madras (now Royal Dublin) Fusiliers. "Cawnpore, 18th July, 1857. My party then joined the main column, and we now *advanced against the other Battery*. When we came within range, down poured the round-shot and grape. *We were ordered to lie down*, but the scoundrels had got their distance so well that several were wounded. Six men of Her Majesty's (the Fusiliers were then H. E. I. C's.) 64th were killed, and poor Captain Currie of the 84th severely wounded by a round-shot.* We had several men wounded. I had a bullet on my topie, felt-hat (*sic*), which providentially glanced off, and Captain Raikes had a portion of his sword-hilt carried away. Well, fancy! When they saw us down again they thought we were afraid to advance, so they sounded the 'advance,' and then the 'double.' The General, Havelock, now gave his order: 'Rise up, advance!' The whole line gave a cheer—such a cheer! it must have made the villains tremble from head to foot—and advanced in line against their Battery (always the one gun) under a heavy cross-fire, which they kept up very well, but did not do us much damage, as they fired too high. They evacuated their Battery, and fled in every direction. We fired into them until they were out of range, and then we rushed up the hill and found, to our joy, Cawnpore about half-a-mile in front."

K.—DETAILS OF THE BATTLE.

The following letter appeared in *The Times* of September 17th, 1857:

* This shot caught us while in column-formation, as we were making the flank movement.—F.C.M.

“Cawnpore, 17th July.—The heading of this will show you that we were victors in yesterday’s fight. The enemy numbered about 7,000, with about 1,000 Cavalry. Their guns were three 24-pounders, two 9-pounders, and two 12-pounders; besides some Horse-Artillery, which they took off, as we had no Cavalry to pursue them. We marched twelve miles in the morning, and encamped nine miles from Cawnpore. At two p.m. the fighting part of the Force again advanced, leaving the baggage, with a guard, at the Camp. We heard that the enemy had thrown up an entrenchment across the road, so, instead of advancing straight upon their guns, we obliques to the right, when about threequarters of a mile from them, for the purpose of taking them in flank; a manoeuvre that saved us hundreds (!) of lives. Soon after we left the road they found us out, and did a good deal of execution with shot and shell before we returned their fire; as we had determined not to commence until within 800 yards. It was rather unpleasant, progressing slowly, as we did, through very heavy marsh and ploughed land; but when we got within range, which we did in about a quarter of an hour, we soon silenced their heavy guns, viz., the two 24-pounders and two 12-pounders, which had worried us so much from the entrenchment across the road; and, the whole line advancing, we soon drove every man from them. As we got into their battery they commenced firing upon us with two 9-pounders concealed in a village in front, and I took up three guns to silence them, with the 84th, while the other guns and regiments wheeled off to the right, and peppered the retreating Infantry; we then all came back to the main road, as both men and cattle were tired, having marched about twenty-three miles since morning, and over some very bad ground.

“This ended the first part of the business; we had carried the enemy’s position, and taken six of their best guns, but they still had one 24-pounder about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearer to Cawnpore, and the Horse Artillery. The 24-pounder was taken by the 78th Highlanders and 64th, our leading guns advancing to help them. And although the 64th were a good deal cut up with the grape, as the rebels fought to the last in this action, and their firing was undoubtedly excellent (though it is rarely so), the enemy were ultimately driven right away into Cawnpore, and through it. A few parting shots being

administered to the Cavalry, who, during the whole time, had been harassing us on our flanks and rear, though always repulsed. This was the battle of Cawnpore. I did not get touched, but the killed and wounded are about 1 in 15 of our whole force. We had two fights on the 15th, one in the morning and one in the evening, capturing three light guns in the morning, and two heavy guns in the evening."

The following, from the pen of the late Captain Charles Crump, Madras Artillery, describes in detail the charge of the Seaforth Highlanders :

" Then we moved down in line upon them and opened fire on their guns, which were in a very strong position in a village. We silenced two with our Artillery, but all we could do we couldn't get at the third heavy gun, it was so well masked. The 78th were ordered to charge and take the gun. *I never saw anything so fine.* The men went on, with sloped arms, like a wall ; till within a hundred yards not a shot was fired. At the word 'Charge!' they broke just like an eager pack of hounds, and the village was taken in an instant. I was up almost as soon as they, and one man told me, with a grin, he had just killed three men out of one house. The enemy were now in retreat, for we had turned their position, but the fight was still hard, for their Cavalry came round down upon our rear, and the guns had to be halted and opened upon them. After that we got so far forward towards Cawnpore that, without knowing it, one of their heavy guns in position was passed, and *they managed to slew it round and open fire on our rear* (the italics are ours). So we had to turn *and go back and take it.* This was done by the 64th. In fact it was, in point of heavy fire and fatigue, a very hard fight, but the end was that we took eight guns in all, and utterly routed the enemy, who evacuated Cawnpore during the night, and blew up the arsenal and magazine. We bivouacked on the field, *with little bed and supper*, (lucky fellow !) and marched into Cawnpore, this morning, where we hold a position—the barracks. All the Force is knocked up, and must rest a day. Alas ! alas ! All the women and children were murdered by these devils yesterday, when they found the day going against them."

L.—“THE TIMES” ON HAVELOCK’S MARCH.

In the leading article of September 21st, 1857, *The Times* said :

“Havelock and his troops fought Plassey five times over between Allahabad and Bithoor. General Havelock’s march is the very expression and type of our position in Hindostan. He advances, he fights, he conquers—everything goes down before him as long as he can stand ; but it is desperate work to make head against twenty to one. What kind of task he found may be very distinctly collected even from the brief notification of the telegraph. After crossing the Ganges he had about 50 miles between himself and Lucknow. He had got over only 25 of these, and yet he had fought three actions, all successfully, and captured 21 guns. It is plain that the enemy must be swarming along the whole road like hornets, and at the end there is Lucknow itself, with a dense population, and all the mutineers of Oudh. Our latest accounts inform us that this dauntless little Column, reduced by incessant combats to 700 or 800 fighting men, but reinforced by the handful of troops which could be spared from Cawnpore, had again commenced its eventful march. On the 4th of August the advance was to be renewed, and all the hopes and the prayers of our countrymen went with them. With time the whole work would be but child’s play. A month or two more would place 5,000 troops at Cawnpore, instead of 500 ; but a month or two more would have left Lucknow to the rebels, and the game had to be played, whatever the chances, with the cards which we held. Although the latter city was only thirty miles ahead, his army seems to have encountered that dire scourge of Indian armies, more terrible than any human foe, an outbreak of cholera. We know by sad experience with what fatality this dreadful disease fastens on an army fatigued by long marches, worn out by great excitement, and exposed at once to fierce heat and the exhalations of a partly flooded country. It was under similar circumstances, indeed, some forty (now seventy-five) years ago, that cholera, with whose fatal course we have now become so sadly familiar, first broke out (The Vellore Mutiny). But never, even in war, fertile in unlooked-for reverses, was there one which so plainly rebuked all human calculation as this. A General and

an army victorious beyond precedent, marching to assured success and the relief of a long-beleaguered fortress, within one march of their object, have been struck by the fatal pestilence, and, by our last accounts, Havelock and the remains of his gallant band, encumbered by their sick comrades, were painfully retracing their steps to Cawnpore, by the route on which they had advanced only a few days before, full of hope and confidence in as holy a cause as ever led men to battle.

"We cannot attempt to express the sympathy which the calamity that has befallen these brave men will excite, not only in England, but wherever the tale of their gallantry and their misfortune shall be told.

"After having accomplished more than could be expected of men, they have fallen under the mysterious dispensation of Providence. It is with man, however, that we have to fight, and as these few hundred heroes have sufficed to overcome every obstacle that the mutineers could oppose, and to defeat them wherever they attempted a stand, we trust that General Havelock may have been able in a few days to resume his march on Lucknow, with recruited ranks, restored health, and better fortune."

**M.—DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF BUSARAT GUNJ. BY
A NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF THE 84TH REGIMENT.**

"It took five days before we were ready to cross the Ganges.

"Here it rained incessantly, and my party, which was the last, had no shelter, for on a march like ours no tents are brought; so some of the men had to wander about in the rain, without a roof to shelter them, the consequence was, that a good many took the cramps and died. . . . Well, we at last marched for Lucknow, and the first reception we got, after marching a few miles, was a few round-shot, which were kept up very quickly, for the enemy were under excellent cover.

"We marched up among the trees, deployed into line and lay down.

"Our guns commenced to play ; as they advanced we did also, to cover them ; deploying and lying down *to prevent the balls hitting us !*

"Our skirmishers rushed into the intrenchment and drove them out. But then there was a fortified village ; we had to rush into that, and such shooting you cannot dream of ! You would see one of our men going quietly round a corner with a quick eye ; the first to see shot the other. The whole of the houses had to be searched in this manner, and the village, when thought to be cleared, set on fire. But after all, as I passed the village, carrying the Queen's Colour, a lot of balls whistled past me, and several men were shot. Adjutant Brown received two wounds here, one in the arm, the other in the leg, but only flesh wounds. You would pity the poor fellows shot ; some in the face and neck, others with their legs broken ; men helping them along, with the damaged leg trailing along the ground.

"After they were driven through the village, they attacked us on the open plain ; but our guns soon made them "leave that," so they skooted as hard as they could. They had a great many Cavalry ; we have none, except some Infantrymen from all regiments, also a squadron (?) of gentlemen volunteers. Well, having beaten them thus far, and having taken fifteen of their guns, and it being half-past eleven in the day, we rested in the open plain, in the burning sun, to get a glass of (Commissariat rum) grog, and some breakfast. We stopped two-and-a-half hours, and proceeded to a fortified town some miles away. The enemy, of course, opened fire upon us, and there being no trees to shelter the fortifications, our Artillery played splendidly. We deployed, advanced, and lay down, taking our time from the Artillery ; sent out skirmishers and a Regiment, all of whom closed on the town and broke into the place, the other Regiments closing and following. There was a good deal of shooting inside : at last it ended, and the British marched in triumphant. It was then nearly six in the evening, so the whole day, you may say, we had been fighting, in the blazing sun, and nearly the whole day in paddy fields, up to our hips in water, which was a good thing for us in the heat.

"We lay in front of a sheet of water, and thought all the enemy had left the town; but no such thing, the insurgents fired all night on our Grenadiers. Our muskets are useless compared with the Enfield rifles, and it was the Regiments who were in possession of them that did nearly all the business. However, the skirmishers of our Regiment captured two guns. We took four more in the town, making 19 altogether. I slept in the field, in the open air, all night, among the piles of arms; and no "rouse," the signal to march, having sounded, I slept until half-past five. I was very tired, especially having to march with my bad heel. We stopped in the sun until noon that day, and were then ordered into the town. We were glad to get out of the sun, but no sooner did we move than an order was issued to march that day at two. It was very hot, especially for us who had been in the sun all day. Guess our surprise when we found we were to "retire!" Yes, the General found he had only 1,200 men—that on an average he had lost, between death, men going sick, and killed and wounded, 50 men per day. He could not venture into Lucknow with this small Force, and, probably, similar daily decrease of men; so, though all were dispirited, I think he acted wisely."

N.—RAJAH MAN SINGH.

Early in June, '57, this Chieftain was one of the principal Talookdars of Fyzabad. He warned Colonel Goldney of the spreading of the Mutiny, and offered to receive all the wives and families of the Civil Officers of that city, and to afford them protection in his own house. They, however, declined his offer at the time. Notwithstanding which he gave the most kindly succour to Miss Orr, and several other ladies, among whom was Mrs. Mills, who was wandering about in the greatest distress. But the mutineers would not allow him to protect the men, so he insisted upon 29 of the latter leaving his house. These, although *en route* they were robbed of everything they possessed, reached Dinapore safely on the 29th of June. Man Singh was constantly in communication with Outram while we were shut up in the Residency.

and we were almost daily promised convoys of provisions from him. But his ability was probably not equal to his inclinations; at all events, he did not throw in his lot with us entirely, until after the capture of Lucknow by Colin Campbell, in the following year.

F. C. M.

O.—NEILL'S ORDER REGARDING THE BLOOD.

The following is an exact transcript of General Neill's famous order, respecting the clearing-up of the blood of our countrywomen.

"The Brigadier General (himself) has determined that every stain of that innocent blood shall be cleared up and wiped out, previous to their execution, by such of the miscreants as may be hereafter apprehended *who took an active share in the Mutiny*, to be selected according to their rank, caste, and degree of guilt. *Each* miscreant, after sentence of death is pronounced upon him, will be taken down to the house in question under a guard, and will be forced into clearing-up a small portion of the blood stains. The task will be made *as revolting to his feelings as possible*; and the Provost Marshal will use the lash freely in forcing any one objecting to complete his task. After having the portion properly cleared up, the culprit is to be immediately hanged, and for this purpose a gallows will be erected close at hand."

P.—BLOWING FROM GUNS.

From *The Times*, of August 4th, 1857.

"Some 200 prisoners of the 55th Regiment, B.N.I., have been tried here (Peshawur), and we blew 40 of them away from our guns, in the presence of the whole Force, three days ago; a fearful but necessary example, which has struck terror into their souls. Three sides of a square were formed, ten guns pointed outwards, the sentence of the Court was read, a

prisoner bound to each gun, the signal given, and the salvo fired.

"Such a scene I hope never again to witness—human trunks, legs, arms, etc., flying about in all directions.* All met their fate with firmness but two, who would not be tied up; so, to save time, they were dropped to the ground, and their brains blown out by musketry. Trials are going on and the mutineers will never forget the lesson taught at Peshawur."

Q.—DELAFOSSÉ'S DEED OF DARING.

During the attacks on Wheeler's intrenchments, a shot from the enemy's batteries had blown up a tumbrel, and set fire to the woodwork of the carriage, *in the place where our ammunition was stored!* It was clearly seen, both by the insurgents and by our own people, that if the fire were not extinguished, there would soon be a most disastrous explosion. So the Sepoy batteries poured in a deadly stream of 18 and 24-lb. shot. But, unmoved by these messengers of death, Delafosse went forth, threw himself down beneath the blazing carriage, tore off the burning wood with his hands, and, throwing earth upon the fire, stifled it before it could spread.

That is my conception of the sort of deed for which the Victoria Cross was instituted.

F. C. M.

R.—NATIVE ARTILLERY.

With reference to the behaviour of the Native Artillery, the following Order was published by Major-General Sir James Outram.

"Camp, Alum Bagh,

"25th December, 1857.

" In consequence of the loyal and gallant conduct of the 6th Company, 9th Battalion, Native Foot Artillery,

* This must have been repeated four times with the same guns.—F.C.M.

attached to Captain Maude's Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery, during the *many severe* actions they have been engaged in, under Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., and *especially* for their highly distinguished conduct in the several engagements *since the Force left Cawnpore*, the Major-General Commanding is pleased to promote the undermentioned Non-Commissioned Officers of that Company and Battalion to the Third Class of the Order of Merit.

Havildar Meer Hyder Ali	} to the Third Class Order of Merit.
Naik Kalka Sing	
Drill Naik Lal Mohamed	
Naik Semdeen	

"Also, agreeably to the Nominal Roll furnished by Captain Maude, Commanding the 3rd Company, 8th Battalion, R.A., the following promotions will take place:

Havildar Meer Hyder Ali to be Jemadar.

Naiks Semdeen, Kalka Sing, and Lal Mohamed to be Havildars (Sergeants).

Privates Shah Sol, Unreet Sol, Baiz Khan, Shaik Koodoo, Ulluf Khan, Shaik Bulbun, Choormud, Ghunga Sing, Shaik Allubug, Dourga Sing, Kalka, Kansa Ram, Khalsa Gulzer, and Dhoorga Sing to be Naiks (Corporals)."

S.—EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL REPORT PREVIOUSLY QUOTED.

"Major Cooper, Bengal Artillery,* has now arrived to take command of the Artillery, and can speak as to our efficiency since he has known us. But, as the officer who commanded the Artillery of General Havelock's column, from Allahabad to the Battle of Onao, I cannot close this without reminding you of the services which this Force has rendered to the country. We have fought 10 general actions, almost all in the month of July, and the latter six without tents or baggage.

"We have taken sixty-seven guns, large and small, forty-seven of which were silenced, in fair fight, by Artillery.

"And here I must pay a tribute to the zeal, intelligence, and general excellent Artillery qualities of Lieutenant

Crump*, of the Madras Artillery, who has been of the very greatest assistance during this campaign.

"Lieutenant Eardley Maitland, of the Royal Artillery, has on every occasion shown the most perfect coolness and courage, coupled with great intelligence.

"And lastly, I cannot speak too highly of that most valuable and excellent soldier Sergeant Alexander Lamont,* of the Royal Artillery, to whose untiring zeal much of our success against the rebels is owing; and I would suggest that he may be rewarded in any way Sir Hugh Dalrymple Ross may think fit.

"I have the honour to forward the returns which you call for; and to remark upon them that I have only 23 (out of 57) effective gunners left, some of whom cannot ride. I shall therefore be very grateful for reinforcements for the Company, particularly of trained drivers: as in the present state of native feeling, I do not intend to make any great use of native drivers for the Horse Battery which I am organising.

"I have forgotten one thing, perhaps the most important, namely, the noble conduct of our men—young soldiers too—not only before the enemy, for that is well-enough known, but also in camp and quarters. It will scarcely be believed that, although exposed to the temptations of Calcutta, Benares, and Allahabad, and with large sums of money in their pockets, I had *only one case of drunkenness* between the day we left Ceylon, June 7th, and our return to Cawnpore (from Oudh), Aug. 14."

Extract from Official Report to the Officer Commanding Royal Artillery; referring to the action at the Char Bagh Bridge.

" In this action every man behaved well, and again Lieutenant Eardley Maitland, my only other officer, assisted me in keeping up the confidence of the men, by his cool and steady bearing under fire. He laid one of the guns which exchanged round for round of case and round-shot, at 150 yards range, against five of the enemy's guns; until the latter were almost silenced."

* All these officers were killed during the entry into Lucknow in the following month.—F. C. M.

**T.—EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER, TO HIS PARENTS IN ENGLAND,
WRITTEN BY CAPTAIN FREDERIC ARTHUR WILLIS, AT
THAT TIME COMMANDING THE 84TH REGIMENT.**

“ Lucknow, Nov. 21st, 1857.

“ We crossed the river from Cawnpore on the 19th, and were slightly engaged. It was a beautiful sight, I am told, from the Cawnpore side; just like a review: we drove in the enemy's outposts and took up our position at once; and remained on that ground all next day, Sunday, and on the following morning, 21st, advanced, drove the enemy from all their defences and followed them up so rapidly that they abandoned baggage, guns, and everything. We marched 17 miles, and then halted. The next day was a very long one, bringing us to within 12 miles of Lucknow without seeing any of the enemy. I must tell you that from 8 o'clock a.m. of the 21st, to the morning of the 23rd, it had never ceased raining *torrents*: this perhaps was well, for it enabled us to make long marches with little fatigue.

“ At about two o'clock on the afternoon of the 23rd, we arrived within sight of the Mosque, etc., of Lucknow, and there found the enemy drawn up on rising ground in great strength. We formed our order of battle and advanced under a heavy fire from the enemy's Artillery.

“ I had better tell you our movements day by day, and the events of these days.

“ The enemy's Artillery, as usual had the range beautifully; the Right Brigade, or rather First Brigade, ought to have been in rear on this occasion, for the column takes it in turn: one day right in front, next day left in front, but the General wished the 84th to be the first into Lucknow to relieve their comrades, a company of ours forming a part of the besieged garrison: this was considerate.

“ We advanced in line very prettily by Brigades—echelon of Divisions from left, viz.: Madras Fusiliers, then 84th, then 5th Fusiliers. The ground was awfully heavy from the previous rains, and the difficulty I have always had to contend with, is to keep the men from advancing too rapidly, and knocking themselves up. The Madras Fusiliers (who are a most unruly lot in quarters, are perfect devils at fight-

ing), directly we had driven the enemy over the crest of the hill, regularly broke and rushed after the niggers in skirmishing order: the officers utterly unable to stop them. I had the greatest difficulty in controlling my Regiment and preventing them doing the same, but am happy to say succeeded in making them advance steadily, and poor General Neill complimented the Regiment on its steadiness. By four o'clock we had driven the enemy into Lucknow: we then took up our position, and the base of our future operations settled, viz:—a large walled garden in the centre of which was a very fine house capable of holding about six or seven hundred men. It had been a lovely day, but at seven o'clock down poured the rain, and from that hour until dawn it continued. Everyone but the 5th Fusiliers, who were put into the house inside the walls, bivouacked with not a vestige of cover, and such a night I never passed, sitting on a stone, wet through and through; none of our baggage and servants having come up. Fortunately the next day was very fine, and one was able to get everything dry again.

"The casualties were not heavy in our Brigade. The 5th had a shell burst right in the middle of them, killing five. All day on the 24th we were busy drying the men's clothes and bedding, and were comfortable in our tents, but it was by no means safe, for the round-shot repeatedly came through our camp: one came into poor Pakenham's tent, striking the pole.

"It was arranged that all the baggage was to be placed inside this walled garden, which is called the 'Allambagh' (or people's garden), and some guns and 300 men left as a garrison, each regiment leaving one subaltern and a few men with all the sick. I forgot to mention that on the 24th, as the baggage was coming up, the rear of it was attacked by clouds of the enemy's Cavalry, and several of our men cut up; an officer of the 90th was also killed.

"The morning of the 25th was a beautiful day. No officers, except mounted ones, were allowed to take a servant, our grooms being the only servants to accompany the columns. We imagined in a day all the baggage would come on after us, so took nothing in the way of clothes, or anything, in fact.

"From the 'Allambagh' there is a straight road raised, with trees on each side; the country on each side of these

trees being inundated, and large elephant-grass growing ; in this grass the enemy had myriads of men with musket and matchlock. At the end of this road was a bridge with a large house (from the 'Allambagh' to the house is about 800 yards), a battery was there and the house full of men ; another battery far to the right and left.

"At eight o'clock we advanced under a very heavy fire, right in front, on *our* account ; first came 5th, then Maude's Battery, the Artillerymen being made up by volunteers from the Infantry, (who have all been drilled, and do their work very well) ; 84th next, and after them Madras Fusiliers, then 2nd Brigade. *We did not return a shot* ; and the men advanced very well under the heavy fire pouring in from all sides. We halted within 150 yards of the house, on the bridge, where the suburbs commence (this has always been a questionable act in my opinion), and Maude's battery opened on the battery to our right—the Infantry ordered to lie down, and I think it was a very welcome order to them, for the round-shot, grape, and bullets came crashing through the trees, tearing everything round one. My poor mare, who is a timid thing, stood it very well, and I sat there tolerably composedly for ten minutes (lost minutes I think) ; the 5th were ordered to advance and take the house, which they did, and bayoneted a lot of the enemy ; they got very much scattered, and the 84th were then ordered to the front to take and clear the houses on each side of the road leading to the bridge over the nullah entering the city. I had just time to address a few words to the men, telling them I expected great deeds from them, their comrades were in front, in the garrison, anxiously expecting *them* to relieve them, and the poor wives and families in Calcutta looked to us to succour their husbands and fathers. So we set up a cheer, my poor dear and much-lamented friend Pakenham by my side gallantly leading on his Grenadiers, and charged up the streets, driving the niggers out of the houses into which I had turned the men as we passed. We had not advanced 100 yards when my poor friend was shot down, the ball passing through his right side from front to rear. He never spoke after. Conceive my anguish ! Willingly would I have given my arm for his life, but it was not to be. He died a soldier's death, in a noble cause, regretted by every one who ever knew him. His

brother is Colonel Pakenham (we were Ensigns together in Dublin, and I knew him well), 30th Regiment, and I am going to write to him. A more gallant, noble-hearted fellow never lived, and if anyone was prepared to die it was he. He had been Adjutant of the 43rd, and was wrapped up in his profession. He was only 24 years of age, and the manner in which he performed his duties, and his general example to the subalterns alone, was of more value than you can imagine. Poor fellow, we had occupied the same tent and hut from the first, and we were most intimate friends. I can hardly bear to mention his name. He had promised to write to my father if anything happened to me.

"We still advanced until the road turned (almost at right angles) to the left (rather an Irishism, this), and I had had to send a company here, and another there, into the garden behind the houses to enable Maude's Battery to come up and prevent the houses being re-occupied, so that I found myself in the road with but a handful of men, the rest of the Brigade coming up sharp. After turning down this road to the left, you come to a bridge (over the nullah) about 100 yards from the corner of the road; a trench was dug across the road on one side, and on the other side of the bridge a strong stockade battery, in which were four guns, and my poor mare had a ball through her shoulder, and I was reduced to my legs.

"The opposite side of the nullah was lined with musketry, and I sent two companies to the left to occupy the houses looking over the nullah and to try and enfilade the battery and pick off the gunners with their Enfields, for all my Regiment were armed the day before we left Cawnpore with rifles.

"During the above operation, a young officer of the 64th, doing duty with my Regiment, was shot dead through the head. I never saw, before or since, such a frightful fire as this four-gun battery poured down the road, grape and round-shot.

"Maude's guns came up; and two were brought into action, and for about ten minutes it was a case of give and take; at one of our guns five men were knocked over. I am happy to say one of my old Company volunteered as a number at the gun in the poor fellow's place who had been killed, and he remained working at it until it limbered up, for which I recommended him for distinguished conduct, expecting he

would get a medal and gratuity, but to my surprise he is in Orders as recommended for the Victoria Cross (which is a mistake, I think). Maude worked his guns very bravely and steadily. I was in a front house when a gallant young Lance-Corporal came running up and said, "Oh, Sir! the Madras Fusiliers (who had not as yet been in front) are ordered up to take the battery. We can't let them go in front of the 84th." "Certainly not," I said, "if you will collect eight or ten men, I will go over the bridge with you." We got some men, and as the Fusiliers came up we all charged together (*this* is not known, and it was thought the Madras Fusiliers were the only people first up. General Neill, though, knew some of the 84th were there, for he saw us start; but, alas! for me and the Regiment, he was killed late in the evening, otherwise we should have been particularly mentioned, for we fought all the day under his eyes.) As we rushed into the road we received a shower of grape, which took five men on my right, and cut their legs right from under them. I was struck above the left knee and came down, but picked myself up, and finding no bones broken, rushed on for my bare life, and we were all cheering like madmen, and that one round was the last the enemy fired from *those* guns: the Battery was ours, and the Lance-Corporal shot down a gunner just as he was going to fire another gun. I have recommended him for distinguished conduct, and he has also got the Cross, *he* continually deserved it, for I never met a more untiring skirmisher, always in front, and always gallant. On we drove the enemy down the street for some distance, I stopped to tie my pocket-handkerchief round my knee and look at my small wound (it was a deep cut but not *long*, I think done by a piece of telegraph wire which the beggars used mixed with the grape) and then brought up my stragglers who were joining me from their different skirmishing points—at a cross road one of the enemy fired at me from the street on my right and hit me just behind the right thigh, the ball went through trouser and shirt, and cut the flesh, but how it came not to make a more severe wound, God alone can tell; it felt at first like a blow from a racket ball, which I have often experienced. I put my finger through the hole in the trousers and found there was blood, but again no bones broken, thank God! and so it was all right.

"The recall sounded, for it was found we had gone the wrong road. My poor old Company—the Light Company which had gone off to try and intercept the enemy with their guns from the right battery first mentioned—took a nine-pounder, and just as they came up to it, poor young Woolhouse (who came out to India with me and whom I had transferred to the Light Company when I was posted to it) had his right elbow smashed ; the arm has since been amputated—poor boy.

"We came back to where the Battery was, and destroyed the guns and ammunition, and went on again, and from this point up to the Residency, where our countrymen were—was a *regular fight into Lucknow*—at every cross street guns in position, storming and taking them, and *running the gauntlet* through streets, the houses of which were all loopholed and full of men ; when one thinks of it now, it seems terrific, and at the time one was worked up to such a state of frenzy and excitement, *nothing* was thought of but our poor countrymen here, and as to protecting our rear that was soon seen to be impossible, and we at once knew that when we did get to the Residency there was no getting out again without help from Cawnpore. We were *eleven* hours street-fighting, and at seven o'clock p.m., just as it was getting dark, we heard the cheers of our besieged Garrison ; what a shout we sent up ! Poor General Neill was shot dead, whilst passing under a large archway, and in the midst of my Regiment. I have lost a good friend, for I hear he took a fancy to me, and anything I wanted done for my Regiment, he at once did it, for I never asked anything without reason. You will not be able to estimate our loss, but my dear father will, in comparing it with other battles and numbers engaged. We left the Allambagh 2,200, and we lost 48 officers and 632 men killed and wounded, nearly a third of the whole. A more gallant thing was never done, and the Commander-in-Chief in last night's Orders called it a 'feat of arms.'

"The Residency could not hold us all, and we (84th) bivouacked in a road ; after thinning out picquets and posting sentries, I threw myself on the road thoroughly done. I had another miraculous escape during the day—in my haversack I had three hard ration biscuits, and a towel, comb, and knife and fork ; a musket ball struck the biscuits, smashing them to pieces and tearing a tremendous rent in

the haversack, doing no further damage ; but for the biscuits I should have been terribly wounded in the thigh, and perhaps lost my leg. As long as I kept moving my wounds did not hurt me, but they got very stiff towards night.

"The casualties in my Regiment were three officers killed (for I include Bateman, 64th, who was doing duty with me) and four wounded, including myself, Woolhouse, Barry, severe contusion inside, and young Oakley, severe wound in head, the ball tearing the flesh from the right temple and just behind the ear, the top of which it carried away—they are all doing well.

"The next four days were occupied in strengthening and taking up a position and in sorties to take the guns which were in battery all round the Residency, and had been hammering away at the Garrison for months : this was the old kind of work, rushing down streets under a terrible fire, blowing up the guns, and tearing back again. One morning, out of 160 men, I lost in a sortie 10 killed and 22 wounded, but no officers touched, thank God ; all of them are gallant young men as ever stepped, and behave very well, for they are most willing and zealous.

"An order came out for names to be sent in from each corps—one officer, one N.C. officer, and one private, for the Victoria Cross—this was afterwards altered to one man from each corps—but other regiments had already sent in the names of officers in accordance with the first order, and left it so, and they have all been recommended for the Cross. It is a blessing to know that the officers (*I hear*) intended recommending me, but I think giving the decoration to a man simply for doing his duty is absurd, and not in accordance with the spirit of the warrant. *I* only did my duty, just the same as every single officer in my Regiment. I considered it was the duty of the commanding officer to be the first man everywhere, just the same as every leader of a company considered it his duty to be in front of that company. Still I was pleased that my brother officers had considered I had done my duty by them and the Regiment.

"The days that followed our arrival were such anxious ones for me that I could not lay up, not liking to leave my Regiment (poor Pakenham having been killed), and the next senior being a young subaltern in his teens, but on the fifth day my knee became so swollen and inflamed that I could

not walk, and had to go to the hospital, where I was for three weeks, at the expiration of which time I came out all sound again.

" My Regiment occupied the Jail, the 78th in houses in a street on my right, connecting ; and about 200 yards opposite to us, on the other side of the street, the enemy, and for two months were we mining and being countermined, the niggers beating us hollow at this work : they are the most indefatigable brutes behind walls in the world, and if their courage equalled *half* their ingenuity we should have been beaten out of this place in a week ; they are up to every dodge and kept us (78th and self) in a constant state of anxiety, only one corner of my command could be mined, the remainder having, between my wall and the street opposite, a large garden. Still for the first fortnight there was not a night that the Regiment had not to stand to its arms, but latterly I knew their hours of attack (strange to say they rarely varied it, viz. : at 11 o'clock p.m. and about 3 a.m.) and generally went round my post to see all safe, and except there was anything very marked, did not awaken the Regiment or turn it out, but the constant state of anxiety I was kept in was very wearying.

" And now to mention our privations in the food and clothing way : we came in with nothing but what we had on our backs, the Garrison as badly off as ourselves ; after the first day we were put on half rations, which *half* consisted of 12oz. meat, 1½oz. of unground wheat, and 1½oz. of rice, not a single thing else, no liquor of any kind, tea or sugar, and no tobacco ; the last the men felt very much. I had to give it up : cigars sold at six shillings a-piece, 250 cheroots at the sale of a deceased officer's effects, brought £37. I paid six shillings for a cake of soap, which was the only thing I purchased at these extravagant prices. A dozen of brandy sold for 19 guineas, and clothes and everything the same—four shillings an ounce being paid for sago.

" I thought I could do very well, never having had a large appetite, but the instant I was placed on short commons my eating powers increased enormously, which was a great mistake. We had to wash our own and only shirt, but a Sikh soldier gave me a pair of ladies' stockings (which I converted into socks on the spot) and a lady's underflannel, which were a great help when the rest of my clothes were drying—

bedding, etc., we obtained in plenty. I had two Companies occupying (when first we came in) the Palace of the King's brother, where the men got no end of loot (Indian for plunder) of the most valuable kind. We ought to have established Prize Agents the instant we came in, but it was not done for a week after, and all the most valuable things were taken.

"I have a beautiful sword, for my father, and belt (gold lace) with enamel fastenings and scabbard—blade, pure Damascus, and a Cashmere shawl for you, my dear mother; it is a little worn, but worth £50: and a large scarf (Cashmere) for Anne; and this is all my plunder. On the 11th ultimo we heard of the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief at the Allambagh, from one of our spies, who brought in a letter from him, stating he should commence his advance on the 13th, positively; we accordingly expected he would be in *that* night, but they took it easier than we did. We had arranged (on the General's approach) a sortie, to take some buildings between us and the advance column—mines and batteries erected all ready, on the approach of Sir Colin, to breach the walls of the places we had to storm. I was told off to command the right division of stormers, to take the King's Deer Park and buildings (by name Hirn Khanah, in Hindostanee)—this is separated by a street from the principal Palace occupied by the late King, the Palace being the stronghold of the enemy.

"I will give you a copy of my instructions :

" ' Storming party—1st Column, Right Division, to consist of 200 men to storm the Hirn Khanah by the right, breach to be forced by mine.

" ' Advance 150 under Captain Willis. Working part, 10 men with crowbars and picks. 40 men support, under an officer, carrying ladders (21). November 23rd.

" ' A supply of doors must be at hand,' (but I am not told *where* these doors were to come from) ' to barricade the small lane dividing the Hirn Khanah, which will be opened to the loop-holed wall to the right of our lane barricade, the party to be drawn up in line in rear of the barricade, and to issue through the picquet house, and rush forth immediately on the mine being exploded, remembering that their breach is to the right of the Hirn Khanah; they will be exposed, in crossing the Square, to the fire of the City Gateway, and loopholes in *reverse*,

they must therefore enter the Hirn Khanah as speedily as possible, and keep to their right, keeping under cover of the buildings inside to avoid the above fire.

“‘There is a gateway leading to the centre compartment, which is to be stormed by the Centre Division, which should be opened; or, if barricaded, should be blown open.

“‘After the party is once in possession of the Hirn Khanah, all communication with it should be by the side, towards the garden, and not by the place of entry.’

“‘At one o’clock we were all drawn up and ready for the sally. Unfortunately, the powder had been down the mine 36 hours (the General not thinking Sir Colin Campbell would have taken *four* days from the Allambagh to our position) and there appeared to be a doubt as to the mine exploding, added to which the Engineer officer told me, just as I was about to start, that the distance to the wall was so great they could not get a candle to burn down the mine, and therefore after a certain point could not tell whether the end of the mine went so far as the place intended to be breached. All these doubts were very pleasant for me to hear, and I therefore asked the Chief of the Staff, whether the original instruction as to sallying out immediately on the exploding of the mine was to be carried out, or to wait and see if a breach *was* made, his reply was ‘not to wait,’ so off went the mine and out I started from a small door-way followed by Penton (a very gallant fellow), my Sergeant-Major; away we rushed, followed by the men as fast as they could issue from the small aperture, cheering away as hard as we could (there is nothing like shouting on these occasions), and conceive my despair on arriving at the breach that *was to have been* to find that the mine had exploded *ten yards short*, causing a large crater, and the wall of my part of the ‘Hirn Khanah’ intact; the men arriving to find an entry impossible, the enemy over our heads firing out of loopholes, but, fortunately, unable to depress them sufficiently to do us any harm. We could not tear down walls with our fingers, and our two ladders were only some eight feet long, instead of 18, and knowing a breach to be in the course of making by 18-pounder guns all the time we were waiting in the lane (previous to our sally) round to our left through which the Centre Division was to issue. I accordingly made for it, and clambered up

with our brave fellows, getting in, and under cover some minutes before either the Centre or Left Division made their appearance; in fact, they were up and entered *with my support* after the place was virtually taken. We drove the enemy out in great style, and I at once occupied and loopholed the wall which commanded the street, and there we were on one side of the street, and the enemy on the other, viz., in the large Palace. I regret to say I lost one killed and 14 wounded, including my poor acting Adjutant Ayton, who had his right arm shattered. It was taken out of the socket in the evening, and he is doing well, I am happy to say.

"A very praising Order was issued, in which the Commanding Officers of Divisions were mentioned *by name*, so hope it will do me some little good, but I can't help thinking this mentioning people in Orders who simply do their duty, as savouring of absurdity, and it will end in people expecting reward *for* doing their duty. [Here follows General Willis's description of his underground experiences, which has been given in pages 345 and 346.] On the 22nd, a portion of my Regiment were ordered to take a bungalow, from which we were annoyed by the enemy; poor Sandwith, who had only arrived from Cawnpore with the reinforcements, and whom I had nominated that day to the Adjutancy, was killed. He was a very gallant little fellow, brave to a fault, and I regret him very much.

"On the night of the 22nd, *at midnight*, we evacuated Lucknow, contrary to the opinion of both Generals Outram and Havelock, but I believe the Commander-in-Chief was ordered by Government to do so, and I think with the small Force at his disposal it would have been impossible to take and hold it, at the same time keeping open the communication with Cawnpore.

"It really was done very well, but somehow I could not help feeling melancholy at having to give up a place that had cost us so much trouble. We marched out six miles and then halted, taking up our position and bivouacking for the night.

"24th November.—We have been in the above position all yesterday, and to-day arrangements are being made for the retreat. Poor General Havelock died this morning; he visited my post at the Hirn Khanah on the 21st, but it

seems that the news of his honours were so exciting to him that it virtually killed him. He complained on the 22nd of feeling very weak and exhausted, and from that hour literally sank from no apparent cause but exhaustion. The old man was hard on the men, I think, but one forgives him now.

“ His column, which, it was said, was now to be petted and made much of, and to be sent off first on account of our past privations, is still on its original ground : the other divisions have already started, and I have this instant heard the Right (our) Brigade of General Outram’s Division, late Havelock’s Field Force, is to cover the retreat; so, *that* is the kind of petting we are to have. This is rather hard on us, for it would have been only fair to give that post to some of the Brigades which came up with the Commander-in-Chief, and which have not once been under fire.

“ I shall close this to have it all ready, for the first opportunity of despatch, and trusting to the Almighty still to continue his protection to me, and prayers that I may be spared to meet you again, my dearest mother,

“ I am, with love to dear father and Anne,

“ Your most affectionate son,

“ FREDERIC.”

U.—EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO HIS PARENTS, WRITTEN BY HENRY DAVIS WILLOCK, OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE, LUCKNOW GARRISON, 9TH OCTOBER TO 18TH DECEMBER, 1857, AT ALLAHABAD.

“ My Dearest Parents,

“ Little did I think when I last wrote to you that my next letter would be written from this place, but so it is. I have been a prisoner in Lucknow since the 25th of last month, the day on which General Havelock’s Force reached the ‘Bailey Guard’ (as the Residency is generally called). I was foolish in coming on, as it has turned out, but had it been otherwise, the trip would have been a very pleasant one. The idea of ‘relieving Lucknow’ seemed to me so glorious that I could not resist the feeling that urged me on, and—when in Cawnpore—I wrote to General

Havelock, saying that, in the event of the services of a civilian being required, I should be glad to accompany him, as I had done before. A gracious reply settled the matter, and away I came. I was not wanted, as General Outram entered Oudh as Chief Commissioner, doing all civilian work himself: but as I had got leave from General Havelock, I settled the matter by starting, at the same time writing to the Commissioner at Allahabad, to tell him of the arrangement.

"We started with a Force of 3,000 men and 18 guns, and beat off a large Force, on the first day's march, two miles from the river: defeating them so signally that no stand was made by them again until we reached Lucknow itself, where we engaged and defeated the Force in the open field on the 23rd, having marched up in three days. We suffered a good deal from the wet, for it rained incessantly during the whole of those three days. On the 24th we rested at a place called 'Alum Bagh,' in front of Lucknow, where we had encamped the day before. The whole of that day the enemy annoyed us with their Artillery, having taken up a position in some thickly-wooded gardens in front. Alum Bagh is a large garden, enclosed by a very high wall, with a very extensive double-storied house in the centre.

"On the 25th, then, the whole of the baggage, wounded, and camp-followers, were ordered into this place, with a guard of 250 men, and at 9 a.m. we started. I still chummed with Dr. Gayer; he was then doing duty with the 5th Fusiliers, who headed the Force. . . . We were then about three miles from the Residency, as the crow flies, but about six by the road we took. The City, on the Cawnpore side, is skirted by very thickly-wooded gardens, with high walls of mud, and long, narrow lanes, with straggling lines of houses and mud huts, forming excellent covers for the enemy, who only fight behind walls. Well, we had to go through at least three miles of this, and had to commence work by taking a battery situated about 1,000 yards up the road, which it could sweep at every discharge of the guns: while three other batteries were placed on the right and left * and thousands and thousands of the rebels were lurking in the thick sugar canes on all sides.

* See Map.—F. C. M.

"Away we went, and, with the guns, proceeded, about 500 yards, when we opened with our guns, *the troops lying down on the road*, where we remained for about twenty minutes 'under a most murderous fire,' as General Outram styled it in his Orders next day. It was, indeed, most fearful; the round-shot and grape literally tore the road up, cutting the brave fellows to pieces, while the bullets fell among them like a shower of hail. How I escaped I cannot tell. Why I was spared I know not. This much I can say, that I never for a moment expected to see night, the fire was so dreadful. I was as cool and collected as I could wish to be, but completely resigned for the worst, and, as I lay upon my face among the soldiers, I prayed earnestly—not for protection, but for forgiveness of my sins, and for you all, for I never expected to see another day. It is extraordinary how calm one feels on such occasions. I am not particularly courageous; but, on the contrary, am fond of taking care of myself; but I do declare that, when under fire, whether it was from excitement or what not, I have never felt so much apprehension as I have experienced when standing up to fast bowling at cricket.

"It was here that the Royal Artillery were cut to pieces at their guns by the musketry fire—so hot it was, rendering them perfectly inefficient (!) We lay then in this fire till we were ordered to get up * and with a cheer the men rose and charged up the road, driving the enemy out of their strongholds; they carried away their guns, which must have been Horse Artillery from the speed with which they retreated. Well, on we went, and forced our way through the gardens and lanes, losing men left and right; on, and on, through the most intricate places; taking guns here and there, and forcing the canal bridge, where they stood very steadily, firing grape and canister as our gallant fellows rushed up to the guns. The General had planned his method of approach, and halts innumerable took place in consequence, while the roads were picked out and routes determined. Away we went, and about 5 p.m. found ourselves opposite the Palace, from the gates of which a very heavy fire was opened, which, however, did but

* I have never been able to ascertain who was always directing the Infantry to lie down. Had they replied to the fire it might have been better for all.—F. C. M.

little damage, as we found shelter in some buildings. We were ordered on, and again started, getting into shelter after passing in front of the Palace, where, from the loop-holes, the musketry poured like rain.

“ November 16th.—I continue my tale. Here we halted for some time ; by ‘ we ’ I mean the First Brigade, for the Second had taken a different route, carrying with them the different stores we had brought in. The fire from the King’s Palace, known as the ‘ Keisa Bagh,’ was so severe that we had to run double quick in front of it, as hard as we could ; and a scene of great confusion ensued when we halted—guns and Infantry mixed up, soldiers wandering in search of their companies, and the wounded in the dhoolies carried here and there without any orders. We had been there about half-an-hour when the Second Brigade joined us, passing in front of the Palace, emerging from a narrow lane close to it. Here they had to pass under the very walls, while the rebels on the walls hurled down stones and bricks, and even spat at our fellows ; a fierce fire being kept up from the loopholes. After a little time order was re-established, and, after a fresh examination of the map, the Column was drawn up, and we started again. It was cruel work ; brave troops being exposed to such unfair fighting. What can men do against loopholed houses, when they have no time to enter a city taking house by house? *In fact we ran the gauntlet regularly through the streets.*

“After we passed the Palace, our men were knocked down like sheep, without being able to return the fire of the enemy with any effect. We passed on some little way, when we came to a sudden turning to the left, with a huge gateway in front, and through this we had to pass, under a shower of balls from the houses on each side. The Sikhs and 5th Fusiliers got to the front, and kept up a steady fire at the houses for some time, with the hope of lessening the enemy’s musketry fire, but it was of no use. Excited men can seldom fire into loopholes with any certainty, and we had to make the best of our way up the street, turning sharp round to the right, when we found ourselves in a long, wide street, with sheets of fire shooting out from the houses. On we went, about a quarter of a mile, being peppered from all sides, when suddenly we found ourselves opposite to a large gateway, with

folding doors completely riddled with round-shot and musket-balls, the entrance to a large enclosure.

"At the side of this was a small doorway, half blocked up by a low mud-wall; the Europeans and Sikhs were struggling to get through, while the bullets were whistling about them. I could not think what was up, and why we should be going in there; but after forcing my way up to the door, and getting my head and shoulders over the wall, I found myself being pulled over by a great unwashed hairy creature, who set me on my legs and patted me on the back, and, to my astonishment I found myself in the 'Bailey Guard!'

"What an entry compared with what we had promised ourselves!

"We expected to march in with colours flying and bands playing, and to be met by a starving Garrison crying with joy, ladies waving handkerchiefs on all sides, and every expression of happiness. But, instead of this, we entered as a disorganised army, like so many sheep; finding the whole of the Garrison at their posts, as they always remained; and a few officers and men only at the gate to meet us.

"The next morning we began to consider the state of affairs, and, to our dismay, found that the scoundrels had not bolted, as we expected, and that we in our turn were besieged. While the greater part of the Infantry went ahead, it was found impossible to bring on the heavy guns, and they remained out, with a portion of the Force, until the morning: when a strong party was sent out from the Residency, which took possession of the Old Palace, a long row of Palaces and Gardens, including buildings known as the Terah Kotee the Ferad Buks, and the Chutter Munzil. These buildings extended along the banks of the Goomtee (Serpentine) River, upon which one side of our position rested for nearly a quarter-of-a-mile: and the communication being then opened, our guns were brought up. We were then blocked off from all communications with Alum Bagh and the world in general.

"We then learnt that the supplies were so extensive that, with care, the entire united Force could hold out until the middle of December! Good news for us; for, if we had then been forced to evacuate the place, but few of us would have escaped, especially with such a number of helpless women and children to escort.

"For some days after we entered, the confusion was most frightful. Not an officer or soldier had carried with him any clothes but those he wore, and not a servant accompanied his master; the regimental cooks being alone allowed to go. So, without clothes, means of cooking, and the crowded state of the garrisons and hospitals, we were in a sad state of discomfort. . . . I got to the 'Brigade Mess Square,' and there did duty, Major Ashton Warner administering to my wants. I was in great luck, for Warner had saved most of his clothes, and he most kindly placed all his stock at my disposal until I was able to procure others at the different auctions of deceased officers' property. Before I was in a most wretched state; I had been unable to wash or change my clothes for three days. I had not passed a brush or comb through my hair . . . In a few days we extended our lines, driving the enemy from square to square out of the Old Palace. The Relieving Force was told off to different posts, and order was re-established. Those of the Sepoys who had bolted on our entry into the city, returned, and the siege re-commenced in the most refreshing manner. An attempt was made by Outram to send out our small body of Cavalry to Alum Bagh, but they were forced to fall back, finding the road blockaded, and the enemy too thick about them. We then regularly settled down to the siege, and had to make the best of it.

"The first operations were to sally out, and take some of the enemy's guns which had been annoying the Garrison; and we blew up several houses which had given shelter to the Sepoys and matchlock-men, who kept up a most annoying fire from the loopholes. This done, the Garrison was much relieved. We also extended our position towards the Iron Bridge, and also towards the new Palace, the Keisah Bagh; threw up fresh batteries, and strengthened the old position very much. The Garrison was a very different place from what I had expected to find it. From hearing it spoken of as 'The Residency,' I expected the entrenchments to be confined to the house itself: but the position of the adjacent buildings enabled Sir Henry Lawrence to erect batteries between them.

(Mr. Willock then describes the position in detail).

"Their guns poured in round-shot day and night, being placed in such dodgy places that our batteries could make

no impression upon them. The engineers had so little time to run them up, that most of them were, from a military point of view, quite useless, being exposed to the fire of guns from positions which they had no power of commanding.

"The siege then resolved itself into a mere blockade ; by which I mean that, although the round-shot and shell rattled in on all sides, it was nothing to what it was in the earlier stage ; the cannonading was as fierce, but the musketry, which did so much execution, was much reduced in consequence of the destruction of the adjacent houses. Our firing was a mere farce in comparison with theirs. Men continued to be knocked over daily. The natives, of whom there were swarms, were killed hourly ; for we had nearly a thousand dhoolie-bearers alone. Our European average loss was about three daily. The enemy had run short of ammunition, but were able to supply themselves with as much of their own making as they pleased, which did very well for their purpose. Their bullets were mostly made of telegraph wire, which inflicted horrible wounds. We were placed on half rations on entry, which consisted of sufficient attah(meal) to make four "chupatties" a day, a little dāl (peas) and 6 ounces of gun-bullock beef. We had no grog (the Relieving Force) ; the old Force had some, which soon ran out. . . . But the thing we all missed was tobacco. . . . I imbibed the fumes of the leaves of a guava tree. . . . Many of the soldiers made themselves ill by smoking neem-tree leaves, which are very strong and pungent. I soon found my health much affected by confinement ; I got thin and weak, and was much pulled down by dysentery. . . . But we all kept our spirits wonderfully. . . . The enemy were only seventy yards from us, and little duels were made up each day by each party from their loopholes. . . .

"Matters continued in this style until a letter was received from Sir Colin, saying he was coming on, and would be with us on the 10th of November. He was at Alum Bagh that day, and then the excitement commenced. You can imagine the joyful state of mind we were all in, to think that we were once again to be free, and enjoy the fresh air of Heaven undisturbed. Sir Colin took a long route . . . taking several days to do it in ; while we made arrangement for meeting his Force by undermining the buildings opposite our advanced fort. At last he came near. Our mines ex-

ploded, our brave fellows rushed on, turned the rebels out, took up fresh posts, and met their gallant relievers. The road was open to the camp, and a few privileged ones went to and fro. We were all forced to stick close to our posts, while those who visited the camp made our mouths water, with tales of how they had been fed on bread and butter and wholesome fresh grub. My bearer and khitmudgar came in from Alum Bagh, like good fellows, and I was once more jolly.

(Mr. Willock then describes the withdrawal of the Garrison, women, children, and sick.)

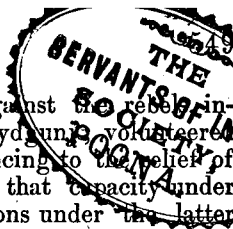
"After a six-mile walk, in ankle-deep sand, we were halted in a field, and told to make ourselves comfortable for the night. Here we were in a pretty plight. Nothing to cover ourselves with; while the cold was intense. So we lay, like so many sheep, huddled together to keep ourselves warm till the morning, when we rose, stiff and cold, with a poor prospect of finding our servants, in a camp of 9,000 men. It was useless, and Colonel Masters, Major Warner, Captain (Sir John) Farquhar, all of the 7th Bengal Cavalry, found some good friends among the officers of the Military Train, who put us up and made us most comfortable, till we got our traps the next day. We then commenced our march, arriving in Cawnpore on the third day; when we found the Gwalior devils in possession of that city, and firing shot and shell into the entrenchment. But we passed across the River Ganges without hurt, and after three days' halt, commenced our march to Allahabad, i.e., the families, Oudh civilians, and the sick and wounded. We marched twenty-four miles each night—the ladies, children, and wounded being in hackeries, and the officers on foot or on horseback. It was miserable, and very cold, our rate of marching being only two miles an hour.

"At last we arrived, and I found myself in Allahabad safe and sound, without a scratch, though not quite so fat and sleek as I was on leaving. Not having used a razor since I left, and being a good deal browned by exposure, many people did not know me at first, but I am now (Dec. 18th) as jolly and as fat as ever."

HENRY DAVIS WILLOCK,

at the outbreak of the Mutiny, was Joint-Magistrate at Allahabad. Received command of a Company of Volunteers, and

APPENDIX.



served under Neill in the operations against the rebels, including the storming and capture of Kydun, volunteered to accompany Renaud's Force (advancing to the relief of Cawnpore) as Civil Officer; served in that capacity under Havelock, and took part in twelve actions under the latter General, including the entry into Lucknow, where he served as a volunteer member of the garrison, until the final relief by Clyde. Returned to Cawnpore, then besieged by the Gwalior Contingent. Was appointed Civil Officer of Maxwell's moveable Column, watching the banks of the Jumna. Was present at the capture of Calpee by Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), and other minor engagements. In June, '58, appointed as Civil Officer with General Berkeley's Field Force, watching the southern borders of Oudh, where he was present at the capture of Tihol and Dehaeen. In March, '59, was appointed Joint-Magistrate of Shahjehanpore District. Received the Mutiny medals with 3 clasps, being the only civilian who received 3 clasps. Received a private's share of prize money (for Lucknow) of £3 15s. Also a Letter of Thanks from the Queen-Empress. In 1883 was promoted to be District and Sessions Judge, First Grade, Azimgarh. Retired in 1885, after 31 years' service.

THE LATE SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, M.P.

Sherer refers to his meeting with this exceedingly able civilian, who for many years afterwards was a conspicuous figure in the House of Commons, having been returned for Kirkcaldy Burghs in 1875, and represented that constituency until his death last year. I only knew him slightly; but he was good enough to take the chair one evening when I read a paper before the Society of Arts. A writer in the "Guide to the House of Commons," said of him: "There are few men, sitting in Parliament, who are better able to instruct it, and on more subjects, than the Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs, and none whom a perverse House is less inclined to listen to." The fact was that Sir George had, in his oratorical moments, and these were almost incessant, a monotonous, creaky delivery, which was particularly irritating to the listener; and he had also a trick of swaying his right

arm forward and backward, as though he were a leadsman about to take soundings, but never letting the lead go. Sir George had been Governor of Bengal and a Member of the Council of India. He wrote the "Handy Book on the Eastern Question," and was equally well versed on a hundred other subjects. Sherer's remarks, in Chapter XVI., about Courtenay Johnson's horse, which had been bought for him by a Zemindar, remind us of Sir George's artistic pretensions. The House was discussing the propriety of purchasing some of the famous Blenheim paintings, in one of which the great Duke of Marlborough was mounted on a charger. But Campbell would have none of it, declaring that such a "great, stout, rounded horse, with a flowing mane," was "untrue to nature, . . . and altogether an impossible creation, such as the world never yet produced."

F. C. M.

V.—SURVIVING OFFICERS.

The following is believed to be an accurate list of the surviving officers (November, 1893) of the Relieving Force, under Generals Outram, Havelock, and Neill, who entered Lucknow on the 25th of September, 1857 :

STAFF (IN ORDER OF SENIORITY).

General Sir James M. B. Fraser-Tytler, K.C.B.
 Lieut.-General D. S. Dodgson, C.B.
 Lieut.-General Sir Henry M. Havelock, Bart., V.C.,
 K.C.B.
 Lieut.-General J. Gordon, C.B.
 Lieut.-General G. S. Macbean, C.B.
 Colonel F. E. A. Chamier.
 Colonel F. Morland.
 Lieut.-Colonel W. A. Battine.
 *Deputy-Inspector-General R. Domenichetti, M.D.

* Dr. Domenichetti, after taking part in every action of Havelock's campaign, was placed in charge of the sick and wounded at the Alum Bagh, on the above-named day; where they were closely besieged, until the arrival of Clyde's force in November.

ATTACHED IN CIVIL CAPACITY.

William J. Money, Esq., C.S.I.
 Henry D. Willock, Esq.

VOLUNTEER CAVALRY.

Lieut.-General Sir C. H. Palliser, K.C.B.
 General W. O. Swanston.
 General G. Stewart, C.B.
 Colonel W. C. Thomas (now living at Lucknow).
 Major Graham Birch.
 Captain Pearson.
 Sir Roger T. Goldsworthy, K.C.M.G. (now Governor of
 the Falkland Islands).
 J. Anderson, Esq., 103, Earl's Court Road.
 G. Berill, Esq., Nynee Tal, India.

ARTILLERY (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER).

Surgeon-General J. J. Clarke, M.D.
 Surgeon-General J. Irvine, M.D., H.P.
 Colonel Eardley Maitland, C.B.
 Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B.
 General Sir William Olpherts, V.C., K.C.B.
 Lieut.-Colonel P. Roddy, V.C.

Also

Major-General Henry G. Delafosse, C.B., who was, after
 surviving the massacre of Cawnpore, attached to Olpherts's
 Battery.

ENGINEERS.

Major-General Lindsay Russell.
 General D. Limond, C.B.
 Colonel C. N. Judge.

And

Colonel Montagu Hall, who was attached to that Corps.

Nominal Roll of 16 officers of the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers, who formed a portion of Havelock's Column, September, 1857.

RANK.	NAMES.	REMARKS.
Major	James Egbert Simmons	Killed at Lucknow, Sept. 29, '57
Captain	Fred Wm. L'Estrange	Mortally wounded during entry into Lucknow.
"	Arthur England Johnson	" "
"	Arthur Scott	Wounded at Lucknow; retired as Major (dead)
Lieut.	Wm. Henry Petty Meara	Retired as Major (since dead).
"	J. Wallace Dunlop Adair*	Wounded at Lucknow; retired as Major.
"	Wm. Marcon Carter	Mortally wounded during entry into Lucknow.
"	J. C. Brown	Died from an accident at Alum Bagh.
"	John Creagh*	Retired as Lieut.-Colonel.
"	George Eyre Massey*	" "
Ensign	Edwin John Oldfield*	Retired as Major-General.
"	Edward M. Mason	Retired as Captain (dead).
Lieut. & Aj't.	Edwin Fell Haig	Killed at Alum Bagh, 23rd September.
Quarter-master	Francis Drake*	Wounded at Lucknow; retired as Major.
Surgeon	Wm. Kilner Swettenham*	Wounded at Lucknow; retired as Deputy-Inspector-General.

Those marked * are still alive, November, 1893.—F. C. M.

64TH (NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE) REGIMENT.

The greater part of this Regiment was left behind, when we entered Lucknow, and formed the garrison of Cawnpore.

When that city was attacked, by the Gwalior Contingent, in November '57, nearly the whole of the officers were killed.

So that the only remaining officer of Havelock's Force, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is

Surgeon-Major T. Carey.

Nov., '93.

F. C. M.

Names of the surviving officers of the 78th, Seaforth Highlanders, (Ross-shire Buffs) who served with Havelock's Column during the Indian Mutiny.

5th October, 1893.

Rank held during operations.	Name.	Present Rank.	Remarks.
Lieut.	John Finlay	Major	With the Column during the <i>whole</i> of its operations.
"	Geo. Digby Barker	Major-General and a C. B. Commdg. in China	
Qr.-Mr.	Charles Skrine	Lt.-Colonel	" "
Q.-M.-St	John Robertson	Captain	" "
Captain	Græme Alex. Lockhart	Major-General and a C.B.	With the Column after crossing the Ganges on the 19th September, 1857—and the subsequent operations.
"	Douglas Hastings	Major-General	
Lieut.	Fredk. Henry Walsh	Captain	
Surgeon.	Joseph Jee	Deputy Inspector - General and a C. B. and V.C.	
Ensign	William Tweedie (of H. E. I. C. Service attached).	Colonel and a C.S.I. Indian Staff Corps.	" and previously Bithoor.

Of the above all have retired, excepting Major-General Barker and Colonel Tweedie.

(Signed) C. SKRINE.

Nominal Roll of 17 Officers 84th Regiment who belonged to the Field Force commanded by Major General Havelock, on its formation at Allahabad, in July, 1857.

Captain and Bvt.-Major MacCarthy, Invalided to England after second action in Oude.

*Captain Fred. A. Willis (now Lieutenant-General and C.B.)

Captain Eugene Currie, mortally wounded in action before Cawnpore.

Lieut. Keats. Retired as a Captain, and since dead.

Lieut. Ayton. Mortally wounded at the sortie from Lucknow on the Hirn Khanah, and died two days after.

Lieut. and Adjt. Browne. Died as a Captain in the 97th Regiment.

Lieut. John Penton. Died as Colonel Commanding Regimental District.

Lieut. Robert Barry. Retired as a Captain, and died in Canada.

Lieut. Edward Woolhouse. Arm amputated. Retired as a Bvt.-Major, and died 1891.

Lieut. Alfred Gibant. Killed in Lucknow.

Lieut. Poole. Killed in Lucknow.

*Lieut. G. B. Blake. Retired as a Captain and late Lieut.-Colonel Commanding Suffolk Yeomanry.

Ensign H. Kenny. Died of cholera.

Ensign Humphrey. Retired as a Captain. Not known whether at present living.

*Ensign Hugh Pearson. At present Brigade-General and Adjt.-General, Madras.

Asst.-Surgeon La Presle. Promoted to Staff-Surgeon and since dead.

Quarter-Master Donelan. Died in Oude.

Names of the surviving officers of the 84th Regiment, who served with Havelock's Column during the Indian Mutiny Campaign.

Rank held during operations.	Name.	Present Rank.	Remarks.
Captain	Frederic Arthur Willis	Lieut.-General C.B.	With the Force throughout the operations.
Lieut.	George Blake	Lieut.-Colonel	ditto
Lieut.	Hugh Pearson	Colonel, Adjutant-General, Madras Army	ditto

N.B.—The above are the only survivors of that eventful period that I know of. I can trace all, with the exception of a Sub of the name of Humphreys, whom I mentioned in a previous letter.

F. A. W.

90TH (PERTSHIRE) LIGHT INFANTRY.

Nominal roll of officers of the above Regiment, who formed part of General Havelock's Force, on his entry into Lucknow, 25th September, 1857.

Colonel :

R. P. Campbell, C.B.

Lieut.-Colonels :

P. Purnell. T. Smith.

Majors :

J. Perrin. W. P. Tinling.

Captains :

H. Denison.	J. H. Wade.*
R. H. Mageniz.	J. Clerk Rattray.*
P. A. L. Phipps.*	

Lieutenants :

N. Graham.	A. A. Moultrie.	O. W. Every.
J. J. Nunn.	H. J. Haydock.*	H. H. Goodricke.
C. B. Wynne.	H. Bingham.	W. Knight.
W. Rennie.*	E. C. Wynne.	M. Preston.

Ensigns :

H. B. Savory.	G. A. Agnew.	A. Eyre.
G. Gregg.	A. R. Chute.	G. H. Powell.
H. J. Edgell.	H. Gordon.	J. Williamson.
A. N. Chute.	S. Hendy.	

Surgeon :

A. D. Home.*

Assistant Surgeons :

W. Bradshaw.	C. N. Nelson.
--------------	---------------

Quarter-Master.

D. Jackson.

Those marked * are still living.—F. C. M.

The 1st Madras (now the Royal Dublin) Fusiliers sustained the following losses during the Mutiny :

Nine officers were killed or died of their wounds, and six were severely wounded.

While 352 non-commissioned officers and men died ; and 200 were invalided on account of their wounds, many of whom did not survive to reach England.

The following officers of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who formed part of General Havelock's Force at his entry into Lucknow, are still alive :

Lieut.-General Sir John B. Spurgin, K.C.B., C.S.I.
 Major-General W. S. Bailey.
 Colonel W. Cleland.
 Colonel J. C. Fraser.
 Colonel E. L. Grant.
 Lieut.-Colonel L. A. M. Græme.
 Major W. H. Beaumont.
 Major H. Dale.

The following officers of the Regiment of Ferozepore (Sikhs) are still alive :

Colonel Jeremiah Brasyer, C.B.

Colonel R. C. Cross.

W.—THE VICTORIA CROSS.

The following officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of Havelock's Force received the Victoria Cross on account of the actions of the 25th and 26th of September, 1857, during the reinforcement of the Lucknow Garrison :

Boulger, Private (now Major), 84th Regiment, general bravery as skirmisher : see letter of General Willis.

Bradshaw, Assistant Surgeon, 90th Regiment, distinguished bravery and devotion to wounded.

Duffy, Private, Madras Fusiliers, saving, by his daring skill, a gun from falling into the enemy's hands.

Hollowell, Private, 78th Regiment, defending a house against large force of mutineers.

Holmes, Private, 84th Regiment, volunteering to assist Maude's gunners.

Home, Surgeon-General, (Sir A. D.), 90th Regiment, defending and succouring wounded.

Jee, Deputy-Inspector-General, 78th Regiment, attending, protecting, and saving a number of wounded.

Lambert, Sergeant-Major, 84th Regiment, distinguished conduct at Onao, Bithoor, and Lucknow.

MacPherson, Major-General (Sir H. P.), leading his battalion and capturing two guns.

McManus, Private, 5th Fusiliers, rescuing wounded officer under fire.

McMaster, Assistant-Surgeon, 78th Regiment, attending to and bringing in wounded under fire.

McPherson, Colour-Sergeant, 78th Regiment, rescuing wounded private and other gallant behaviour.

Maude, Captain (retired Colonel), R.A., leading Artillerymen.

Mylot, Private P. (promoted Ensign), 84th Regiment, general gallantry. elected by his comrades.

Olpherts, Captain (now General Sir W.), Bengal Artillery, charging with 90th Regiment to capture guns, and returning under heavy fire for horses and limbers to carry them off.

Rennie, Lieut.-Colonel W., 90th Regiment, on two occasions charging guns and driving off enemy.

Ryan, Private John, Madras Fusiliers, saving wounded from being massacred.

Ward, Private H., 78th Regiment, protecting wounded officer and man.

Summary, eleven granted for the 25th, and seven for actions on the 26th of September.—F. C. M.

DIVISIONAL ORDER BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM.

“ 29th September, 1857.

“ Attention is called to the amendment at the termination of the Orders of the 26th instant :

“ No. 1. The Major-General much regrets the omission therein of the acknowledgment so justly due to the Commanding Officer of the 78th Highlanders, arising from the difficulty of distinguishing the officers on foot from the men, so late in the evening ; the other officers mentioned by the Major-General having been mounted.”

The following is an extract of the Order referred to :—
“ And, finally, that of the 78th, *who led the advance on the Residency* [they having been originally in the rear of the second Brigade ! F. C. M.] *headed by the brave Lieutenant Hargood, A.D.C. to General Havelock, Captain Grant, 1st Madras Fusiliers, Lieutenant Hudson, H.M. 64th Regiment, and Lieutenant Chamier, A.D.C. (to Sir James Outram).*”

[A military *olla podrida* if ever there was one !—F. C. M.]

* It was in the Orders of the same day that the following had appeared :—“ Of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who charged the bridge and battery at the entrance of the city, *led by the gallant A. A. General H. M. Havelock.*”

W. W.

FIELD FORCE ORDERS BY
BRIGADIER GENERAL HAVE-
LOCK, C.B., COMMANDING,
9TH (14TH ?) OCTOBER,
1857.

Brigadier-General Have-
lock, in virtue of the power
delegated to him in Gen-
eral Orders, whilst he com-
manded the Allahabad
Moveable Column and Oudh
Field Force as separate
bodies, has been pleased to
award the Victoria Cross
to the following officers,
non-commissioned officers,
and privates.

- 1.—Captain William Ol-
pherts, Bengal Artillery,
for highly distinguished
conduct on the 25th of
September, 1857, when
the troops penetrated into
the City of Lucknow, in
having charged a battery
of the enemy's guns, at
the head of a party of
the 90th Light Infantry,
in face of a heavy fire of
grape, and afterwards re-
turning, under a severe
cross fire of musketry, to
bring up limbers and
horses to carry off the
captured ordnance, which
he accomplished.

FIELD FORCE ORDERS BY
BRIGADIER GENERAL HAVE-
LOCK, C.B., 17TH OCTOBER,
1857.

- 1.—In consequence of sub-
sequent information laid
before Brigadier-General
Havelock, he is pleased
to modify, as follows, para-
graph 1 of Field Force
Orders of the 9th instant
(*sic*). Order Books will
be carefully corrected ac-
cordingly.

Para. 1 of F.F.O., dated 9th
October, '57.

Captain William Olpherts,
Bengal Artillery, for
highly distinguished con-
duct on the 25th Septem-
ber, 1857, when the
troops penetrated into
the City of Lucknow, in
having charged, on horse-
back, with H. M. 90th
Light Infantry, when
gallantly headed by Col-
onel Campbell, it captured
two guns, in the face of a
heavy fire of grape; and
having afterwards return-
ed, under a severe cross-
fire of musketry, to bring
up limbers and horses to
carry off the captured
ordnance, which they
accomplished.

2.—(The order respecting Captain Maude).

3.—The Brigadier-General has likewise, on Sir James Outram's recommendation, awarded the decoration to Lieutenant Havelock, 10th Foot, D.A.A. General with the Force. The Major-General (Outram) remarks that, throughout the tremendous fire of guns and musketry, which the enemy directed across the Char Bagh Bridge, Lieut. Havelock, with the Madras Fusiliers, stormed the Bridge, took the guns, and cleared the street sufficiently to allow of the troops in rear closing up. He adds that he cannot conceive a more daring act than thus facing the bridge, and that the officers who led the Madras Fusiliers on this occasion appear to him richly to merit promotion; but that, hazardous as their position was, they were not so readily distinguished from their men, and that their risk was comparatively less than that of Lieutenant Havelock, *the only officer on horseback,** who cheered the men on at their head, and became the target of

For a detailed description of the affair of the Char Bagh Bridge, the reader is referred to the following letter, *by the younger Havelock himself*, to Fraser-Tytler; also to one of my own, written about the same time, viz., two years after the occurrence.—F. C. M.

the enemy's musketry. On this spontaneous statement of the Major-General, the Brigadier-General consents to award the Cross to this officer ; which act, if originating with himself, might, from the near relationship Lieutenant Havelock bears to him, assume the appearance of undue partiality.

* This is admitted to have been an error, as all accounts agree that Fraser-Tytler was also mounted, and present during the charge, in which his horse was killed. Unfortunately, when this Order was issued, he lay between life and death, having been desperately wounded later in the day.

FRASER-TYTLER AT CHAR BAGH (WRITTEN BY HAVELOCK-ALLAN.)

Great Malvern, Worcestershire,
16th August, 1859.

On the 25th September, 1857, at the entry into the City of Lucknow for the relief of its garrison by the Force under Generals Havelock and Outram—the Brigade leading the assault had succeeded in overcoming all resistance of the enemy until it reached the Char Bagh Bridge. This bridge leads across a wide canal with very steep banks, which encircles Lucknow, and is the only means of access to the city from the South. The Rebels had entrenched the bridge head on the far side, and placed in position, behind a breast-work, six guns, which swept the bridge. The adjoining houses were all barricaded and loop-holed; they were filled with marksmen

who commanded every approach, and they confidently expected to prevent the progress of the Force at this point.

On arriving at the bridge the 1st Brigade, which was under the command of General Neill, halted ; and it was impossible to advance until the tremendous fire of guns and musketry should be silenced. Sir James Outram made a détour to the right, with the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers, to endeavour, from some neighbouring high ground, to enfilade the defences of the bridge. Two guns of Captain Maude's Battery of Royal Artillery were brought up to answer the enemy's fire, the breadth of the causeway not admitting of any more being deployed. For some minutes they replied briskly. But from their being exposed in the open, while the rebels were covered by their works, a number of the gunners were killed or wounded without any decided impression being made. The remainder of the Brigade were meanwhile lying under shelter. In this crisis, Lieut.-Colonel Fraser-Tytler, D.A. Quartermaster-General to the Force, rode up, and immediately proceeded to reconnoitre the position under a most heavy fire. Forming the opinion that the bridge might be carried by a bayonet charge, while (as the enemy's fire was evidently superior) further delay would not only be useless, but would dispirit the troops, he represented his views to Brigadier-General Neill, and prevailed on that officer to allow the attempt to be made. On receiving permission he carried the order to advance to the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and assisted in collecting the men who had been dispersed under cover of some huts for shelter. When the rush was made Lieut.-Colonel Tytler rode with the leading section, but, as it debouched on the bridge head, the enemy fired a last round of grape (case ?) by which his horse was struck down. Before he could disengage himself the bridge was carried.

Immediately after, the enemy opened fire from two concealed guns, which took the bridge (now in our possession) in reverse. Lieut.-Colonel Tytler ascertained the position of these guns, and reported to General Havelock on the advisability of their being immediately captured by Infantry ; as, from their situation, no Artillery could be brought to bear on them : and their fire was telling with fearful effect on the

rear of our Column, and train of baggage, crowded in a narrow road between walls.

He was directed by the General to order the nearest available regiment to take the guns, and *he guided* the 90th Light Infantry to the spot. The regiment carried the two pieces by a rapid charge; Lieut.-Colonel Tytler directing it throughout, on foot, holding by the mane of the Commanding Officer's (Colonel Campbell) horse during the attack.

(Signed) HENRY M. HAVELOCK,
Captain 18th Royal Irish Regiment and Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel, late Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General to the Field Force under command of Brigadier-General Havelock, K.C.B.

To Colonel Fraser-Tytler, C.B.

" Pointe de Galle,
" Oct. 20th, 1859.

" My Dear Tytler,

" If it should happen that any feeble testimony of mine may assist you in procuring for you the coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross, I shall feel it as the greatest pleasure to myself, and as an honour to the Order. I sincerely believe that there is no one of Havelock's little band who was so notorious for his desperate gallantry as yourself, and many a time they have said so to one another. I remember several instances which should have procured you the decoration, but I will particularise two. Onao and Lucknow. On the former occasion I was an admiring witness of your cool intrepidity, when that howitzer of mine was so much exposed in the street, and when you came to our assistance. Although a fair mark for men only twenty yards off, you made your arrangements for keeping down the fire, and enabling us to retire the gun. I remember remonstrating with you at the time for exposing yourself so desperately to what I considered certain destruction.

" On the 25th September, 1857, on our entry into Lucknow, your conduct, from first to last, was the theme of universal praise. In the early part of the day I remember you ex-

posing yourself to a tremendous fire while reconnoitring the enemy's battery ; and I believe it was in consequence of your representations that General Neill ordered the celebrated charge of the Madras Fusiliers, in which you joined, and which indeed relieved me from a most unequal contest. I believe you had a horse killed under you during the charge. About this time the enemy opened a battery in our rear, which played down the street, and I remember you went back to settle that ; but, thank goodness, I did not. Afterwards, I remember being a melancholy witness of your heroism, when, reconnoitring the enemy's position near the Residency, (at the Heron Khana), you were struck down from your horse with that severe and dangerous wound, which I shall never forget. I heard everyone say that you distinguished yourself beyond everything at the action of Bithoor, in quietly riding up to the enemy's position, and reconnoitring it, under a storm of shot. In fact I don't think that there was one of Havelock's actions in which you did not distinguish yourself conspicuously, in daring, coolness, and judgment. I believe that all our old Force would be sincerely pleased if you obtained the Victoria Cross, either for Onao, Lucknow, or Bithoor. And no one would be more glad than

"Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) " FRANCIS C. MAUDE,
" Lieut.-Col."

FRASER-TYTLER'S SERVICES,

previous to the Mutiny, had been as follow :—He was (as Aide-de-Camp to General Pollock) severely wounded in the entrance to the Kyber Pass. Was present at the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur ; in the latter of which he had two horses shot under him. He was also at the Battle of Sobraon, as well as in every action of the Punjab Campaign. At the Battle of Sudoolapore, he swam the Chenâb River, at a very hazardous moment, to obtain information for his General. He was also at the Battle of Goojerat. His services subsequent to the Mutiny have also been not inconsiderable.

F. C. M.

X.—THE 32ND MESS-HOUSE.

The following account of the capture of the 32nd Mess-House has been taken *verbatim* from the "Records of the 90th Regiment (Perthshire Light Infantry)," which have been kindly placed at the author's disposal by an esteemed and most distinguished general officer :

"On the morning of the 17th (November) operations were resumed, Sir Colin Campbell was engaged in pressing back the enemy, so as to give the desired space for further operations, and communications were opened between the left rear of the barracks and canal. Captain Peel (R.N.) brought up his guns about noon, and kept up a heavy fire on the Mess-House. After the building had been battered about three hours, Sir Colin determined to storm, and Captain Wolseley was directed to hold himself in readiness for that duty.

"The Commander-in-Chief informed Captain Wolseley that he would be supported by a company of Sikhs, and the detachment of his Regiment, which was now led by Captain Guise (Major Barnston having been wounded on the previous day.—F. C. M.). His instructions were, that, in the event of the drawbridge being up, and his not being able to effect an entrance, he was to leave his men under cover, and return and report to him (the C.-in-C.).

"The storming party started, and under a hot fire from the neighbouring buildings, arrived under the garden wall, over which their leader, Captain Wolseley, clambered in company with a bugler. In the garden were several of the enemy, who fired upon him and then fled.

"On finding that the drawbridge was down, he ordered the bugler to sound the advance, and entered the building, on the roof of which he raised the British standard. Every gun which the rebels could bring forward was brought to bear on the Mess-House, and the fire was so heavy that—the party had to retire under cover !" (But no one seems to have been hurt.—F. C. M.)

Y.—THANKS FROM OUTRAM.

“ Lucknow, March 28th, 1858.

“ My Dear Maude,

“ Having announced to me your expected departure to-morrow, I cannot allow you to leave without thanking you, in a private letter, as I now do (in addition to my official acknowledgments), most sincerely, for the valuable services you have rendered myself, and for the obligations which, while serving under me, you have rendered to the State, and to express to you the high opinion I have formed of you as an officer, and to tell you how strong is the personal regard I bear to you as a friend. May you go on and prosper, adding laurel to laurel, and may God's blessing follow you through life. We may never meet again, but it would afford me much pleasure to think that you sometimes thought of and, when thinking, thought in kindness of, the “ Black Officer ” and Sepoy General, to whose successes (such as they have been) you have so ably contributed, and who, in all sincerity, subscribes himself,

“ My dear Maude,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ J. OUTRAM.

“ To MAJOR MAUDE, R.A.”

Z.—(CONTINUATION OF EXTRACT FROM THE “ OCCASIONAL PAPERS OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY INSTITUTION.”

“ I am most anxious that the widow of Sergeant-Major Lamont, R.A., should, if possible, receive a pension for his splendid services.

“ In the promotions, which the losses we have sustained have occasioned, I have always made a point of placing those who have distinguished themselves, in the vacancy ; but it may be proper to remark that the following have always shown peculiarly cool Artillery courage on every occasion before the enemy :

Lieutenant Eardley Maitland, Royal Artillery.
 Sergeant William Monks, wounded.
 " Samuel Nevin, severely burnt.
 " William Jones, suffered much from dysentery.
 " John McAnulty, severely wounded.
 Corporal J. Rumsby, suffered much from cholera.
 " E. Ledyard, slightly wounded.
 " W. Prescott, suffered much from fever.
 Bombardier J. Roberts, severely wounded, leg amputated
 at Alum Bagh.
 " J. Peters, suffered much from cholera.
 " J. Holdershaw, suffered severely from
 sickness.
 " C. Flemings, severely wounded.
 " W. Richardson, severely wounded.
 " Patrick Aspel, severely burnt and severely
 wounded.
 " Wm. Braton, suffered much from cholera.
 " Wm. Miley, " " "
 " J. Tooth, " " "
 " J. Carey, " " "
 " H. Garwood, " " "
 " W. Parr, " " sickness.
 Gunner and Driver J. Musgrove, severely burnt and
 severely wounded.
 " " W. Breadon, suffered severely from
 illness.
 " " E. Mainwaring, wounded.
 " " D. Lewis, wounded.
 " " J. Levinton, severely wounded.
 " " J. Moseley, suffered much from
 sickness.
 " " R. Brett, " "
 " " T. Lilliman, " "
 cholera.

Trumpeter Joseph Orr * has behaved very gallantly, and
 wishes to be made a gunner and driver.

* Mortally wounded during the Capture of Lucknow, two months after-
 wards.

"I consider the above to be a careful selection, and, while the nature of Artillery duties renders it difficult to particularise individual acts of valour, I would say that these men would have charged any batteries, and I could trust them within reach of any temptation to excess, while, under the most trying circumstances, no murmur ever escaped them.

"In the absence of any Order of Merit* for which, in the present state of the Service Regulations, they can be recommended, I would respectfully suggest the distinction of *Primus in Indis* being conferred on the Company, an honour which I think they have merited, and I am sure they would appreciate.

(Signed)

"F. C. MAUDE,

"Captain R.A."

* But, even at that time, the East India Company's army had such an "Order of Merit," carrying increased pay with it.—F. C. M.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

538
282
286

A TRUST has been formed, under which TEN PER CENT. of the Author's profits arising from the sale of this Work will be equally divided between and among any of the above-named Artillerymen who are proved to be living on the 31st of December, 1894.

F. C. M.